Pietro Giannone
Autobiography

The Tragedy of a Historian and the Inquisition

Translated with Commentary by Thérèse Ridley

PIETRO GIANNONE

AUTOBIOGRAPHY

Fig. 1 Pietro Giannone (1676-1748) as a young man, engraving by C. Rampoldi. *Istoria Civile del Regno di Napoli* (Milan 1823), title-page.

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Thérèse Ridley

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Cover design: Jeevanjot Kaur Nagpal

To the scholars of Giannone

Not in earth doth rest his spirit

He whose ghost hath none to tend

(*Gilgamesh*)

In dedication to

Ronald Thomas Ridley

Contents

List of Illustrations ix

Abbreviations and Short Titles xiii

Preface xvii

Acknowledgements xxi

Introduction 1

Chronology of Giannone's Life 23

THE LIFE OF PIETRO GIANNONE 27

Preface 29

Chapter One: 1676-1692: Ischitella 31

Chapter Two: 1694-1700: Naples 37

Chapter Three: 1701-1706: Naples 71

Chapter Four: 1707-1722: Naples 105

Chapter Five: 1723-1724: Naples 139

Chapter Six: 1725-1727: Vienna 227

Chapter Seven: 1728-1730: Vienna 277

Chapter Eight: 1731-1733: Vienna 353

Chapter Nine: 1734: Vienna and Venice 423

Chapter Ten: 1735: Venice, Modena, Milan, Turin, and Geneva 495

Chapter Eleven: 1736-1737: Geneva, Chambery, Miolans, Porta del Po, and Ceva 605

Chapter Twelve: Postscript: 1741-1748: Ceva and Turin 727

Memorie de' successi accaduti a D. Giovanni Giannone nel Corso della sua Vita (Memoirs of the Events Which Befell Giovanni Giannone in the Course of his Life) 781

The *Triregno* and its Fate 819

The Fate of the *Vita* 881

Index 899

List of Illustrations

1	Pietro Giannone (1676-1748) as a young man, engraving by C. Rampoldi. *Istoria Civile del Regno di Napoli* (Milan 1823), title-page.	p. ii
2	A typically narrow street in Ischitella (Puglia), Giannone's birthplace (translator's photo).	p. 32
3	Giannone's house in Ischitella (translator's photo).	p. 32
4	Domenico Aulisio (1649-1717), by Morghen, *Biografia degli uomini illustri del Regno di Napoli*, 4 (Naples, 1817), https://archive.org/details/bub_gb_7Q3WbXInyVgC/page/n21/mode/2up	p. 39
5	Gaetano Argento (1661-1730), by Francesco Solimena, *Funerali nella morte del Signor duca D. Gaetano Argento* (Naples 1731), https://ia601300.us.archive.org/11/items/funeralinellamor00musc/funeralinellamor00musc.pdf	p. 74
6	Nicola Capasso (1671-1745), http://www.bibliotecanapoletana.it/assets/archivio/libri/teatro04/005.pdf	p. 84
7	Nicola Cirillo (1671-1734), by Giuseppe Filosi, from Cirillo, *Consulti Medici*, Naples 1738. Wellcome Collection and Wikimedia Commons, CC BY 4.0, https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Niccol%C3%B2_Cirillo._Line_engraving_by_G._Filosi._Wellcome_V0001130.jpg	p. 85
8	Juan Manuel Fernandez Pacheco (1650-1725), viceroy of Naples 1702-1707, by Juan Bernabe Palomino (Royal Spanish Academy). Wikimedia Commons, public domain, https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Juan_Manuel_Fernandez_Pacheco.jpg	p. 95

9	Charles VI, HRE 1711-1740, attributed to Martin von Meytens, Wikimedia Commons, public domain, https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Martin_van_Meytens_(attrib.)_-_Portr%C3%A4t_Kaiser_Karl_VI.jpg	p. 106
10	Cardinal Michael Friedrich Althann (1682-1734), viceroy of Naples 1722-1728, by Jacomo Rossi. Wikimedia Commons, public domain, https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Michael_Friedrich_von_Althann_viceroy_of_Neaples.jpg	p. 128
11	Pietro Giannone, *Istoria Civile del Regno di Napoli* (Naples 1723), title-page (courtesy of Rare Books, the Baillieu Library, University of Melbourne), https://www.google.co.uk/books/edition/Dell_Istoria_civile_del_regno_di_Napoli_/A-Jfi3Cfx-cC?hl=en&gbpv=1	p. 129
12	Nicolo Garelli (1670-1739), plaster cast of medal, public domain, https://www.lookandlearn.com/history-images/YNK1038318/Plaster-cast-medal-Pius-Nicolaus-Garelli-Court-physician-of-Emperor-Charles-VI1735-ob	p. 161
13	Roman Frederic de Vilana-Perles i Camerara, the marquis of Rialp (1663-1741), by Francesco Solimena. Wikimedia Commons, public domain, https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Kirche_Biedermannsdorf_Raymund_Vilana-Perlas.jpg	p. 164
14	Prince Eugene of Savoy (1663-1746), by Jacob von Schuppen. Wikimedia Commons, public domain, https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Eugenius_(1663-1736),_prins_van_Savoye_Rijksmuseum_SK-A-373.jpeg	p. 181
15	Johann Burchardt Mencke (1674-1732), by Elias Haussmann. Wikimedia Commons, public domain, https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Jo._Burchardus_Menckenius,_PA04174.jpg	p. 188
16	Otto Friedrich Mencke (1708-1754), by Johann Martin Bernigeroth. Wikimedia Commons, public domain, https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:FriedrichOttoMenckeJMBernigeroth.jpg	p. 189

17	Aloys Thomas Raimund, Count Harrach (1669-1742), viceroy of Naples 1728-1733, by Francesco Solimena. Wikimedia Commons, public domain, https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Alois_Thomas_Raimund_Harrach.jpg	p. 243
18	The English translation of the *Istoria civile*, trans. by Captain Robert Ogilvie, 2 vols folio (London 1729), title-page (translator's copy).	p. 305
19	The portrait of PG. by Jeremiah Sedelmayer, for the French translation, *Histoire civile du Royaume de Naples*, 4 vols (The Hague 1742). Wikimedia Commons, public domain, https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:PietroGiannone.jpg	p. 371
20	Pedro Cebrian y Augustin, Count Fuenclara (1687-1752), Spanish ambassador in Venice, by Jose da Ibarra (Museo Nacional de Historia, Mexico City). Wikimedia Commons, public domain, https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:PedroCebrianyAgustin.jpg	p. 448
21	Prince Alessandro Trivulzio (1694-1763). Wikimedia Commons, public domain, https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Ritratto_di_Alessandro_Trivulzio.png	p. 449
22	The palazzo Pisani, Venice (translator's photo).	p. 502
23	Jean-Alphonse Turrettini (1671-1737), by Robert Gardelle (Bibliothèque de Genève, by very kind permission).	p. 545
24	Jacob Vernet (1698-1789), by Jens Juel (Bibliothèque de Genève). Wikimedia Commons, public domain, https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Jacob_Vernet_(1698-1789).jpg	p. 607
25	The fort of Miolans, from St-Pierre tower. Photo by OpaleRacoon (2022), Wikimedia Commons, CC BY-SA 4.0, https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Fortress_of_Miolans.jpg	p. 631

26	The fort of Ceva (1796), destroyed by the French in 1800, on the right, overlooking the city, by Giuseppe Bagetti (d.1831). Wikimedia Commons, public domain, https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Fort_de_Ceva.jpg	p. 646
27	Turin and its citadel (1734), by Matthias Seutter, *Grosser Atlas* (Augsburg 1734).	p. 732

Abbreviations and Short Titles

Appendix: Appendix of documents at the end of chapter in question, unless otherwise noted

AAV: Archivio Apostolico Vaticano, previously Archivio Segreto Vaticano

ASPN: *Archivio storico per le provincie napoletane*, 1 (Naples 1876-)

B: *La Vita di Pietro Giannone*, ed. Sergio Bertelli, 2 vols (Turin 1977). This paperback edition (367 pp.) is the text used for this translation. It republished 'exactly' the text in *Opere di P.G.* ed. Sergio Bertelli and Guiseppe Ricuperati (Milan-Naples 1971), pp. 3-346. The text of the *Vita* pp. 13-346 (1971) corresponds to pp. 3-336 (1977). To find the same page in the original edition, therefore, add ten.

Benedikt, *Königreich Neapel*: Heinrich Benedikt, *Das Königreich Neapel unter Kaiser Karl VI* (Vienna-Leipzig 1927)

Bertelli, 'Appunti e osservazioni': Sergio Bertelli, 'Appunti e osservazioni in margine ad una nuova edizione dell'autobiografia giannoniana', *GSLI*, 136 (1959), 169-235

Bertelli, 'L'incartamento originale': Sergio Bertelli, 'L'incartamento originale del Santo Uffizio relativo a Pietro Giannone', *Il Pensiero politico*, 1 (1968), 16-38

Bertelli, *Opere di P.G.*: introductions and Giannone's texts in *Opere di P.G.* (Milan-Naples 1971)

Bonnant, 'P.G. à Genève': Georges Bonnant, 'P.G. à Genève et la publication de ses oeuvres en Suisse au XVIII et au XIX siècles', *Annali della scuola speciale per archivisti e bibliotecari dell'Università di Roma*, 3 (1963), 119-139

Civil History: Pietro Giannone, *Istoria civile del regno di Napoli,* trans. James Ogilvie, 2 vols (London 1729-1731)

DBE: *Deutsche Biografische Enzyklopädie*, 12 vols (Munich 1995-2000)

DBF: *Dictionnaire de biographie française* (Paris 1933-)

DBI: *Dizionario biografico degli italiani*, 100 vols (Rome 1960-2020)

DHGE: *Dictionnaire d'Histoire et Géographie ecclésiastique* (Paris 1912)

EB: *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, 11th ed., 29 vols (London 1910) [the finest edition of this most famous of all encyclopaedias]

EI: *Enciclopedia italiana* (Rome 1949-)

Epist: *Epistolario di Pietro Giannone*, ed. Pantaleo Minervini (Fasano 1983)

Giannoniana: Sergio Bertelli (ed.), *Autografi, manoscritti, e documenti della fortuna di Pietro Giannone* (Milan-Naples 1968)

GSLI: *Giornale storico della letteratura italiana*

IBBNH: Index bio-bibliographicus notorum hominum (Bio-bibliographical index of notable people: an index to all major relevant sources) (Osnabruck 1973-)

Marini, *Mezzogiorno*: Lino Marini, *Il Mezzogiorno d'Italia di fronte a Vienna e a Roma e altri studi di storia meridionale* (Bologna 1970)

NBG: *Nouvelle Biographie Générale*, 46 vols (Paris 1855-1866) [the finest nineteenth-century biographical dictionary]

NBN: Naples, Biblioteca Nazionale

Nicolini, *Scritti*: Fausto Nicolini, *Gli Scritti e la fortuna di Pietro Giannone: ricerche bibliografiche* (Bari 1913)

Nicolini, *Scritti inediti*: Fausto Nicolini, *Scritti inediti di Fausto Niccolini su P.G.* (Naples 1985)

Occella, 'Ultimi dodici anni': Pio Occella, 'P.G. negli ultimi dodici anni della sua vita', in *Curiosità e ricerche di storia subalpine*, 3 (1879), 489-524, 661-692

ODCC: *Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church*, 3rd ed. (Oxford 1997)

ODNB: *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, 60 vols (Oxford 2004)

Opere di P..G.: ed. Bertelli and Ricuperati (Milan-Naples 1971)

Opere postume: Pietro Giannone, *Opere postume*, ed. Leonardo Panzini(?), 2 vols (Naples 1770, 1776)

Panzini, *Vita*: Leonardo Panzini, *Vita di Pietro Giannone* (Naples 1765)

P.G.: Pietro Giannone

Pastor: Ludwig von Pastor, *Geschichte der Päpste seit dem Ausgang des Mittelalters*, 16 vols (1886-1933), English trans. by E.F. Peeler, *The History of the Popes*, 40 vols (London 1938-1967)

P.G. e il suo tempo: *Atti del convegno di studi nel trecentenario della nascita*, Foggia-Ischitella, 22-24 October 1976, ed. Raffaele Ajello, 2 vols (Naples 1980) (continuous pagination)

RBN: Rome, Biblioteca Nazionale

Ricuperati, *L'esperienza*: Giuseppe Ricuperati, *L'esperienza civile e religiosa di Pietro Giannone* (Milan 1970); the 2nd ed. (Brescia 2017) is referred to herein

RSI: *Rivista storica italiana* (1884-)

TAS: Turin, Archivio di Stato

Triregno: G.'s *Triregno, Regno terreno, regno celeste, regno papale*, ed. Alfredo Parente, 3 vols (Bari 1940).

Vecchioni, *Vita*: Michele Maria Vecchioni, *Vita di P.G.*, 2nd ed. ('Palmira' 1765)

Vita, ed. de Martino: *Vita di P.G.*, ed. Giulio de Martino, 2 vols (Naples 1998)

Vita, ed. Nicolini: *Vita di P.G.*, ed. Fausto Nicolini (Naples 1905)

Vita, ed. Pierantoni: *Autobiografia di P.G.: i suoi tempi, libri quattro, appendice, note, documenti inediti*, ed. Augusto Pierantoni (Rome 1890)

The reader should note that Greeks are referred to by their correct form of name, not in the Latinized fashion adopted by the Renaissance. The fundamental classical encyclopaedia, Pauly-Wissowa, has been teaching us this since 1837!

Preface

This is the first English translation, with commentary and related documents, of the autobiography of Pietro Giannone (1676-1748). Regarded in general as the greatest Italian historian of the eighteenth century, his name remains little known outside Italy, and even there, only to a brilliant handful of specialists who have devoted their lives to him.

In Naples in 1723, Giannone published his masterwork, the *Civil History of the Kingdom of Naples*, which made him famous in Europe (an English translation appeared shortly after, 1729-1731, followed by a French translation in 1742, and then a German translation in 1758). In this work of profound erudition, Giannone showed how the papacy had encroached inexorably on the rights of secular princes. The reaction of the papal government was deadly, and he had to flee Naples for Vienna, where he presented his History to the Emperor Charles VI.

There, he wrote his masterpiece: the *Triregno*, an account of the three kingdoms—Earth, Heaven and the Papacy. This was confiscated by the Inquisition, and first published by Augusto Pierantoni in Rome in 1895.

His eleven years' sojourn in Vienna came to an end when the Austrians lost Naples to the Spaniards in 1734. Giannone thereupon moved to Venice, where he was lionized, but was arrested by the Inquisition the next year and expelled. He escaped across northern Italy, and took refuge first in Milan, then in Geneva. In order to fulfil his Easter dues, he was treacherously induced to enter Savoy, and arrested on 24 March 1736. He thereupon was held as a pawn in Savoy's negotiations with Rome for a Concordat.

He nevertheless wrote not only his autobiography (translated here), but also four other vast and important works: *Apologia de' teologi scolastici* (Apology for the Scholastic Theologians) *Istoria del pontificato di Gregorio Magno* (History of the Pontificate of Gregory the Great); *Discorsi sopra*

gli Annali di Tito Livio (Discourses on the Annals of Titus Livius); and *L'ape ingegnosa* (the Ingenious Bee), all recently published for the first time.

He also left a vast treasury of letters, his *Epistolario*. Those up to the time of his arrest were edited by Pantaleo Minervini. Important others were published by Leonardo Panzini, Fausto Nicolini, Sergio Bertelli, and Giuseppe Ricuperati. His letters from prison translated into English are in course of preparation for publication.

Giannone is a historian of great breadth and erudition, and a martyr of the Inquisition. His autobiography is an engrossing document, the recollections of an extraordinary life, but also the calvary of an intellectual. It is a masterwork in European intellectual history. The *Vita* was written in prison, the product of no printed source, only Giannone's incomparable memory.

The reader will note the evidence for the compassion towards Giannone shown by the translator. She joins in this the ranks of the sacred band of Giannonians, past and present.

The following chapters of translation with commentary and supporting documents are the fruit of twenty years' consorting with Giannone. It has required a thorough acquaintance with his *Istoria civile del regno di Napoli,* translated into English by James Ogilvie in two folio volumes totalling 1,600 pages; with his other great work, the *Triregno*, in Alfredo Parenti's edition in three volumes (1,160 pages), together with the works from prison, apart from the *Vita*, all only recently published: the *Discorsi* on Livy (812 pages), the *Istoria di Gregorio Magno* (740 pages), the *Apologia de' teologi scolastici* (770 pages), and the *L'ape ingegnosa* (653 pages), not to mention his *Epistolario* (collected correspondence) (1,177 pages), selections from his collected *Opere* (1235 pages), and Bertelli's collected documents, *Giannoniana* (592 pages). These are the basic primary sources.

Alongside these is the daunting secondary bibliography, in Italian, French, German, and English (the last, the least extensive), covering all aspects of eighteenth-century Europe, not least prosopography.

The work consists of the translation with commentary of the eleven chapters of the *Vita,* with a 'postscript' (Chapter Twelve) to bridge the gap between the end of the *Vita* and Giannone's death. The richness and complexity of his life and his contemporaneous world is now daunting

even to eighteenth-century experts. An outstanding feature of the *Vita*, indeed, is the way the author embeds his own life in a detailed account of contemporary European politics. The commentary illustrates that account, providing extensive explanation for the modern reader. The edition is unique, moreover, in fully utilizing the incredible richness of Giannone's unrelenting labours, even in prison, to complement the narrative of the *Vita*.

The commentary is given further context by appendices of 'ancillary' primary texts, translated so that the reader may employ autopsy. To disregard Giannone's own vital commentary on his *Vita* would be unthinkable. And few readers would have access—in any sense—to such a fundamental source as Bertelli's *Giannoniana*. Such sources have, therefore, also essentially provided the supplementary Chapter Twelve. It should be noted that such appendices of primary sources are commonly provided by Giannonian scholars, because they are so vivid, so scattered, and nothing rivals the insight gained from firsthand examination. The reader may also see documented the depths of inhumanity to which his persecutors descended.

The volume also includes the *Memoirs* of his son Giovanni, who shared much of his father's life, and a supplementary essay on Giannone's most important work. This is a most extensive account of Giannone's life and is entirely reliant on primary sources, none of which has ever before appeared in English translation. It is, indeed, the first substantial contribution on Giannone in English since his death almost three centuries ago.

R.T. Ridley

Acknowledgements

The major debt of the translator is to the scholarship of Sergio Bertelli (1928-2015), who published the impeccable modern edition of Giannone's *Vita*, on which this English translation is based. Bertelli's vast erudition is revealed also in the treasure of his book of documents, the *Giannoniana* (Milan-Naples 1959), an anthology gathered from archives far and wide. His article, 'Appunti e osservazioni',[1] has also been vital.

Among predecessors of Bertelli as editors of the *Vita*, one must mention Fausto Nicolini (Naples 1905), as well as his book *Gli scritti e la fortuna di Pietro Giannone* (Bari 1913).

The contributions of Bertelli's contemporary and colleague, Giuseppe Ricuperati, are brilliant, and have profoundly enriched the commentary. His inspiration, moreover, has galvanized the study of Giannone with the meticulous editions of Giannone's works from prison: *L'ape ingegnosa*, edited by Andrea Merlotti (Rome 1993), whose subsequent work has also been of great assistance; the *Apologia de' teologi scolastici* (Turin 2011), edited brilliantly from the complex manuscripts by Liliana Cecchetto; the *Istoria del pontificato di Gregorio Magno* (Turin 2011), a rich edition by Chiara Peyrani; and most recently the *Discorsi sopra gli Annali di Tito Livio* (Turin 2019), edited by Paul van Heck, of which the historiography of the first volume has been invaluable.

Among secondary historiographical sources, it has been a privilege to use the time-honoured book of Lino Marini, *Pietro Giannone e il giannonismo a Napoli nel Settecento* (Bari 1950). And impossible to overlook is the scholarship of Raffaele Ajello and Lia Mannarino.

Apart from the unparallelled anthology of Bertelli's *Giannoniana*, I am grateful to Pantaleo Minervini for his indispensable edition, despite its faults, of Giannone's *Epistolario* (Fasano 1983).

1 Published in *GSLI*, 36 (1959), 169-235.

The translator is deeply indebted not only to the encouragement of Giuseppe Ricuperati, but also that of Giulia di Rienzo, his student. Her generosity in providing from her own research perfect copies of vital letters of Giannone from the Turin State Archives has been unparallelled.

Giannone's eighteenth-century Italian was not always easy to untangle. The translator owes a very great debt also to the assistance of Professor Dino Bressan, whose time and expertise were given unstintingly.

Special thanks are owed to Roderick Foster, who generously allowed quotations from his splendid translation of Dante's *Divine Comedy* into iambic pentameter (not yet published).

The translator owes an incalculable debt to the staff and resources of the great Vatican Library, in which for many years she was privileged to work for at least one month of every year.

A tremendous debt is owed by the translator to the late Mrs Ingrid Barker, friend over many years, but more especially indefatigable typist, who for years converted the hand-written text of the translator to impeccable computer text. She thanks also her Dominguez siblings and their spouses, especially James and Suzanne, William and Elizabeth, Anne and Margaret and Jerry, for their support.

A special thanks is due to Courtney Quaintance of the BSR who recommended me to approach Open Book Publishers, and to Alessandra Tosi, an editor most authors can only dream of, such is her understanding and kindness, and to my copy editor, Adèle Kreager, who has worked untiringly with a keen eye. The readers provided reports of extraordinary understanding and generosity. They include John Robertson, who offered many detailed suggestions for improvement.

This work also relied greatly on the infinite technological skills and patience of my husband's student, now colleague, and our friend, Christopher Dart.

This translation has been inspired by the historian and classicist Ronald T. Ridley. At the University of Melbourne he taught an honours course on Historians and Autobiography (that is, historians and *their* autobiographies), in which his students studied, among others, the writings of Giannone, focusing on the *Vita.* For ten months, he put aside his own research, and employed his editorial skills, honed over a lifetime, on this text. His editorial assistance includes inexhaustible

research on Giannone's vast primary and secondary bibliography, and locating the rare portraits of Giannone's contemporaries. It is to my husband's erudition that I have always turned, notwithstanding his own most active life as a scholar. It is to him in gratitude and admiration, therefore, that I dedicate my labours. And to Conchita, Christina and Hilario Pensi.

To Giannone himself I pay infinite homage for his defying the tragedy of his fate and, as a consummate historian, bequeathing to us also this tragic account of his life.

Introduction

In the middle of the night on 14 March 1736, Pietro Giannone,[1] an Italian historian renowned in Europe for his *Istoria civile del regno di Napoli* (Civil History of the Kingdom of Naples, Naples 1723) and *Professione di fede* (Profession of Faith), published in Venice, and his son Giovanni were brutally roused from sleep and arrested by government spies and officials in Savoy, acting under orders from Charles III. G. was then imprisoned for twelve years until his death in 1748.[2] It was in the prison of Miolans (1736-1737) that he wrote his autobiography.

To allay the shock and misery of their arrest, G. and his son Giovanni attempted to study a poor copy of Livy's history of Rome. G. had requested also Pliny's *Natural History*, but received instead the *Letters* of Pliny the Younger. These works were found for him during the brief stay at Chambery after their arrest. G. used the Livy to calm and educate Giovanni, who had almost died earlier in the prison of Miolans, while G. tried at first to translate Livy's Latin into Italian, which was to inspire the vast study on Livy, the *Discorsi*.

Father and son had come from the haven of Geneva, where G. was also correcting the proofs of the French edition of the *Istoria civile*, and Giovanni was making a copy of what would have been G.'s masterpiece, the *Triregno*, the account of the three kingdoms: the Earthly, Heavenly and the Papal Kingdoms. In Geneva, G. was nearing the completion of the *Triregno*. In prison the writer's need for seclusion, however, was now replaced by the affliction of dislocation, the brutal silence to his petitions for deliverance, and not least no explanation for his imprisonment. He was aware that the manuscripts of the *Triregno,* despite Giovanni's copy,

1 Henceforth 'G.'

2 He was moved from Chambery to Miolans (1736-1737), to Porta del Po in Turin (1737-1738), to Ceva (1738-1744), and finally to the Citadel of Turin (1744-1748), where he died.

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could either be lost, or, if they survived, be surrendered to the Inquisition in order to destroy him. A description of it appears in the *Vita*.[3]

Prison in Miolans with Giovanni at his side, watched over by the benevolent commander Etienne Le Blanc, represented the least painful months (from 5 April 1736 to 26 September 1737) of G.'s long imprisonment. Le Blanc provided as generously as he was permitted for their needs with food, comfort, and especially paper and writing materials. He tended Giovanni personally during his near-fatal illness, and tended them also in the trauma of their arrest.[4]

With pen, paper, and time, although fearful of allowing himself such imprudence, G. then turned to his *Vita*. He had already in Miolans concentrated on preparing his notes from Livy in preparation for the *Discorsi*, without the inspiration from any other books, when he turned to writing his autobiography, in the summer of 1736. Its last entry was made in April 1741. It remains in every respect a masterpiece. It is essentially a recreation of the life taken from him, an eloquent and objective record of the injustice and cruelty of his persecutors, both popes and princes, who sought to extinguish it. It heralds the astonishing writings from prison and reflects the glory and labour of scholarship, as well as the compassion and no doubt encouragement of Le Blanc in Miolans and De Magistris and the chaplain in Ceva, and the endless, urgent battle of the prisoner to write and survive.

In that solitude there came to his aid his prodigious memory of the intensive study and reading which had characterized his whole life. Ricuperati emphasizes two 'keys' which relate to the prodigy and vigour of that memory. One was his labours on the *Acta eruditorum lipsiensium,* edited by Friedrich Otto Mencke and his son, Johann Burchard, which was placed on the *Index* successively from 1632 until 1764. G. wrote the most important Italian contributions. 'The second is his brief but intense sojourn in Geneva, as though a happy asylum after the betrayal of Venice... The meeting with enlightened pastors... is recounted as a rapport between serious human beings belonging to a unique "res publica literaria" based on profound tolerance'.[5] His extraordinary

3 *La vita di P.G.*, ed. Sergio Bertelli, 2 vols (Turin 1977), henceforth 'B.', pp. 208-216, 218-227 (chapter eight): below, pp. 376-384, 388-399

4 See Chapter Eleven: Appendix [3].

5 Ricuperati, intro. to *Apologia de' teologi scolastici*, p. xxiv.

memory gives the lie also to the charge of flagrant plagiarism.

He himself, towards the end, expressed with utmost clarity his motives: this was 'a full and faithful account of my life and all that has happened to me in the course of it, in order that all might be informed of its events and know how to discern the true reports from the false, with which Rome will have undoubtedly confused the minds of most people' (Chapter Eleven).

It seems to be a chronicle, written with a steady hand looking back, an objective account by a historian in the first person. Its recollections revere the privilege of learning and record the disastrous disruptions to the life of a scholar, the fatal link between scholarship and persecution, and, nevertheless, the benevolent assistance of noble friends. As a complement to the *Vita*, some of his correspondence was saved by his brother Carlo, and copied decades later by his son Giovanni, but G. was never to bequeath any literary legacy in the form of letters, as did, for example, famous contemporaries such as Apostolo Zeno.

Another, albeit secondary, reason for writing it, given such a life, so vast and yet so fragile, could be said to be: no books! Raffaele Girardi states that, in the end, in Miolans, it is inspired by 'tedium', 'horror', and 'fear'.[6] Sergio Bertelli, editor of the *Vita,* on the other hand, enjoins us not to forget that the *Vita* itself is

> the autobiographical message of an *esprit fort*, an erudite libertine who had long meditated on the works of Baruch Spinoza, as well as on the writings of [René] Descartes and [Pierre] Gassendi; who understood profoundly Lucretius' *De rerum natura*, Pliny, Seneca, and Galen; who deeply appreciated John Toland's *Letters to Serena* and *Christianity not Mysterious*; who was familiar with the polemics of a [Henry] Dodwell and a [John] Locke, and of a [Louis Ellies] Du Pin. Throughout his entire life he had remained true to his philosophical, moral and religious convictions—at least until the moment his Abjuration was wrung from him, twenty-four months after coming to the end of his *Vita*.[7]

The *Vita* is thus a work of tragedy written in the confines of a prison cell, recreated fortuitously as literature with classic restraint, and expressing the glory of learning. It depicts in detail from childhood the privilege of

6 Raffaele Girardi, 'La memoria dimezzata', in *Scrittura di se* (Naples 1994), pp. 57-84, p. 83: a profound and exhaustive analysis.

7 B., intro, p. viii.

study and the life of a scholar. The commentary of the translator records the sinister, inexorable persecution by the Roman Church and the ultimate triumph of the Inquisition, and the opportunist connivance of the Prince: both Emperor Charles VI and Charles Emanuel III of Savoy. The author wrote in the Preface, added in his darkest days:

> If illustrious and distinguished deeds, therefore, are not to be found in the account of my life, at least it will have this merit: that others, having it before them, may be put on guard and use it as a guide and companion when crossing such a cruel, tempestuous sea full of quicksand and dangerous rocks, on which one might so easily run foul and be wrecked. It may also be useful to read in the course of it how men often exhaust themselves in vain, useless studies, and waste precious hours in research on vain matters which are of no use, not enlightening us with a knowledge of the useful and necessary sciences. They serve, on the contrary, only to confuse men's minds with vain and abstruse questions, about which, after long exhausting themselves, they know much less than before they began investigating them.[8]

And in the eleventh chapter, G. wrote: 'My life is an image of death'.[9]

G.'s aim in writing the *Vita* was dependent on his being a *novus homo.* It recalls the heroic defence of two other writings, aroused by indignation, even self-justification: the brilliant sarcasm of the *Professione di fede*, inspired by the attack of the Jesuit Giuseppe Sanfelice, and also G.'s defence when Book Nine of the *Civil History* was impugned by a former friend, the priest Sebastiano Paoli.

Yet another inducement for writing the *Vita* must have been the image of the *Civil History*, famed in his own time, translated into English and French, and later into German.[10] It was read and esteemed by the next generation by such thinkers and writers as Voltaire, Gibbon, and Montesquieu. G. had written in his introduction:

> This History, which I undertake to write of the Kingdom of Naples,

8 Below, p. 30.

9 Below, p. 639.

10 It was translated into English (1729, 1731) by the extraordinary Captain James Ogilvie, and eventually into French in 1738, by Isaac Boys de Bochat and his son, Charles Giullaume. Later came also a German translation. (The first two volumes were translated by Otto Christian von Lohenschiold in 1755, not, it appears, from the original, but from the French. The last two volumes, published in Leipzig in 1770, were translated by Johann Friedrich le Bret from the original Italian.)

> which for many ages is to be the sad Theatre of War, shall not stun the Reader with the Noise of Battles nor the Clashing of Arms; much less is it designed for pleasing them with fine descriptions of its charming and delicious Places, with the Sweetness of its Climate, the Fertility of its Fields. Neither is it intended for amusing them with the Antiquity and Magnificence of the spacious and Stately Edifice of its Cities... This History shall treat altogether of Civil Affairs, and therefore, if I am not mistaken, it will be entirely new, wherein the Polity, Laws and Customs of so noble a Kingdom shall be treated of separately... We shall relate in a series of little less than Fifteen Centuries the various conditions and changes of its Civil Government, under so many Princes that have governed it... and how it vary'd by reason of the Ecclesiastical Polity and Statutes introduc'd into it; what Use and Authority the Roman Laws had in it, during the Empire, and how they afterwards declin'd, their being out of Date and Re-establishment, and the various Fortune of the many other laws introduc'd afterwards by the Different Nations; the Academies, Tribunals, Magistrates, Lawyers, Signories, Offices and Orders; in short, of all that belongs to the Form of its Government, as well as the Political and Temporal, as Ecclesiastical and Spiritual...[11]

On arriving in Vienna, G. had begun writing in haste an eloquent defence of it entitled *Apologia dell'istoria civile di Napoli*. Even though the *Civil History* rendered G. immediately anathema to the Church, it espoused the ideal of his erudite forbears, namely the independent power of the State and its laws, defined at that time as 'jurisdictionalism'. This concept embodied the attempt, especially in Naples, to affirm that authority of laic government over that of the Church with its ecclesiastical rights and privileges, which for centuries had suppressed the secular form of government. The temporal power of the pope was exercised, for example, in religious excommunication (as in G.'s case), when faced with opposition, and the consequent political corruption aimed at gaining papal privileges rendered any attempt at reform virtually ineffective. In such a context, G.'s great *Civil History* 'may be considered also today a monument in opposition to the Church as a temporal power, an account written by the author with calm, without wrath, invective or controversy'.[12]

G. writes the *Vita,* moreover, with the ideals of a historian. He

11 *Civil History*, intro., trans. Captain James Ogilvie (London 1729), 1, p. 1.

12 Giuseppe de Matteis, 'Attualità di P.G.', in *Convegno nazionale sulla formazione umana e culturale di P.G.* (Foggia 2007), p. 6.

attempts to understand the past and the moral lessons to be drawn from it. He is, at the same time, prosecuting attorney, judge, and jury, yet he understands that there are no easy answers. He is also a writer whose grief in imprisonment would have been fatal had he been forbidden to write. He had written the *Vita* so quickly that, in some eighteen months he wrote also a great part of the *Discorsi sopra gli Annali di Tito Livio*.

G. writes his *Vita* also as a compelling document of friendship. Before and after the glory and misery following the publication of the *Civil History*, he records the constant assistance of steadfast friends, which bejewels the *Vita*, and in many cases saved his life. It is a solace also to the reader to follow the names: after the friends made during G.'s early years in Naples,[13] it was the unique Francesco Mela,[14] however, to whom G. attested his greatest gratitude, not only for imbuing the text of the *Istoria civile* with Mela's literary eloquence. It was to him, perhaps a relative, that G. entrusted his family when forced to leave Naples after the dangerous hostility aroused against him by the Church and its ecclesiastics on the publication of the *Istoria civile*. Muzio di Maio facilitated G.'s departure from Naples; Nicolo Fraggianni was unparalleled in his appreciation of G., and in his defence and protection of both father and son;[15] his brother Saverio offered G. hospitality and his own company on the journey to Vienna; the gentleman Stefano Bensano invited G. to share his carriage en route to Vienna.

G.'s immediate acceptance, indeed welcome, in Vienna, among the erudite persons associated with the great Palatine Library, who became his close friends, was due to the activity of a special friend in Naples, the brilliant Nicolo Cirillo, who had written to them recommending G.

> I must admit to being most obliged to Sig. Cirillo and the auditor-general [his Neapolitan friend, Muzio di Maio] for the endless favours which I receive from Cav. Garelli and Sig. Riccardi... The first visit which I made was to Sig. Garelli, to whom I took the books [the *Civil History*], and I cannot tell you how cordially I was received. He wanted to be informed about everything, and he much enjoyed my verification of the fraudulence of the gossip written from there... The next day after lunch I took him the books... The very next morning he did me the honour of

13 Below, pp. 38-39, 56, 73, 76.
14 Below, Chapter Four, n.52.
15 See the *Memorie* of Giovanni, below.

> coming himself to my place and, delighted perhaps with the dedicatory letter and the little which he had been able to read, he embraced me…[16]

G. records at length the good fortune of having been adopted into the loving family of his friend Jacob Ernst von Ploikner. G. depended on Capasso's reactions also for his writings sent to him from Vienna. He advised G. not to publish the *Professione di fede*; it was finally published, but without G.'s consent or knowledge. Pietro Contegna, radically anti-curialist and a friend, of all G.'s works greatly admired the *Professione*. Another noble friend was Biagio Garofalo, an erudite antiquarian, who defended the *Professione* in writing, as did the tragic Costantino Grimaldi. Aulisio revised the first three books. Friends such as Vincenzo d'Ippolito were also for a long time invaluably loyal and helpful. G.'s character is revealed by the way, in retrospect, he describes his friends. Among them were 'the beloved Forlosia', Nicola Forlosia, librarian of the Palatine Library; Gabriele Longobardi, personal doctor to the emperor and 'my very loving friend', who tended also to G.'s health; and 'the learned, wise and kind' Bernardo Lama, one-time professor of Greek and Philosophy at the University of Turin. G.'s reviews in the famous *Acta eruditorum lipsiensium* created his friendship with the Menckes: Johann Burchard and Friedrich Otto, father and son, both of them historians and scholars. Friedrich Otto published also four books of poetry in his brief life. The copies of the books reviewed by G. for the *Acta* enriched his own library and all his writings. Their illustrious and loving friendship gave him a very special sense of security.[17]

In Venice, G. writes of also having been celebrated as the renowned author of the *Civil History*. As such, he relates the kindness of the generous senator Angelo Pisani, who housed him in an apartment in his own palace, thus obviously steadying G. after the grief of finding his hopes of returning to Naples dashed. There also G. records the privilege and reassurance of his friendship of Prince Alessandro Trivulzio. It is also in Venice that we read of how the unique Francesco Mela united father and son. After the shock of G.'s eviction from

16 From Vienna, 12 June 1723: *Epist*., p. 41. The indubitably rich correspondence between G. and Cirillo appears to be the major loss in the destruction of the treasures of the Naples Archives when they were burnt by the retreating Germans in 1943.

17 See Panzini, *Vita*, pp. 52-53, 60, 64, 67, 69-76 for letters between them.

Venice, sanctuary was found for him in Modena, where he remained for six weeks on a farm in the estates of Angelo Pisani. In Geneva, Jacob Vernet resolved for G. his difficulties with the publisher Marc-Michel Bousquet, and provided another haven for G. and Giovanni to continue their writing and copying. All of G.'s writings, especially the *Vita,* testify to his extraordinary intelligence, which must have inspired such friendship recorded obliquely but constantly as he writes. And after the Abjuration, G.'s situation in the prison of Ceva was relieved for at least half its duration by the noble commander Count Giuseppe Amadeo De Magistris; as was the wretchedness of the Citadel in Turin by the intervention of the governor, Ercole Tommaso Marchese Roero di Cortanze, and the English Resident, Arthur de Villettes, who brought G. back to the world of books.

Kindness to others was one of G.'s outstanding characteristics. On Aulisio's death in 1717, G. and the former's nephew Nicolo Ferrara Aulisio undertook, as mentioned, the ordering and publication of Aulisio's papers, an enormous task. Nicolo, however, was accused of having murdered his uncle. G. undertook the case and completely vindicated his innocence. In gratitude he presented G. with Aulisio's library and valuable manuscripts.[18] On Alessandro Riccardi's death in 1725, G. provided for his family. On Gaetano Argento's death in 1730 it appeared that he had made no provision for his young wife, Costanza, from whom he was estranged. In Vienna, however, G. interceded for her in her plight and succeeded in having her granted 1,000 scudi per annum, the same amount as G.'s own pension.[19]

G. begins the *Vita* thus: 'I was born of honest parents on 7 May 1676 in the region of Mt Gargano in Puglia de' Dauni called Ischitella'.[20] We must note therefore that G.'s mother and father were not aristocratic.

18 *Opere di P.G.,* pp. 1128-1129: letter to his brother Carlo, 29 January 1724; *Giannoniana,* p. 272 (nos 363, 364).

19 None of these episodes is mentioned in the *Vita*, presumably out of G.'s modesty.

20 G. makes no mention of the inevitable hardships suffered by Ischitella in his childhood which must have affected his family. In 1680, there was a drought lasting longer than seven months. In 1683, when he was seven, snow fell to a depth of two and a half metres. There was a slaughter of birds because the ice prevented their flight. In 1696, because of another devastating drought, all crops failed and Ischitella suffered 'the grief of no water and no grass' (Teresa Maria Rauzino, 'Ischitella patria del Giannone', in *Convegno nazionale sulla formazione umana e culturale di P.G.* (Foggia 2007), p. 138).

Both had taken vows in minor religious orders. His father, Scipione (1646-1725), in youth had been a cleric, but had returned to secular life as a pharmacist. This profession did not, however, yield any wealth. From 1715 he lived with G. in Naples. G.'s mother, Lucrezia Micaglia (1653-1709), was buried in S. Maria Maggiore, where nuns of the Third Order of St Francis were interred. The devotion of such parents to their precious first-born, who almost died in late childhood, would explain. G.'s explicit religious convictions.

G.'s parents understood that education in a poor family was assured for children destined for the Church: hence G. was taught Scholastic philosophy. He embarked, therefore, on his studies in Naples as a seminarian, although he makes no mention of it in the *Vita*. The small allowance of Carlo Sabatelli, uncle of G.'s mother, who lived with the family, was crucial for G.'s education in Naples. The loving, detailed letter written by G. to this uncle[21] illustrates not only his affection, but also his already thorough education.

Giannone's Naples

At the age of eighteen, G. arrived in Naples in 1694 to study Law. For centuries the kingdom of Naples was considered a feudal possession of Rome. Papal interference was normal, even in the military sense. Within the kingdom was a Church of vast wealth, which over hundreds of years had attained a position of absolute privilege. Spiritual reform of the Church was impossible because of its material possessions and economic power. Two thirds of all arable land in the kingdom were in the possession of the Church.[22]

The 'intellectual class' was very prominent in Naples, and was, in fact, a forensic class (engaged in legal scholarship and judicial practice). The activity of the judiciary could be explained by the great mass of laws from the Byzantine, Lombard, Norman, and Svevian periods which had never been revoked, or codified. Among them there was material to defend any case.

Intellectuals and anti-curialists such as Giuseppe Valletta (1636-

21 Chapter Two, Appendix [1].

22 Lino Marini, *P.G. e il giannonismo a Napoli* (Bari 1950), p. 165.

1714), philosopher and scholar of ancient Persia; Gregorio Caloprese (1650-1715), renowned Cartesian philosopher; the famous physician Luc'Antonio Porzio (1634-1723); and Serafino Biscardi (1643-1711), celebrated lawyer and professor of G.'s friend, Gaetano Argento, strove successfully in 1693-1694 to prevent the establishment in Naples of the Inquisition. These intellectuals and others protested against the disastrous trials of atheists from 1686 down to the early 1700s. G.'s valiant and tragic friend Costantino Grimaldi wrote an account of it in one of his books, most of which Rome and the viceroy Cardinal Althann succeeded finally in destroying. In G.'s youth in the reign of Joseph I (1707-1711), and briefly in the reign of Charles VI, there was a vibrant awareness of jurisdictional matters.

The *Giornale de' Litterati*, inaugurated in Venice in 1710, generated, nevertheless, an exchange of new ideas. It circulated through Naples, France, Holland and Germany. Travelling scholars also visited Naples, among them Jean Mabillon, Gilbert Burnet, Anthony Shaftesbury, and Montesquieu. The great libraries of Giuseppe Valletta and the Sant'Angelo al Nido, moreover, were rich, vast sources for the great works of the 'civil' histories of Machiavelli, Guicciardini, Paolo Sarpi, Marc'Antonio de Dominis, Jacques-Auguste de Thou, Claude Fleury, Louis Ellies Dupin, and also Protestant authors such as Gilbert Burnet, Huig de Groot (Grotius), William Cave, and Pierre Bayle.

The dispute over Comacchio had been a *cause célèbre* in Naples in relations between Church and State. Comacchio was situated in the province of Ferrara in the centre of the lagoons of Valli di Comacchio. Given its position, it was once an important fortress. In 1299, it became part of the House of Este, but in 1597 was claimed by Clement VIII as a vacant fief. It was then reclaimed as an Imperial possession. Between 1708 and 1712, Ludovico Antonio Muratori (1672-1750), priest and renowned archivist, became the defender of the Imperial rights and those of the House of Este against Rome. G. was part of the circle of its celebrated defenders: Gaetano Argento, Alessandro Riccardi, and Costantino Grimaldi, who together wrote the powerful defence of secular authority: *De re beneficaria dissertationes tres* (Naples 1707). All three were illustrious scholars and close associates of G. The theme of benefices underlay all G.'s efforts at reform.

The Formation of Giannone

On G.'s arrival in Naples, perhaps the clearest impression narrated to us is the sense of security imparted by the Spanish Quietist Antonio Torres (1643-1711), priest of the Oratorian Order. He preached 'more to the mind than to the ear'.[23] Torres was of the ancient Spanish aristocracy, and was distinguished from other prelates by his education in patristic ecclesiastical history and that of Protestantism.[24] He had been accused of Quietism by the Roman Curia, then rehabilitated, but remained suspect. G.'s respect for him was shared by Vico and contemporaries. In G.'s *Professione di fede*, he observes to the priest Sanfelice that Torres was 'celebrated for doctrine and sanctity of customs, and I can tell you sincerely that one was aware of a morality very different from yours'.

It was Giovanni Spinelli, 'learned in all the sciences, who at his advanced age was studying Roman jurisprudence, who raised me from the mud and set me on the right path'.[25] Spinelli introduced G. to Domenico Aulisio, whose influence on G. as teacher, mentor, and friend was to remain unique. Through him, G. entered the world of jurisdictionalism and Protestant scholarship. Aulisio, who inspired also G.'s studies on religion, was among the first to espouse the writings of Baruch Spinoza. As a tribute to Aulisio, G. became involved in the immense labour of organizing his unpublished manuscripts left in note-form. He was assisted by Aulisio's nephew, Nicolo Ferrara Aulisio. The work, under the nephew's name, in two volumes, was entitled *Le scuole sacre ove s'ha l'origine mirabile* (Naples 1723). G. did not always share Aulisio's ideas or his developing in a negative way Spinoza's contrast between philosophy and theology. *Le scuole sacre* could be considered, in fact, a rejection of Spinoza's *Tractatus.*

G. also acknowledges the remarkable friendship of Filippo de Angelis, who led G. not only to poetry and literature and the study of philosophy, but also to the histories of Italy. He used his friendship with Gaetano Argento to have G. enter Argento's academy of young graduates. As G. recalled, 'The change was inestimably beneficial for me'.[26] Like G.,

23 Tommaso Sergio, *Della vita di Antonio Torres preposito generale della congregazione de' Pii Operai* (Rome 1737).
24 Ricuperati, *L'esperienza,* pp. 47-49.
25 Below, Chapter Two, p. 38.
26 Below, Chapter Three, p. 76.

Argento was a *novus homo*, and of fundamental significance to G., not only for his teaching and erudition, but also for his rich library, from which he lent books to students. Argento and his books were a major inspiration for the *Istoria civile*. From Serafino Biscardi came Argento, and from Argento came Giannone. All were major exponents of Neapolitan legal thought, and almost all jurists who proposed reform were anti-curialists.[27]

G. as a youth studied in Giuseppe Valletta's great library, one of the many libraries which were to instill in G.'s prodigious memory the scholarship which enabled him to continue his vast labours in the twelve years of his imprisonment, especially in the prison of Ceva, where he wrote four vast, learned works, although granted only a few books, on which he based his prodigious labours.

One of his predecessors was Giambattista Vico (1668-1744). He was eight years older than G. They both attended the celebrated lectures given in the palace of the cultured viceroy, the duke of Medina Coeli. Both wrote autobiographies. There seems however, to have been no contact between them. G. described Vico's writing as 'insipid and Trasonic' (arrogant).[28] Of his precursors, however, G. revered Francesco D'Andrea (1625-1698). Bertelli observes that he 'opened the minds of the jurists of southern Italy to the disputes and differences between civil laws and customs'.[29] G. termed his work *Disputatio an fratres in feuda nostri regni succedent* (Naples 1694) 'stupendous'. D'Andrea was always a source of inspiration to G. From him he understood how jurisdictionalism in practice could not be separated from history and philosophy. It was part, above all, of the political interests in the functions of the jurist, not only in reference to jurisprudence, but as a member of civil life.[30] His legacy to such a student was his eloquent book *Avvertimenti ai nipoti* (advice to nephews),[31] in which he wrote against Aristotle and Scholastic philosophy. Another predecessor was Leonardo di Capua (1617-1695), a defender of Descartes. He wrote his famous *Pareri* (Naples 1681) on the uncertainty of medicine; he also questioned even the authority of Aristotle.

27 Marini, *P.G. e il giannonismo a Napoli* (Bari 1950), pp. 24-25.
28 G. to Carlo, 30 July 1729: *Epist*., p. 550.
29 *Opere di P.G.*, ed. Bertelli and Ricuperati: Bertelli, intro. to *Istoria civile*, p. 350.
30 Ricuperati, *L'esperienza*, p. 147.
31 In Nino Cortese, *I ricordi di un avvocato napoletano del Seicento* (Naples 1923).

The *Istoria civile del regno di Napoli*[32]

Ludovico Muratori had invited G. to collaborate in his ground-breaking *Rerum italicarum scriptores*, but G. had declined.[33] His mind was set on unravelling and understanding the origin of that independent power in the Kingdom, that of the Roman Church. G., moreover, was by nature, like his fellow-Neapolitan scholars, not an archival scholar: his sources came from works already published. He seems to have read *Dell'istoria della sua patria* (Naples 1572), by Angelo di Costanzo (1507-1591), in which the author writes of intending to study the Lombards, 'but had lost hope, being so oppressed by the darkness of antiquity… and having no other source than Erchampert'.[34]

G. was already dedicated, moreover, to clarifying and illustrating in the *Istoria civile* how the eastern and western empire had been organized by Constantine, who had divided the empire into two parts. The East had seen the emergence of five patriarchates: Antioch, Alexandria, Kaisareia, and then Constantinople, which had replaced Herakleia. His research was directed to defining the dividing-line between the Empire and the Church. It was inspired by G.'s insistence as a lawyer that Roman law could not be studied without a thorough knowledge of Roman history.

> I was all the more urged to do this by the example of the Englishman Arthur Duck [1580-1648], whose precious book *De usu et auctoritate iuris civilis Romanorum* [Use and Authority of Roman Civil Law, London 1653], then very scarce and little known in Naples, had shown me how to do in the kingdom of Naples what he had done precisely in the kingdom of Great Britain.[35]

In his recollections, G. turned naturally to his *Istoria civile*, published when he was aged fifty-six, in the editing of which he was assisted by his friends. It would have been a triumph in every sense if the *Istoria civile* had appeared during the vice-regency (1696-1710) of the duke of

32 We have already noted the part played by the *Civil History* as a stimulus to the *Vita*.
33 G. to Carlo, 20 November 1723, quoted by Bertelli (B., p. 408) (not in the *Epistolario*).
34 *Istoria della sua patria*, preface, quoted by Bertelli, *Opere di P.G.*, p. 358. Erchempert was a monk at Monte Cassino in the late ninth century, author of *Istoryola Langobardorum Beneventi degentium* (Little History of the Lombards Staying at Benevento), now edited and translated by Luigi Berto (London 2021).
35 Below, Chapter Three, p. 90.

Medina, count Luis Francisco de la Cerda, renowned in G.'s memory for the celebrated lectures held in his palace. There G. was able to meet other intellectuals, including Alessandro Riccardi and Costantino Grimaldi, and his closest friends Nicola Capasso and Nicola Cirillo.

G. studied for, and wrote, his *Istoria civile* in the reign of Emperor Joseph I (1705-1711), and under Joseph's viceroy Lorenz Wierich von Daun (1669-1741), who governed Naples 1707-1708 and again 1713-1719. Joseph ordered Daun, a fearless anti-curialist, to be attentive to ecclesiastical obstruction, and he was. The origins of the *Istoria civile*, G. seems to imply, went back to discussions among fellow-students at Argento's Academy. Bertelli observes that 'it would have been easier [than writing the *Istoria civile*] simply to oppose the ecclesiastics' possession of Naples as a feud of the Church. In that matter the Church stood on weaker ground and could not have fought back with the political weapons of the Index or the excommunication of magistrates or authors contesting benefices'.[36]

The six years' reign of the reformist Emperor Joseph I (1705-1711) was too brief. His brother Charles VI was dedicated to his own programme, based on the Pragmatic Sanction, to ensure that eventually the Imperial crown would pass to his daughter Maria Theresia. This would have averted another disastrous war of succession, but the acceptance of the Pragmatic Sanction by Benedict XIII in 1725 effected a reversal of Joseph's nascent reformist policy. Efforts were now made to redress the hostility between Vienna and Rome, given Rome's acceptance of the Pragmatic Sanction.

In 1722, one year before the publication of the *Istoria civile*, a new viceroy arrived: Cardinal Friedrich Michael Althann. He had instructions to pacify and placate Rome. His vice-regency (1722-1728) became ever more repressive and aligned to the interests of Rome.

The *Istoria civile* was published, moreover, eleven years after the heated jurisdictional debates over reform. G. was a *homo novus*, as were Argento, Aulisio, Capasso, Francesco D'Andrea, and Muratori. Unlike the last, however, whose patron remained the duke of Modena after his celebrated defence of Comacchio, G. had no powerful aristocratic patron who could protect him from papal oppression and ambitious officials

36 Bertelli, intro. to the *Istoria civile,* in *Opere di P.G.*, p. 353.

striving for ecclesiastical preferment for their sons or relatives.

Despite its tragic intensity, the *Vita* was to become imbued with recollections of erudition acquired in the richest libraries in Europe and through the extraordinary good fortune of steadfast friends. It could be interpreted as a paean of pride and praise, and acknowledgement of the assistance of friends in acquiring that learning for a vast life of writing and ultimately for G.'s survival as a historian. The happiest assurance of the glory of the *Istoria civile* must have come from dedicated friends in Naples. Capasso read over all forty books.

During his studies, when writing the majestic *Istoria civile*, G. had taken a mistress, Angela Castelli, by whom he had two children: Giovanni (born March 1715) and Fortunata (born November 1721). Angela and Fortunata were placed in the convent of Sant'Antonello fuori Porta San Gennaro. Angela became a nun in 1736 and an abbess in 1745. Fortunata perhaps went to live with Giovanni on his return from life as a soldier. It was to Francesco Mela that G. appealed also for assistance with Giovanni, rejected and effectively a vagrant in Naples. Mela united father and son in Venice, saved Giovanni from his brutal uncle, and put them back in epistolary contact in Ceva. He then educated Giovanni sufficiently to enable him to become G.'s copyist for his masterwork, the *Triregno*. By uniting father and son, Mela also delivered Giovanni from his inhumane uncle Carlo, G.'s brother, who was plotting to become G.'s sole heir. Through the entire twelve years of G.'s imprisonment, Mela cared for the two women in the convent, who had also been left without financial support by Carlo.

The *Vita* also testifies to the corruption of political life. Connivance with the Church was common by the most prominent Imperial officials, who strove for the ultimate success of ecclesiastical honours for themselves or their relatives. It is illustrated even by G.'s respected friend, the viceroy of Naples, Aloys Thomas Raimund von Harrach. He was to plead even greater unrest in Naples if G. were to be appointed there to any post.[37] He also was hoping for ecclesiastical honours for his son. More terrible was the refusal by both Marquis José Joaquin de Montealegre, secretary of state of the Kingdom of the Two Sicilies, and Bernardo Tanucci (1698-1783) not to allow G. to return to retirement in

37 Below, Chapter Seven, Appendix [87].

Naples, a refusal which could have amounted to a virtual death sentence. These two shared power in Naples after the dismissal of Benavides y Aragon, count of Santesteban (1682-after 1738), the majordomo who had dominated the king from 1734. Tanucci later bowed to the power of the notorious 'Padre Pepe' at court to prevent G.'s son Giovanni being appointed, on his return from the battlefield, to the Household Guard.[38]

Inherent in the corruption of the Imperial court in Vienna were the machinations of the secretary of state the marquis of Rialp and his colleague the chancellor Philipp Ludwig von Sinzendorf, both of whom sought cardinalates or benefices for relatives. Their appointment of G., Rome's feared enemy, to any post, would have wrecked any such hope. In 1725, Comacchio was, in fact, given back to the pope in return for his recognition of the Pragmatic Sanction of the emperor, Charles VI. The rank of cardinal was then conferred on Sinzendorf's son. Rialp and Sinzendorf, despite the indignation of the Collateral Council, also collaborated relentlessly in abolishing Sicily's Court of the Monarchy, on which G. wrote much in the *Vita*.[39] It had been instituted by Philip II in 1579, granting kings of Sicily, as representatives of the Holy See, supreme ecclesiastical powers such as the granting of benefices. On 20 February 1725, Clement XI suppressed this court with his ruling *Romanorum Pontifex.* G.'s dispassionate recollection of it reflects not even a trace of despair. In such a situation, he realized the uselessness of petitioning the Imperial court for appointments, either in Vienna or Naples.

The *Vita,* written in the prison of Miolans, records how G.'s study of Christianity embraced the famous works of scholars which remain unforgettable to him as he writes. G.'s circle of learned friends in Vienna had deepened and matured his appreciation of such sources. G. long reflected on the crisis in religion after Spinoza, and he had always been an indefatigable reader of heterodox texts. In the *Vita* he recalls with effortless accuracy such demystifying writers as Thomas Hobbes, Pierre Gassendi, René Descartes, John Locke, Richard Simon, and Pierre Bayle. In Prince Eugene's rich library of 15,000 volumes was a French translation of Spinoza's *Tractatus* and the posthumous *Ethics.* It was probably there also that G. first read the influential books of the famous Deist John Toland (1670-1722), not least his *Christianity not Mysterious*

38 See Giovanni's *Memorie* (below).
39 Below, Chapter Six, p. 238.

(1696). Toland had a rich and learned life, although in and out of favour with the great. 'He died in poverty in the midst of his books with a pen in his hand'.[40] G.'s *Vita* reveals his vast knowledge of the entire erudite Catholic culture and, above all, the Protestant.[41]

The depiction in the *Vita* of rich and prolonged research, given his extraordinary memory, is reflected in the four vast works written in the prison of Ceva, thanks to the humane compassion of the commander, Count Giuseppe Amedeo De Magistris. Despite repeated, detailed requests in petitions to Turin, for particular books, they were not given; what G. did eventually receive were Patristic texts. These became the main texts for his works from prison. Either De Magistris or the Capuchins of the fort of Ceva provided G. with the longed-for Pliny's *Natural History*. In the Citadel of Turin, thanks, no doubt, to the intercession of the governor, Ercole Tommaso Marquis Roero di Cortanze, G. was permitted to borrow books from the Royal Library and the more modern collection of the generous English Resident (ambassador), Arthur de Villettes.

In the last pages of the *Vita*, as in Greek tragedies, G.'s fate, his Abjuration, is enacted off-stage. During six months of harsh imprisonment the prisoner had refused to abjure the sacred life of the scholar. The final despair of his acceptance may have been motivated by self-preservation: no books, no exercise, and worst of all, no friends. It may have been the deception of his inquisitor, the priest Prever, who perhaps assured him that he would be released. It may have been the memory of Jacques-Auguste de Thou, who twice abjured to obtain freedom.

It may again be emphasized that the *Vita* is a chronicle, not an apology. We are informed of events, but omitted are any personal reactions. G. began writing his *Vita* in the summer of 1736. It was finished in January 1737, in only five months. He refers to falling ill that month, and again in March. In September 1737, he and Giovanni were brutally parted forever, without even an embrace of farewell. Still more striking is the absence of any personal comment on G.'s traumatic separation from the mother of his children, with Giovanni aged no more than nine, and Fortunata still an infant. Omitted also, for example, is Althann's oppression, not least in rejecting G.'s being celebrated and acknowledged as 'Lawyer of the City', and Althann's banning of the *Istoria civile* as contrary to

40 *EB*, 11th ed., 26, p. 1049.

41 Lia Mannarino, *Le mille favole degli antichi* (Florence 1998), p. 176.

good custom or morals. The *Vita* omits any reaction to his Abjuration. Prever's inhuman observation in his 'eulogy' that G. understood how it would not grant him freedom was repeated in the sorrowful *Memorie* of Giovanni.

G.'s style of writing is eloquent and spare. The text of the *Vita* in Betelli's edition is in no way idiosyncratic or dialectical. He may have retained Neapolitan elements in his speech, but as an international lawyer, his Italian had to be standard.

Ronald T. Ridley offers the following reassurance:

Historians well understand the true, deeper significance of Giannone's life. Authoritarian regimes have enormous powers to silence and even obliterate, the person and writings of those of whom they disapprove. As a general rule, however, their efforts are totally unavailing. The person of Giannone, and his voluminous writings, notably this riveting text which is his *Vita*, are today more celebrated than even in his own lifetime, and his four great works from prison, for example, apart from the *Vita*, have all been published for the first time, between 1993 and 2011! This is a major reason why historians, amid all the horrors, have some reason for optimism.

Modern Scholarship on Giannone

The modern scholarship on Giannone is very rich.[42] It begins with the anonymous biography of G. written in his lifetime by Michele Maria Vecchioni (born 1736), *Vita di Pietro Giannone scritta da Signor N.N.*

42 The scholarship of the early and mid-twentieth century on G. was, in general, dismissive. Guido de Ruggiero considered that the *Istoria civile* was more the work of a lawyer than a historian, and that the word *civile* should be changed to *giuridica*: *Il pensiero politico meridionale* (Bari 1921), p. 25; Bertelli, in *Opere di P.G.*, p. xxxiii. Rome's apologists, Bonacci and Caristia, attacked G. vehemently over his 'plagiarism', for copying whole pages of another scholar's work, often without reference to it. They never explained that G.'s conclusions and comments on the passage were his own. Such a defect seems to have remained for his enemies a worse crime than his denial of the immortality of the soul and rejection of Original Sin, and therefore Hell and Purgatory. The last fifty years, however, have placed G. in his true, heroic context, as revealed in the following commentary throughout the *Vita* on the views of Bertelli, Ricuperati, Ajello, Marini, Merlotti, Mannarino, and others. And the eighteenth-century copyists of the remaining fragments of the *Triregno*, and the recent editors of the four vast works from prison have conferred on G. his true place in both history and literature

giurisconsulto napoletano (Naples 1765). Vecchioni went on to write his own diatribe against the 'claimed dominion of the Holy See over the Kingdom of Naples', 2 vols (Naples 1788-1789).

Delle opere postume di Pietro Giannone giurisconsulto ed avvocato napoletano tomo secondo contenente alcune sue opere finora inedite precedute dalla vita del medesimo autore (Lausanne 1760) contains the standard *Vita di Pietro Giannone* by Leonardo Panzini.[43]

Giuseppe Ferrari (1811-1876), the political philosopher and parliamentarian, gave a series of public lectures on Giannone in Milan, Ferrari's place of birth, in 1863, published as: *La mente di Pietro Giannone* (Milan 1868).

Pio Occella (1839-?), 'Pietro Giannone negli ultimi dodici anni della sua vita', *Curiosità e ricerche di storia subalpina*, 3 (1879), is the first modern study of G.'s years of imprisonment (1736-1748).

The *editio princeps* of G.'s *Vita* by Augusto Pierantoni (1840-1911) appeared in 1890: *LÁutobiografia di Pietro Giannone. I suoi tempi. La sua prigionia, appendice, note e documenti inediti* (Rome 1890). He also published for the first time other vital primary sources, all marred by a lack of revision: *Lo sfratto di P. Giannone da Venezia. Auto-narrazione, con prefazione e documenti inediti* (Rome 1892). This was a retitled version of G.'s original *Ragguaglio dell'improviso e violente ratto praticato in Venezia all'ístigazione de' Gesuiti e della corte di Roma nella persona dell'avvocato Pietro Giannone*. The *Ragguaglio* has now been edited by Sergio Bertelli, in *Opere di P.G.*, ed. Bertelli and Ricuperati (Naples 1971), pp. 505-554, and by Anne Denis from a text found in the private library of the Budé family: 'Un testo inedito di Pietro Giannone, a cura di Anne Denis', *Archivio storico italiano* 153 (1995), 709-761; a translation is included in Chapter Ten, Appendix. This and other precious manuscripts and letters (those of G. and Cirillo, for example) were destroyed with part of the Naples State Archives in 1943 by the retreating Germans.[44]

Another edition by Fausto Nicolini (1879-1965) of G.'s *Vita* appeared in 1905: *Vita di Pietro Giannone, scritta da lui medesimo, per la prima volta integralmente pubblicata con note, appendice ed un copioso indice* (Naples 1905). This was a notably precocious work by the legendary Neapolitan

43 It is incredible that no dates seem to be available for Panzini.

44 Nicolini, *Scritti inediti*, p. 25. On the destruction by the Germans in 1943 of the archives of Naples, see 'The *Triregno* and its Fate' (below).

scholar. He followed it with *Gli scritti e la fortuna di Pietro Giannone. Ricerche bibliografiche* (Bari 1913), and *La vita civile letteraria e religiosa alla fine del Seicento* (Naples 1929), again essential context.

Arturo Carlo Jemolo (1891-1981), *Stato e chiesa negli scrittori politici italiani del '600 e del '700* (Turin 1914) placed G. in his essential context. Jemolo was a noted specialist on Church and State.

Further vital background was provided by Michelangelo Schipa (1854-1939), a signatory of Croce's anti-Fascist manifesto—*Il regno di Napoli al tempo di Carlo Borbone* (Milan 1923)—and the Viennese Heinrich Benedikt (1886-1981), who migrated to England in 1939, *Das Königreich Neapel unter Kaizer Karl VI* (Vienna-Leipzig 1927), as well as Antonio Corsano, *Il pensiero religioso italiano* (Bari 1937).

The *Triregno* was finally published in a reliable edition in 1940 by Alfredo Parente (1905-1985), who worked for half a century as director of the Società Napoletana per la Storia Patria: *Il Triregno*, 3 vols (Bari 1940).

Guido de Ruggiero (1888-1948), anti-Fascist, member of the Resistance, historian of philosophy, professor at Rome from 1925, founder of the Action Party, provided further vital context: *Il pensiero politico meridionale nei secoli XVIII e XIX* (Bari 1954).

Franco Venturi (1914-1994), another member of the Resistance (he had signed the anti-Fascist manifesto), and historian of the Enlightenment, wrote on G. in *Settecento Riformatore. Vol. I: Da Muratori a Beccaria* (Turin 1969).

To Lino Marini (1924-2005), historian of Italy, we owe, among many erudite and noble contributions, two fundamental studies: *Pietro Giannone e il giannonismo a Napoli nel Settecento* (Bari 1950), and *Il Mezzogiorno d'Italia di fronte a Vienna e a Roma e altri studi di storia meridionale* (Bologna 1970).

To Sergio Bertelli (1928-2015), we owe various *vademecums* for the student of Giannone: *Opere di Pietro Giannone*, edited with Giuseppe Ricuperati (Milan-Naples 1971), which contains his edition of the *Vita* (indispensable also are his introductions to various works in the *Opere*); the 'Appunti e osservazioni in margine ad una nuova edizione dell'autobiografia giannoniana', *Giornale storico e letterario*, 36 (1959), 169-235; 'L'incartamento originale del Sant'Ufficio relativo a Pietro Giannone', *Il pensiero politico*, 1 (1968), 16-38; and his masterwork,

Giannoniana: autografi, manoscritti, documenti della fortuna di Pietro Giannone (Milan-Naples 1968).

Raffaelo Ajello (1928-2020), pre-eminent historian of Naples, again offered vital background: *Il problema della riforma giudiziaria e legislativa nel regno di Napoli durante la prima metà del secolo XVIII* (Naples 1961); *Il preilluminismo giuridico* (Naples 1965); *La vita politica napolitana sotto Carlo di Borbone*, in *Storia di Napoli*, vol. 7 (Naples 1972), pp. 159-717; and *La civiltà napoletana del Settecento, 1734-1799* (Florence 1979). He also organized and edited the first international conference on Giannone: *Pietro Giannone e il suo tempo: Atti del convegno di studi nel trecentenario della nascita,* 2 vols (Naples 1981).

Piero Del Negro offered essential notes for a new edition of G.'s works: 'Addenda Giannoniana e Sarpiana', *Boll. del Museo civico di Padova*, 60 (1971), 123-141.

Giuseppe Ricuperati (b.1936), renowned scholar and teacher from Turin, has devoted his entire life to Giannone: *Le carte torinesi di Pietro Giannone* (Turin 1963); with Bertelli, he edited the *Opere* in 1971 (see above); *L'esperienza civile e religiosa di Pietro Giannone*, first. ed. 1970, 2nd ed. (Brescia 2017); *Il Settecento* in *Storia d'Italia*, vol. 8: *Il Piemonte Sabaudo*, part 1 (Turin 1994), pp. 441-834; and *La città terrena di Pietro Giannone, un itinerario. Crisi della coscienza europea e illuminismo radicale* (Florence 2001); *Nella costellazione del 'Triregno': testi e contesti giannoniani*, ed. Duccio Canesti (Foggia 2004); and very many articles, as well as extensive essays by way of preface to the four vast works from prison (see Chapter Twelve), which he inspired and supervised.

Pantaleo Minervini (an expert in southern Italian dialects), published the only edition of Giannone's enormous and indispensable correspondence: *Pietro Giannone. Epistolario* (Fasano di Puglia 1983). His great labour has been much criticized for inaccuracies, but in lieu of a better edition, it remains indispensable for any scholar of Giannone, including this translator, far away from the riches of Turin's State Archives and Rome's National Library, albeit guided by the steadfast perfectionism of the illustrious scholar Sergio Bertelli. Giulia de Rienzo, Ricuperati's student, has courageously ventured far into the vast task of preparing a new edition of G.'s correspondence to supplant that vast tome.

Harold Stone (b.1949), cultural historian and professor at Shimer

College in Chicago, gives an extensive study of the Naples of G. and Vico in his *Vico's cultural history* (Leiden 1997).

A new edition of G.'s *Vita*, edited by Giulio de Martino, has also appeared, in two volumes (Naples 1998).

Lia Mannarino, an expert on European philosophy, wrote *Le mille favole degli antichi. Ebraismo e cultura europea nel pensiero religioso di Pietro Giannone* (Florence 1999). She is also the author of many articles relating to G. and the *Triregno*, all of fundamental importance.

It is highly significant and moving that so many fine scholars have devoted so much of their lives to the study of G.' s works and to the defence of his reputation.

Chronology of Giannone's Life

	1665-1700: Charles V of Naples: Carlos II of Spain.
1676, May 7: birth at Ischitella (Puglia).	1678: Peace of Nijmegen. John Bunyan, *Pilgrim's Progress.*
	1682-1699: war of Austria against Turkey.
	1685: revocation of the Edict of Nantes.
	1687: Venetians bombard the Parthenon; Newton, *Principia Mathematica.*
	1688: English Revolution.
	1690: John Locke, *An Essay Concerning Human Understanding*
1694: G. goes to Naples to study law with Domenico Aulisio.	1694-1778: Voltaire.
	1695-1697: Pierre Bayle, *Dictionnaire*.
	1697: Treaty of Ryswick: end of war of England and Netherlands against France.
1698: G. awarded doctorate in law.	
	1699: death of Racine.
	1700-1721: Clement XI Albani.
1701: G. is articled to Gaetano Argento; he decides to write the *Istoria civile*.	1701: establishment of the kingdom of Prussia.
	1701-1714: War of the Spanish Succession.

1707: Naples passes to the Austrian Habsburgs; death of G.'s mother; first signs of stomach and intestinal illness.	1707-1735: Charles VI of Naples: Karl III, Archduke of Austria.
	1714: installation of Hanoverians.
	1715: death of Louis XIV.
	1719: Daniel Defoe, *Robinson Crusoe*.
	1720: South Sea Bubble bursts.
1721: publication of the *Istoria* begins: G. had finished 35 of 40 books.	1721-1724: Innocent XIII Conti.
1723, late April: 10,000 copies printed; uproar; the Viceroy stops sales.	
20 April: G. is excommunicated; he leaves Naples. June: G. arrives in Vienna. July: the *Istoria* is placed on the *Index*. October: excommunication revoked; G. boards with Baroness Linzval.	
1724, November: G. is granted a pension by Charles.	1724-1730: Benedict XIII Orsini.
1725, October: death of G.'s father.	1725: G.-B. Vico, *Scienza nuova.*
	1726: Jonathan Swift, *Gulliver's Travels*.
1729: English translation of the *Istoria*; Sanfelice's attack on the *Istoria*; G. Writes his *Professione di fede*.	1729: J.S. Bach, *St Matthew's Passion*.
	1730-1740: Clement XII Corsini.
	1730-1773: Carlo Emanuele of Sardinia.
1731: G. begins his study of the origins of human society.	
	1733: French invade Italy; Spanish administrators all flee
	1733-1735: War of the Polish Succession.

1734, 29 August: G. leaves Vienna. 14 September: arrives in Venice: wonderful reception, but poor health, passport for Naples denied; lives with Pisani family.	1734, April 19: Naples surrenders to the French.
1735, Giovanni joins his father in Venice. 13 September: G. is brutally expelled from Venice. 16 September: G. arrives in Modena; Giovanni joins him here. 1 November: G. arrives in Milan. 22 November: G. ordered to leave Milan in two days. 27 November: G. arrives in Turin. 5 December: G. arrives in Geneva.	1735: Linnaeus, *Systema naturae*. 1735-1759: Bourbon Charles VII of Naples (Carlos III of Spain, 1759-1788).
1736, 24 March: G. lured into Savoy to hear Mass; kidnapped; imprisoned in Chambery (until 7 April). 7 April: moved to Miolans. Summer: begins writing his *Vita*.	
1737, 15 September: Giovanni is released, never to see his father again; G. is moved to Porta del Po in Turin.	1737: birth of Edward Gibbon; death of the last Medici Archduke of Tuscany.
1738, 4 April: G.'s Abjuration. From November this year, G.'s health is gravely impaired.	1738: opening of excavations at Herculaneum.
	1739: David Hume, *Treatise on Human Nature*.
1740, 17 June: G. moved to Ceva.	1740-1758: Benedict XIV, Lambertini.
1741, April: last entry in the *Vita*.	
1742: French translation of the *Istoria* (Geneva), with extra notes comprising volume 5; G. completes *Istoria del pontificato di Gregorio Magno* (published 2011).	

1744, August: G. completes *L'ape ingegnosa* (published 1993). 6 September: G. moved to the citadel at Turin.	
	1745: Prince Charles Edward lands in Scotland.
1746: G. completes *Apologia de' teologi scolastici* (published 2011).	
1748, 17 March: death of G.	1748: opening of excavations at Pompeii; Montesquieu, *Esprit des lois*.
1758: German trans. of the *Istoria* (Leipzig).	
1765: first biography of G.: by Michele Vecchioni (Lucca).	
1766: biography of G. by Leonardo Panzini (Naples).	
1905: first complete edition of the *Vita* by Fausto Nicolini.	

THE LIFE OF PIETRO GIANNONE[1]

Written in the Fort of Miolans

1 This is a translation of Sergio Bertelli's edition of Giannone's *Vita* (autobiography), 2 vols (Turin 1977), which on p. 3 of his edition he describes as 'a faithful transcription of G.'s manuscript, preserved in Turin's State Archives' (*Manoscritti Giannone*, mazzo 3, ins. 2). The translator most gratefully acknowledges and avails herself of Bertelli's erudite research in the footnotes. Giannone will henceforth be referred to as G.

Preface

I begin writing my life and all which happened to me in it, not because I presume to set it up as an example to readers, that they might imitate the virtues perhaps practised by me or flee the vices which corrupted me, or because it contains worthy and memorable acts beyond the ordinary course of human endeavours. I wrote it, on the contrary, because I am convinced that, although I do not possess any great virtues or learning worthy of imitation, I flatter myself that neither will there be any great vices or ignorance to flee. I begin writing it because I am confined within the limits of a fortress where, deprived of all human contact, I miserably drag out the days. Fearing that I shall die here, given my enfeebled age, I take up my pen also to relieve in part the boredom and tedium, in order that, with the end drawing near, by recalling all my past achievements I may draw solace from the good and repentance from the bad. I am urged to write also by the reflection that destiny has condemned me to be the butt of the envious slander of my many enemies, who not only took to ill-using my books, but also to belittling and maligning my actions. I intend that lovers of the truth might have a sincere and faithful account of these actions, and the malevolent have no opportunity to obscure them or refer to them with rancour. And since after my shipwreck my various writings are scattered everywhere, in order that everyone will know how to distinguish[1] the genuine works from the false, which the envious might perhaps attribute to me, I faithfully state here one by one those which are my own legitimate labours. I embark on it above all,

1 Fausto Nicolini (1879-1965), who devoted much of his long, richly influential life as a scholar to the study of G. and the publication of his works, adds here in his edition of the *Vita*, published in 1905, G.'s marginal note inserted at Ceva of a quotation from Seneca: 'Do not cheat yourself of the best reward of toil / It is sweet to recollect what was hard to endure. / Recount those fearful events' (Seneca, *Hercules*, Act III 1.654-656, tr. John G. Fitch).

however, to provide a document for others, and especially upright and honest men and lovers of the truth, of the hard and arduous path which they must tread to have a free and safe life in this world among the hordes of dishonest, faithless people and the infinite number of foolish and wicked. It is addressed especially to those unfortunate enough to be born under darkened and heavy skies on an earth enslaved and subjected, and teeming with sharp thorns and inescapable brambles and briars. These abound in such times when, with the extinction of every ray of virtue, envious slander, ambition, greed for wealth and honours, avarice and all human wickedness seem to have had the last word. Someone who carefully reflects on it, therefore, can no longer be in doubt that the world is ruled and governed by a depraved and evil spirit. Divine Wisdom also has revealed this, telling us that the world was possessed by Satan, that men from their adolescence are led by instinct into evil, and that the world is set in evil (*positus in malign*o).[2]

If illustrious and distinguished deeds, therefore, are not to be found in the account of my life, at least it will have this merit: that others, having it before them, may be put on guard and use it as a guide and companion when crossing such a cruel, tempestuous sea full of quicksand and dangerous rocks, on which one might easily run foul and be wrecked. It may also be useful to read in the course of it how men often exhaust themselves in vain, useless studies, wasting precious hours in research on vain matters which are of no use either in keeping us on the path of virtue, good customs, and works which are honourable and commendable to God and upright men, or in enlightening our minds with a knowledge of the useful and necessary sciences. They serve, on the contrary, only to confuse men's minds with vain and abstruse questions, about which, after long exhausting themselves, they know much less than before they began investigating them.

2 '...[the whole godless world] lies in the power of the evil one' (John, 1.5.19). Note that all translations from the Bible are via the Vulgate, G.'s text: *The Vulgate Bible*, ed. J. Ziolkowski, 6 vols (Cambridge, MA, 2010-2013).

Chapter One: 1676-1692: Ischitella

I was born of respectable parents[1] on 7 May 1676 in a region of Mount Gargano in Puglia de' Dauni called Ischitella (see Fig. 2, Fig. 3); this is near the shores of the Adriatic facing the islands of Diomedes, now called the Tremite. I was educated as a child with great thoroughness and reverend care by my mother Lucrezia Micaglia, who was both devout and wise and schooled in the practices of piety. I was then sent to school to learn Latin from the dean of the church there, a man as well-versed in the Latin language as was requisite in that place, but much more commendable for his probity and exemplary, incorruptible morality.[2]

1 The tenor of G.'s account of his life is set by this simple beginning, in contrast with the same statement in that of one of his most illustrious mentors: Guicciardini (*Ricordanze*, tr. Margaret Grayson (London 1965), p. 129: Appendix). By the word *onesto* (honest, upright) G. rejects any claim to the aristocratic Pugliese family of the Alitto-Giannone. Leonardo Panzini, who, assisted by G.'s son, Giovanni, wrote G.'s biography (*Vita di Pietro Giannone*, which introduces G.'s posthumous works, *Opere postume*, 2 (1766), 1-144), observes that the family of the Alitto-Giannone nevertheless claimed G. as a relative when he had reached a certain social level (Pietro to Carlo, Venice, 15 January, 12 February, 3 April 1735: *Epistolario di P.G.*, ed. Pantaleo Minervini [henceforth *Epist.*] pp. 1071, 1075, 1084; Pietro's son Giovanni was also to claim a connection: see his *Memoirs*). G.'s father, Scipione Giannone (1646-1725) was the son of Pietro da Capuano and Francesca Donatello of Ischitella. Scipione left the region to take minor orders, but then returned to secular life and settled in Ischitella as a pharmacist; aged thirty in 1676, he married Lucrezia Micaglia (1653-1709), daughter of Matteo Micaglia from Peschici and Isabella Sabatelli.

2 Gaetano Serra, perhaps a relative of G.'s maternal great-grandmother, Giulia Serra (B., p. 5). G. was an altar boy from the age of sixteen to seventeen, which allowed him to be better educated, since education at Ischitella was almost always the duty of the clergy. Ciro Cannarozzi observes that G.'s grounding in Latin did not, however, allow him in later life to accept a post in law at Padua University, for which he would have had to lecture in Latin (*Biografie ischitellane* (Esca 1974), pp. 39, 41).

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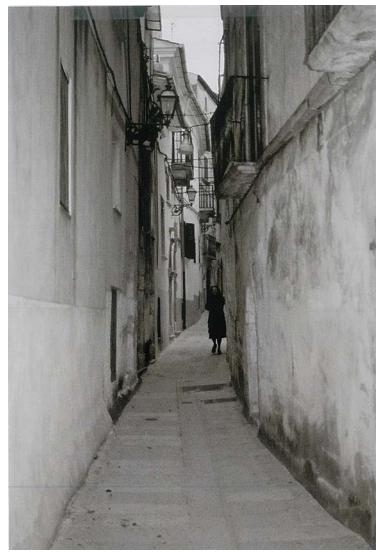

Fig. 2 A typically narrow street in Ischitella (Puglia), Giannone's birthplace (translator's photo).

Fig. 3 Giannone's house in Ischitella (translator's photo).

In my adolescence I almost returned to my prenatal state, because I had fallen ill with fever. Although it was not serious, the doctor with scant regard for my frail constitution gave me a purgative based

on antimony, which was too strong for me. Because of vomiting and continual discharges from the bowels, I almost breathed forth my soul in my dear mother's arms. Since I was in grave danger, however, the treatment was stopped, and in a short time I returned to my former state of perfect health. When I was grown up, at the age of fifteen, my father Scipione sent me to study philosophy under the supervision of a Franciscan friar,[3] an able teacher and renowned theologian in his community. After holding the most eminent rank in his order, he was made a retired lector, a rare honour conferred only on those who had earned it after long years of lecturing and giving clear proof of their talents. And since one of the privileges of retirement was that the retiree might choose whatever monastery he pleased in which to live the rest of his life in quiet and rest, as he was a native of the place, he chose the monastery of his friars, built very long ago in his birthplace of Ischitella, and came there to live. This was regarded by my parents as a heaven-sent opportunity for me to study philosophy with him because of his great reputation for learning in the province. He thus began to teach me philosophy with great love and diligence, and within three years of concentrated study, after I had completed the course in logic, physics, and metaphysics, I became a scholastic[4]-Scotist[5] philosopher and used to debate energetically and subtly with my equals matters which I neither meant nor really understood. The vehemence and fervour of the debate, however, provided me with words and arguments which in my view and theirs seemed strong and invincible.

The study of philosophy caused me to lose much time which could have been used in studies appropriate for that young age, such as languages, geography, and cosmography. In this way I might have

3 Francesco Agricola from Ischitella (Ciro Cannarozzi, *P.G. nei primi diciotto anni* (Florence 1950), p. 20).

4 Scholasticism was the method of philosophical speculation which grew out of cathedral schools in Western Europe from the twelfth to the fourteenth centuries. Philosophy was made to serve Christianity, using the ancients such as Aristotle and Augustine. It was characterized by its dialectical methods. Although these studies grounded G. in a discipline which he was to cherish for the rest of his life, he rejected Scholasticism (Chapter One: Appendix).

5 Johannes Duns Scotus (c.1265-1308) was a Franciscan, medieval philosopher, and theologian; he studied and taught at Oxford, and wrote commentaries on the Bible, Aristotle, and the *Sentences* of Peter Lombard. He was a critic of Scholasticism; his defence of the papacy led him to be ridiculed at the time of the Reformation, hence the origin of the word 'dunce'.

learned whence I had come into this world,[6] in order not to live here like a guest or pilgrim, or be lost in abstract, metaphysical questions which were beyond me. The vague and confused ideas given me by that philosophy had, nevertheless, one good effect on me, in that on arriving in Naples they disposed me to more substantial studies which made me forget what I had confusedly learnt in those three years. Since the vague and confused images had not made a deep impression on my brain or long remained in it, they were quickly dispersed by the new and more solid knowledge that I was to acquire.

As I had completed, therefore, the course of Aristotelian philosophy according to Scotus' interpretation of it, and there was nothing else to do there, my parents considered having me study law, since they had no intention of making me an ecclesiastic; for this I would have had to study theology with the same priest-theologian. They decided to send me to Naples with the help given for my support by an uncle of my mother, a priest, who was both well-off and also very kind and benevolent to me and bore me great love and affection.[7]

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6 Hans Daus draws attention to this profound remark, which corresponds to Petrarch's Whence? Whither? from his *Secretum*, and illustrates how philosophy gave G. a haven in this world (*Selbstverständnis und Menschenbild* (Cologne 1962]), p. 72). Antonio Corsano put it thus: 'G. was, above all, a man of faith, needing to believe, to consider history and explain man' (*Il pensiero religioso* (Bari 1937), p. 150).

7 It would seem that G. was at first destined for the Church, but through the exhortations and persuasion of the governor of the region, Francesco Zarli, and the influence of his maternal great-uncle, the canon Carlo Sabatelli, who lived with the family and had some private means, he was instead directed to study law (Cannarozzi, *Biografie ischitellane* [Esca 1974], p. 44). Carlo Sabatelli, son of Leonardo Sabatelli and Giulia Serra, was, in fact, G.'s great-uncle on his mother's side, in contrast to what Michele Maria Vecchioni (*Vita*, p. 4) and Panzini (*Vita*, p. 1) relate, who mistook his grandfather Matteo Micaglia for him (B., p. 7.2). His benefactor paid three ducats each month for G.'s accommodation in Naples. See G.'s first surviving letter, to his great-uncle, Canon Carlo Sabatelli, of 27 November 1700 (Chapter Two: Appendix [1]). Scipione showed his gratitude by naming after him two of his children (Canarozzi, *Biografie ischetellane*, p. 41). Francesco D'Andrea (1625-1698) observed in 1696: 'since the Kingdom is quite full of disputes and there are legal cases involving very great States and the most opulent bequests, it can be said that the lawyers of Naples govern the whole kingdom: on them depends the authority of both princes and private individuals, and also of the princes of majesty' (Francesco D'Andrea, *Avvertimenti ai nipoti* (Admonitions to the Nephews), quoted by Lino Marini, *P.G. e il Giannonismo* (Bari 1950), p. 12). As Marini explained: 'A long tradition of monarchy, a marked tendency to understand things in legal terms, the great mass of laws from all areas comprising the legal code, the rigidity of the forces of reaction, and the domination of the Spaniards, gave rise to the importance of lawyers in Southern Italy' (*ibid*., pp. 9-11). And Guido de Ruggiero observed:

Appendix (Chapter One)

[1]

The opening of the *Ricordanze* of Guicciardini:

> I record that I, Francesco di Piero Guicciardini, now doctor of civil and canon law, was born on 6 March 1482 in Florence at about the tenth hour, and was given in baptism the name Francesco, after Francesco di Filippo de' Nerli, my father's maternal grandfather, and the name of Thomas in reverence for St Thomas Aquinas, on whose feast day I was born. I was held at the font by Messer Marsilio Ficino then the world's foremost Platonic philosopher, and by Giovanni Canacci and Piero del Nero.[8]

G.'s full name was Angelo Giovanni Pietro Giannone.[9] A copy of his certificate of baptism from the *Registro dei battezzati di Santa Maria Maggiore* was very kindly presented to the translator by the parish priest, Fr Matteo: it is almost impossible to read. It has been 'reproduced' (quite illegibly) in Rocco Martella, *Cronistoria di Ischitella* (Rodi Garganico 2005), p. 61.

Andrea Merlotti informs us that G.'s parents had seven children, but only Pietro (1676-1748), Vittoria (1685-1735) and Carlo II (1688-1755) survived.[10] A boy named Carlo died aged two in 1685 when G. was nine. In Naples he received the news of the death of Teresa aged six in 1697, Francesca aged fourteen in 1698, and that of a second Francesca aged eight in 1703. Pietro, their eldest brother, was thus intimate with grief from an early age. Six years later, in 1709, his mother then died at the age of fifty-six. She was not buried with her children under the pavement of Santa Maria Maggiore in Ischitella, but in the church of the convent, since she had probably been a lay sister of the *Terz' Ordine* (third order) of St Francis. G.'s familiarity with death is parallelled in the

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'What was needed was not only a precise knowledge of law, but also profound historical erudition. The laws, lacking all codification and emanating from different dynasties, had become stratified, one on top of the other, in the course of history... Lombard, Swabian, Angevin, Aragonese, Spanish and Austrian legislation was confusedly mixed together, so that only profound erudition could hope to replace them in their historical perspective, and throw a little light on controversial clauses and laws' (*Il pensiero politico meridionale* (Bari 1954), pp. 9-10).

8 *Ricordanze*, tr. Margaret Grayson (London 1965), p. 129.

9 Cannarozzi, *Biografie ischitellane*, p. 37.

10 *DBI* 54, p. 511.

life of another great historian and admirer of the *Civil History.* Compare Edward Gibbon, also the eldest child. He was followed by five brothers and a sister, one of whom lived as little as a few days, while another brother and the sister, the two longest lived, attained approximately one year and four months respectively. Their mother died as a consequence of the last childbed.

[4]

G. referred to Scholasticism as

> the new Scholastic Divinity, which having made the Dogmatic to be laid aside and the Study of Antiquity and Church History to be quite neglected, kept Men of Parts employed about abstracted and useless Controversies and Disputes, so full of Obscurities, Contradictions and Subtleties, that there were none but those who were well skilled in such captious Arguments that could comprehend anything.[11]

11 Pietro Giannone, *Istoria civile del Regno di Napoli*, book 19, chap.4, sect.5, tr. by James Ogilvie, *Civil History of the Kingdom of Naples*, 2, p. 68.

Chapter Two: 1694-1700: Naples

1694, in the reign of Charles II King of Spain,[1] and the rule of the Count of Santo Stefano[2] and later of the Duke of Medina Coeli[3] Viceroys

I

I arrived in Naples at the beginning of March 1694. Those to whom I was recommended, not from want of affection but from little acquaintance with the city's most notable professors of law, sent me to study civil and canon law in the home of a certain lecturer. As I progressed, more from the warning of others more judicious than myself, I then realized that he knew little of civil law and even less of

1 The headings to each chapter in Sergio Bertelli's edition of the *Vita* will be retained. Charles II (1661-1700), king of Spain, reigned 1665-1700, last of the Spanish Habsburg dynasty. He went to war against France in the Grand Alliance. His choice of Philip of Anjou as his successor brought about the War of the Spanish Succession (1700-1715); see Chapter Two: Appendix.

2 Francisco de Benavìdes y Aragón, count di *Santisteban* del Puerto; served as viceroy in Sardinia in 1676, Sicily 1678-1687, and Naples 1687-1696. For G.'s account of his period of office, see *Civil History* (bk 40, ch.2=Ogilvie, 2, pp. 828-829). His son was one of G.'s cruellest persecutors. G. and his friend Lorenzo Acampora together wrote a poem to mark the end of his vice-regency in Naples and departure in 1696 (Fausto Nicolini, *Uomini di Spada* (Bari 1942), p. 24).

3 The duke of Medina Coeli, Count Luis Francisco de la Cerda y Aragon (1660-1711), renowned viceroy of Naples (1696-1702); he suppressed the Macchia Conspiracy, led by the duke of Macchia against Philip V of Spain. He was nevertheless recalled, and opposed the growing influence of France in Spain. He was condemned on undisclosed charges in 1710 and died in prison nine years later (Henry Kamen, *The War of Succession in Spain 1700-1715* (Bloomington 1969)). G. wrote a tribute to him in the *Civil History* (Chapter Two: Appendix).

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canon law. I have no wish to recall his name.[4] Apart from his basing his teaching on a few dull works written by others, he had filled it with useless questions, which not only did nothing to explain the clear and simple *Institutions*[5] of the emperor Justinian for the civil laws and those of Lancellotti[6] for the canon laws, but also confused and obscured all of them. And if I wanted to find and compare the laws and canons to which they referred in the *Corpus* of civil and canon law, I either failed to find them at all or discovered them quoted out of context, out of order, and misunderstood. This made me suspect that my teacher had placed his trust in others and not ever read or examined them himself. On finding myself in this confusion and difficulty, I extricated myself as best I could by reading the original texts and communicating my difficulties to others more advanced in age and learning, with whom I began to be acquainted and friendly. I had the good fortune after some time of coming to know a priest who was most widely read and of great erudition and probity, whose name and kindness I shall never forget. He was the first to enlighten me, and through him I became acquainted with his friends, the foremost and most renowned professors and men of letters in the city. He was Giovanni Spinelli,[7] learned in all the sciences, who had at an advanced age turned also to the study of Roman jurisprudence. When I explained how confused my studies were under my teacher of law, he took pity on my ignorance

4 Gian Battista Comparelli from Puglia (Vecchioni, *Vita*, p. 1), procurator in the courts of Naples (Panzini, *Vita*, 2, p. 2). G. would have been sent to him probably because he was from Ischitella and therefore familiar. He lived to be 104, and G. refers to him warmly in a letter to Carlo as 'my dear sig. Giovanni Battista Comparelli' (Vienna, 31 May 1727: *Epist.,* p. 461). His descendant, Professor Pietro Comparelli is also a native of Ischitella, and demonstrated the kindness of his forebear to the translator when visiting Ischitella.

5 The *Institutes* were elementary textbooks of Roman law, the most renowned being those of Gaius, on which Justinian based his own. Although intended as a students' manual, they received legislative validity from the *Digest* (AD 533). They were compiled by Tribonianus with his colleagues on the *Digest,* Theophilus and Dorotheus.

6 Giovan Paolo Lancellotti (1522-1590), born at Perugia, called 'The Tribonianus of Perugia'; taught first civil law, then canon law; wrote the *Institutiones iuris canonici, quibus ius pontificium singulari methodo libris quattuor comprehenditur* (Lyons 1578) (B., p. 8) (*DBI* 63, pp. 300-330: R.Teodori).

7 He remains unidentifiable.

and raised me from the mire. He set me on the right path, and showed me my goal and how, in order to attain it, I had to change teachers and study jurisprudence not from the muddy wells as I had done so far, but from lucid and clear sources which another renowned teacher would show me. This was the celebrated Domenico Aulisio (see Fig. 4),[8] professor of civil law at the Royal University at Naples, who was profoundly learned in all the sciences and brilliant both in Latin and Greek, and had, above all, a thorough knowledge not only of law but also of Roman history; without this, law cannot be perfectly understood or made intelligible. As Spinelli was his friend, he would take me to Aulisio and enthusiastically and persuasively recommend me, so that he would take a particular interest in me, which he did.

Fig. 4. Domenico Aulisio (1649-1717), by Morghen, *Biografia degli uomini illustri del Regno di Napoli*, 4 (Naples, 1817), https://archive.org/details/bub_gb_7Q3WbXInyVgC/page/n21/mode/2up

Aulisio was already teaching at university and his teaching there increased when he obtained the professorial chair for afternoon[9] lectures in Civil Law. He then closed his private school, where,

8 Domenico Aulisio (1649-1717), one of the most renowned Neapolitan intellectuals and jurists in the generation preceding G.; appointed professor of Canon Law at the University of Naples in 1682 and civil law in 1695 (*DBI* 4, pp. 584-7: F.Liotta). See G.'s encomium to him in the *Civil History* (bk.40, ch.5=Ogilvie 2, pp. 841-842: Appendix).

9 The courses and chairs were divided according to importance, into those for the morning lectures and those for the afternoon (B., p. 9.4).

following the requirement of Justinian's *Institutes*, he used to teach jurisprudence to the young. At that time, however, he was giving public lectures at the university, in accordance with the constitution of that university, on the most difficult subject of wills, legacies, institutions, trusts, intestate succession, and other obscure and complicated laws of the *Digest*,[10] which are termed 'augmented'.[11] These he divided into four treatises and read one each year, and at the end of four years he repeated them to the new students who gathered there every year to study civil law.

Although I had made little progress in jurisprudence under my first teacher, I had concentrated on the four books of Justinian's *Institutes*, Perez,[12] Giulio Pace,[13] and a few other authors who had explained them with detailed notes and commentaries, more than on the writings of that teacher. I had thus acquired some knowledge, which Aulisio himself thought sufficient for the first rudiments and to enable me to understand the treatises on which he was giving formal lectures. He thus advised me, without my taking another teacher, not to neglect studying Justinian's *Institutes* with the help of those commentators, to whom he had me add another whom he considered the best of all,

10 The *Digest* is the title applied in classical jurisprudence to treatises on law, and applied by Justinian to the main part of his codification, published after the *Codex* and *Istitutiones*. Justinian instructed his minister of justice, Tribonianus, to collect passages from the works of classical jurists. It contains excerpts from the writings of jurists from more than three centuries. It came into force on 30 December, 533, having been completed in only three years. It is also referred to as the *Pandectae*. More than 150 *Novels* were later issued on legal matters relating to administration and the reform and codification of laws. G. praised highly the Justinian Code in the *Civil History* (bk.1, ch.8=Ogilvie, 1, p. 28: see Chapter Two: Appendix).

11 The second part of the *Digest*, extant in the text of the *Littera Bononiensis*, or vulgate, is reinforced, that is, 'augmented' by the restoration of a fragment originally part of the new *Digest*, of which it formed the beginning (B., p. 10).

12 Antonio Perez (1583-1672), Spanish jurist, professor of institutions at the University of Louvain, and adviser to the king of Spain; he wrote many commentaries on the Justinianic Code.

13 Giulio Pace, in Latin Pacius (1550-1635), born at Vincenza; jurist, philologist, philosopher; he taught at Heidelberg; converted to Protestantism. He wrote works on civil law, and also a pro-Venice essay *De dominico Maris Adriatici* (B, p. 10). He 'may be considered the worthy successor of Alciatus and Cujas Cuiacius' (*EI* 25, p. 866).

Arnold Vinnen.[14] He was a celebrated Dutch professor, who, apart from the notes, had written a learned, useful and accurate commentary on Justinian's *Institutes*. Aulisio added that these should be my morning studies. After lunch, as he gave the afternoon lecture, I might go to his lectures to hear his treatises and to copy them, as is the custom at that university, and to hear the exposition. He told me above all to come to him later either at his home or, after the lecture, in that half-hour in which lecturers are obliged to remain in order to resolve difficulties which arise for students, to tell him where I was uncertain and ask him for whatever help was necessary for a better understanding of what I had read or written or heard expounded in the lecture.

I diligently carried out what was required, and after civilly taking leave of the first teacher, provided myself with Vinnen's *Notes and Commentaries*, and went to study with Aulisio the treatises which he gave in formal lectures. And I did not fail, in that half-hour after the lecture, to let him know my uncertainties, and ask him many questions in order to extend my education and understanding. He answered with such warmth and affection, that often, when the time was at an end but not my questions, so as not to leave me stranded, he would take me with him to his home. On the long walk there I had the advantage of being educated in the most rare and recherché erudition, and above all in how to organize my study. It was he who instilled in me the study of Roman history,[15] and he told me that what was in Justinian's *Pandects*, his *Codex* and *Novels* could not be properly understood without knowing Roman history and the various events of that empire. He stated that the responses of the jurists, from which Justinian had compiled his *Pandects*

14 Arnold Vinnen, in Latin Vinnius (1588-1657), a Dutch jurist; he taught the *Pandects* at the University of Leiden; he was one of the most prominent scholars of the Dutch school. G. refers to his *Commentarius in quattuor libros Institutionum imperialium* (Amsterdam 1642) and to his *Institutionis Iustiniani cum notis* (Amsterdam 1646) (B, p. 10). He also wrote *Jurisprudentiae contractae sive partitionum iuris civilis libri quattuor* (Leiden 1648) (*EI* 35, pp. 387-388).

15 As Heinrich Benedikt (*Königreich Neapel*, p. 535) writes: 'Thanks to the vision of Aulisio, G. studied law side by side with history' 'Historical exegesis of the sources, and learned analyses of the influence which the law of the barbarians and Romans had on the law's practice and science are the cardinal methods on which G. based his legal activity' (P. Luigi Rovito, 'Scienza del diritto e prassi forense nelle opere giuridiche di P.G.', in *P.G. e il suo tempo*, p. 258).

and the constitutions of the princes, from which many statute-books had been compiled and many collections of their new constitutions made, could not be properly understood without a knowledge of the occasions which produced and established them, the customs and the constitution of Italy at that time, and the provinces which comprised the Roman Empire, which was very different from what we have at the present time. It was necessary, therefore, to combine with the study of law the knowledge of Roman history from the beginnings, from which arose the empire which extended into the three parts of the then-known world. And to study it methodically, one had to begin with the history of Titus Livy.[16] To make up for the loss of his books, of which we are deprived today because of human negligence or the ravages of time, it was necessary to have recourse to other ancient Roman or Greek writers who dealt with Roman matters, in order to have precise information on the constitution of the empire down to the times of Octavius Augustus. In this way a clear and distinct knowledge of *ancient* Roman jurisprudence is possible. It then took on a different aspect and various forms under Augustus and the other emperors succeeding him, down to Constantine the Great. This state of the empire is covered in the *Pandects*, and in the constitutions of the princes who preceded Constantine, which form another jurisprudence and can be termed *middle,* because it comes between the ancient and the *late*, beginning with Constantine and ending with the destruction of the Roman Empire. And to study this middle period there was no lack of other authors, both Roman and Greek; indeed, there was a superabundance, since under the emperors

16 Titus Livius of Padova (59 BC-AD 17), author of the greatest historical undertaking of antiquity, a history of Rome from its foundation (*ab urbe condita*) to AD 9, in 142 books, of which thirty-five survive. It is the culmination of more than two centuries of (lost) Republican historiography, marked by enormous narrative skill and a devotion to the moral qualities which had made the Republic great and which had by Livy's time been abandoned. Livy's history, Pliny's Letters and perhaps Tacitus, as well as Ariosto's *Orlando furioso*, Tasso's *Gerusalemme liberata*, and Sforza Pallavicino's *Considerazioni sopra l'arte dello stile e del dialogo*, were among the few books possessed, read and reread by the stricken prisoner of Miolans: see the list in Andrea Merlotti's edition of G.'s *L'ape ingegnosa* (Rome 1993), p. xcix.

Vespasian, Titus, Nerva, Trajan,[17] and others flourished the two Plinys,[18] Suetonius Tranquillus,[19] Cornelius Tacitus,[20] Dio Cassius,[21] and many other writers on Roman affairs in those times, of whom I was able to learn from the various collections compiled in our time. To those relating to jurisprudence I could add the moderns, who with unremitting and inexhaustible diligence, had compiled from the works of the Roman writers detailed treatises on the origin of and changes in their laws, plebiscites, and *senatus consulta* (senatorial decisions),[22] the magistrates, formulae and judges, and on the conditions of the Roman cities and

17 Vespasian, born AD 9, into the equestrian class. Under Nero, he suppressed the Jewish revolt. Emperor 69-79, he ended the civil wars, and restored the stability and prosperity of the empire. Titus, elder son of Vespasian, born 39, emperor 79-81; became colleague of his father in 71. His reign was marked by the eruption of Vesuvius (79), the plague, and the fire in Rome (80). Nerva, born in Italy c.30; emperor 97-98: successor to Domitian. He adopted and appointed Trajan as his successor. Trajan, born at Italica in Spain c.53, emperor 98-117; famous for wars in Dacia (Rumania), celebrated by his forum and column. G. complimented Trajan's judicious attitude to the Christians (*Civil History*, bk 1, ch.2=Ogilvie 1.p. 46) (Chapter Two: Appendix).

18 Pliny the Elder (c.23-79), wrote many histories including one during military service in the German wars, but only his renowned *Natural History* survives. He was killed in 79, as Titus' commander of the Roman fleet, when he approached too closely the erupting Vesuvius. Pliny the Younger (c.61-c.112), brought up by his uncle and adoptive father, Pliny the Elder; became praetor, 93, consul 100; friend of Tacitus, patron of Martial; adviser to Trajan. He was the author of letters in ten books, and a panegyric of Trajan.

19 Suetonius Tranquillus (c.70-c.130); held three secretarial posts at the palace, but was dismissed under Hadrian in 121/22. His works include *De viris illustribus*: biographies of Roman literary men, arranged by classes; and *De Vita Caesarum*: twelve biographies from Julius Caesar to Domitian.

20 P. Cornelius Tacitus (c.56-after 118), suffect (i.e., substitute) consul 97. Author of the *Histories* and *Annals* (written in that order), narrating Imperial history from 14 to 96, of which only the first five books of the *Histories* (68-70) survive, and there are gaps in the *Annals* (14-68). Tacitus is the major Roman Imperial historian, who established the interpretation of rulers such as the sinister Tiberius and the bumbling Claudius, which remained unchallenged for almost two millennia.

21 Dio Cassius of Prusa in Bithynia. Among other works he wrote a history of Rome from the beginnings down to AD 229; much of it in a bad state of preservation. It took ten years to prepare and twelve years to write; it is unreliable about the Republic, but the Empire is based on sounder material.

22 *Senatus consulta* were technically the advice of the senate to the magistrates, and lacked the force of law, which could be enacted only by the people's assemblies. From the middle Republic, however, when the senate became the effective government of Rome, they were accepted as binding.

provinces. They had even written specific biographies of the masters of jurisprudence and their schools and sects, whose names and in great part their works are preserved by Justinian in his *Pandects*. Of these modern writers, Aulisio, to make my way easier and less arduous, directed me to Carlo Sigonio,[23] Barnabé Brisson, especially his *De formulis*,[24] Antonio Agustin y Agustin,[25] Rittershausen,[26] and several others.

What Aulisio considered, however, most difficult, laborious and exhausting, as I gradually discovered, was to extricate myself from the confusion caused by my desire to know about the late jurisprudence of Constantine the Great, Theodosius and Justinian, down to the decline of the Empire both in the West and the East. 'Hoc opus', he used to say to me, 'Hic labor'.[27] He had undergone long study and sustained labour to the point of satiety and boredom in understanding history, the sciences, and Greek and Latin erudition, and in studying exhaustively all the writers ancient and modern who had worked in that field. The realization, on the other hand, that few scholars had applied themselves to the study of that late period, considering it barbarous and uncultured, meant that he regarded the study of it as among the most arduous of labours, so that great glory would go to whoever attempted and

23 Carlo Sigonio (c.1520-1584), born at Modena, taught at Venice, Padua, and Bologna. Among his major works are the *Fasti consulares* (Vienna 1555), *Titi Livii historiarum libri* (Venice 1555), *de antiquo iure civium Romanorum* (Paris 1573), *de Occidentali Imperio* (Bologna 1578), a history of the western empire from Diocletian to its destruction, and its companion volume, *De regno Italiae*, from 568 (the Lombard invasion) to the end of the thirteenth century. He became a figurehead for legal reform of the eighteenth century in Italy, and is considered the first student of Italian regional history (Wm. McCuaig, *Carlo Sigonio* (Princeton 1989)).

24 Barnabé Brisson (1525/30-1591), first president of the Parliament of Paris, antiquarian, moderate supporter of the Guise in the War of Religion; hanged by the League, but posthumously honoured. G. refers to his *De formulis et sollemnibus populi romani verbis*, 8 vols (Paris 1583) (*DBF* 7, pp. 363-364).

25 Antonio Agustin y Agustin (1517-1586), a Jesuit, Spanish jurist, historian, and numismatist. He was an advocate for reform, and took part in the Council of Trent. His rich library is now in the Escurial. His works include *de emendatione Gratiani* (Tarragon 1587), *de pontifice maximo* (Rome 1617), and *Antiquae decretalium collectiones* (Paris 1621).

26 Konrad Rittershausen (Ritersuzio/Rittershusius) (1560-1613), German scholar and jurist; he studied ancient languages at school so thoroughly that he could recite the ancient authors by heart; he wrote many renowned works including *Ius Iustinianeum* (Strasburg 1615), and *Differentiarum juris civilis et canonici seu pontifici libri septem* (Strasburg 1618) (*DBE* 8, p. 334).

27 Virgil, *Aeneid* 6.129: *hoc opus hic labor* ('This is the task, the hard thing', tr. C. Day Lewis [London 1966]).

accomplished it. So many of our writers, he would say, have worked on ancient and middle Roman jurisprudence, yet almost all were content to stop at Constantine, disdaining, as they advanced into the neglected and barbarous times, to pursue their research because of a lack of interest in the late jurisprudence. They were less daunted by the barbarity, which increased as they advanced, than by the immense and tedious labour required to retrace it among those uncultivated and graceless writers and to set it in a clearer light.

To set out accurately the constitutions of the emperors, as numerous as they were ample and verbose, which from Constantine the Great to Theodosius the Younger[28] and Valentinian III[29] were included in the *Theodosian Code* and the others of his own then added by the emperor Justinian in his *Codex*, it was necessary to turn to the writers of those late times, although to read them would certainly prove wearisome and painful to those accustomed to the ancient Romans. They would have to investigate the works left to us by Latinius Pacatus,[30] Mamertinus,[31] Nazarius,[32] Eumenius,[33] Eunapios,[34] Ausonius,[35] Claudianus,[36]

28 Theodosius II the Younger, b. 401, proclaimed emperor in 402, succeeded his father Arcadius in 408 and reigned ineffectually until his death in 450. After an unsuccessful attempt by the praetorian prefect Antiochus in 429 to codify all laws since 312, a second commission in 435 succeeded and the *Theodosian Code* was promulgated in 438 in both parts of the empire.

29 Valentinian III, born 419, Western Roman emperor 425-455. In 445, he issued his seventeenth *Novella* (Imperial constitution), which gave the bishop of Rome supremacy over provincial churches.

30 Latinius Pacatus Drepanius, native of Gaul, poet and author of the *Panegyric of Theodosius* delivered in Rome in 389. In 390 he was made pro-consul in Africa, and treasurer in 393.

31 Claudius Mamertinus, born probably in the early fourth century, perhaps in Gaul, a rhetorician, he held high public office including the consulship (362) under the emperor Julian, to whom he made his oration or speech of thanks. His defence of philosophy reveals that he was not a Christian.

32 Nazarius, Latin orator of fourth century, author of the *Panegyric of Constantine* in 321, which was influenced by Cicero and Sallust. His oration 'reveals certain pagan sympathies, especially his affirmation of Constantine's immortality' (*In Praise of Later Emperors*, ed. C. Edward Nixon and Barbara Rogers (Berkeley 1994), p. 336).

33 Eumenius, b. c.250 in Gaul, of Greek origin, but a Roman citizen, professor at Autun in Gaul and high-ranking civil servant under Constantius and probably Maximian. Extant is his oration: *For the Restoration of the School* [of oratory], dated 298-299.

34 Eunapios (345-420) of Sardis, Greek sophist, admirer of the emperor Julian and opponent of Christianity. His history in fourteen books is now lost.

35 Decimus Magnus Ausonius (d. 395), born at Bordeaux, Latin poet, was tutor to the emperor Gratian when he was a child.

36 Claudius Claudianus (b. c.370), born at Alexandria, Latin poet, court poet under

Ammianus Marcellinus,[37] Libanios,[38] Sidonius Apollinaris,[39] Orosius,[40] Jordanes,[41] Prokopios,[42] Philostorgius,[43] and many others. In these one studies the constitution and form of the Empire in those centuries, in order to reach a clear and distinct understanding of the laws and constitutions of those princes. The incomparable Jacques Godefroy[44] who, it may be said, was the first to set out on that hard and difficult path in his laborious and stupendous commentary on the *Theodosian Code*, has left remarkable evidence of this to us. He did not have the pleasure of seeing his immortal work completed, and left it unfinished, death having prevented his final revisions, and later there was no one who could bring it to its ultimate perfection.

Aulisio, a most learned antiquarian, used therefore to draw for me a comparison between the jurists who disdain the late jurisprudence and

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the emperor Honorius, spokesman of Stilicho, the Vandal generalissimo and regent in the West.

37 Ammianus Marcellinus (330-395), born at Antioch, the last great Roman historian. His history of the period from 96 to 378, originally in thirty-one books, was a continuation of Tacitus. Surviving are his accounts of the second half of the reign of Constantius II and the whole of the reigns of Julian, Jovian, Valentinian I, Valens, and the early part of Gratian's reign (353-378).

38 Libanios (314-393), born at Antioch, Greek orator, of whom sixty-four speeches survive; a pagan, he wrote the funerary oration for the emperor Julian.

39 Sidonius Apollinaris (430-486), born at Lugdunum (Lyon), statesman, author and bishop of Clermont, and one of the last representatives of classical culture in Gaul. His poetry is filled with pagan mythology; his letters are a precious source for the social, ecclesiastical, and intellectual history of his time.

40 Paulus Orosius (early fifth century), a Spaniard, who took refuge in Africa from the Vandals in 414, and became a pupil of Augustine; author of the Christian polemic *Historiae adversum Paganos* in seven books from the creation of the world down to 417, drawing on Livy, Tacitus, Justin, and Eutropius. It was a popular counterpart to Augustine's *City of God*.

41 Jordanes (floruit c.550), historian, probably a Goth; summarized Cassiodorus' lost *Gothic Histories* in his *Getica*.

42 Prokopios (b. c.500), from Kaisareia in Palestine, Greek historian; accompanied Justinian's marshal Belisarius on his Persian, African and Italian campaigns. Author of *History of the Wars of Justinian* in eight books, *Secret History*, *On Justinian's Building*.

43 Philostorgios (368-430/40), a Cappadocian, wrote a *Church History* continuing Eusebios to 425, not extant, but epitomized by Photios.

44 Jacques Godefroy (1587-1652), born at Geneva, second son of Denis Godefroy, a Calvinist, studied law and history in France, professor of law in Geneva, where he also three times held the highest magistracy. His writings on law almost equal those of Cujas. His edition of the *Theodosian Code*, 6 vols (Lyon 1665) 'became the standard authority on the decadent period of the Western Empire'. His work reconstructing the Twelve Tables (the only law code of the Roman Republic) is of fundamental importance: *Fragmenta Duodecim Tabularum* (Heidelberg 1616) (*EB* 12, p. 171; *EI* 17, p. 454).

the antiquarians of our own times. The latter have done amazing research on the very ancient medals and coins of the Greeks and Romans. They have a marvellous knowledge of the coins which have been found and are constantly being excavated of the ancient peoples of Asia, Greece, and other Greek cities of Italy. They know which Roman coins were consular and tribunician and which were Imperial in origin, and know everything pertaining to the most remote and recondite antiquity. When they approach the late times, however, which are less remote from us, they are mute and quite ignorant, and although in recent times some scholars, such as Paruta,[45] Banduri,[46] and a small number of others, have undertaken such research, this field remains incomplete and imperfect. This is because all scholars concentrate on the ancient Greeks and Romans and omit those of the late times, so that until now they have not been able to produce any coins of the Lombard kings,[47] who for the space of almost two centuries ruled Italy with Pavia as their seat of government. And yet the study and knowledge of these late times should be our most useful and even necessary endeavour, since it relates more closely to recent times, the present constitution of Europe, and the new dominions established in it after the decline of the Roman Empire.

This discourse, which he often used to repeat to me, impressed similar ideas on my mind, so that following the method set out for me, I began in earnest to combine legal studies with Roman history, beginning with that of Titus Livy and continuing step by step, according to the chronology of the times, to read the other subsequent Roman writers. And I realized that for this I could not properly understand Livy without the help of geography, in order to distinguish the countries where the many peoples who formed Italy at that time lived, and the position of the provinces of Gaul, Spain, and Africa, and much more of Greece, Macedonia, Illyria, and the more remote provinces of Asia, Syria, and Egypt, over which the Roman Empire extended its victorious arms. I

45 Filippo Paruta (c.1550-c.1629), a Sicilian numismatist, who wrote *La Sicilia descritta con medaglie* (Palermo 1612) (B., p. 15).

46 Anselmo Banduri (Bandurovič) (1675-1743), born at Ragusa (Dubrovnik), Benedictine, archaeologist. His two great works are *L'Imperium Orientale*, 2 vols (Paris 1711), and *Numismata imperatorum* (Paris 1718) (*DBI* 5, pp. 739-750: S. Rotta).

47 The Lombards were a Germanic people from Hungary who invaded northern Italy in 568, and in time controlled much of Italy excluding Ravenna and the south. Their kingdom, with the exception of Benevento, was annexed by Charlemagne in 774. Their history was written was Paul the Deacon (720s-799), a Benedictine monk.

therefore tried to supplement the history with ancient geography, and studied it from Ptolemy according to the tables and descriptions of Magini,[48] since I came much later to know the geography of Mela and Strabo[49] and other more precise modern geographers. All these studies, however, were not intended as an end in themselves, but rather as an effective means to understand the origins and changes of the Roman Empire, and how, when it lay in ruins, there arose so many new powers, laws, customs, and new kingdoms and republics in Europe.

For four continuous years, after studying as best I could the rudiments of Roman jurisprudence, I continued these labours on the above authors and on Justinian's *Pandects*, the laws of which I diligently examined, following what Aulisio had included in his four treatises, so that it was constantly necessary to return to them. And I had often heard him refer to Jacques Cujas,[50] whom he respected more than any other commentator on the *Pandects*. Although at that time I was unable to buy his works, which were considered very rare and of great value, fortunately for me a friend of mine had his earlier works and lent them to me. I therefore based all my study on them, and for six continuous months, when coming across some law or specious title in the commentaries, I devoted myself completely to transcribing it, and in particular I copied out in

48 Klaudios Ptolemaios (c.100-168), a Greek astronomer and geographer of antiquity, who worked in the great library of Alexandria. His work *Almagest* was the most important text on astronomy until the sixteenth century. His system of an earth-centred universe was upheld until Copernicus. Apart from astronomy and geography, his works include *Planisphaerium Analemma*, astronomical tables, works on astrology, music, and optics. An edition of his geography, *Geografia cioé descrittione universale della terra* (Padua 1621), was compiled by the astronomer Giovanni Antonio Magini (1555-1607).

49 Pomponius Mela was active under the emperor Gaius (37-41), and wrote a popular summary or survey of the geography of the known world, *De Chorographia* in three books. His work resembles that of Strabo (c.60 BC-after AD 21), born at Pontos, Greek geographer and historian. Only fragments of his historical work in forty-seven books remain, but his *Geographica* in seventeen books has survived in almost complete form.

50 Cujas, in Latin form Cujacius (1522-1590), a French jurist, born in Toulouse; his father was a fuller. He taught himself Latin and Greek and studied law; a famous lecturer on Justinian, of European renown, he became the greatest exponent of Roman law of the sixteenth century; de Thou was one of his students. He turned from the commentators on Roman law to the Roman law itself. Cujas imparted the necessity for realism in the intellectual development of Francesco D'Andrea and G. (*DBF* 9, pp. 1362-1364). G.'s first biographer, Michele Maria Vecchioni, observes that the same slander levelled at G. was used in France against Cujas on his method of writing and the authorship of his works (*Vita*, p. 25).

full many of the observations of that truly divine work, which seemed to me incomparable and wonderful. And I was delighted and infinitely pleased and satisfied to find that, apart from Roman jurisprudence, this marvellous genius had been induced to compose a commentary also on the books of the feudal domains (to improve the arrangement and order of which he had divided them into five books),[51] and that he had employed his lofty and sublime gifts on studies which others disdained as barbarous. I thus realized from such an illustrious example that these studies were not to be despised, and I was even more confirmed in the idea which induced me to undertake the previous studies, that they would enable me to embark on the late period. I had always considered this most useful and necessary, because of its greater relevance to the present state of Europe and the constitutions of the kingdoms and new dominions established in it. Moved, therefore, by such love, I began a careful reading of Cujas' commentaries. Believing that when they had to be returned to their owner, who had lent them to me, I would be left without what was for me a priceless treasure, and imagining that they could not be found elsewhere, I began urgently to transcribe all five books of the feudal laws in order always to have copies of them, since I could not have them in print. As I acquired more knowledge, I used to add to them other notes and reflections relevant to the uses of feudal domains in the kingdom of Naples.

In Naples, however, anyone aspiring to the doctorate had to take the degree in both civil and canon law, so that candidates had to have studied the two systems of law. At the university and in the lecturers' homes, therefore, Justinian's *Institutes* were taught for civil law and those of Lancellotti were taught for canon law, and my studies also had to encompass these. When embarking on this in the ordinary, commonplace way, I met with greater obscurity and darkness, and although I had studied Lancellotti's *Istituzioni* on canon law with my first teacher, I knew much less than before. I had heard of the *Decretum* of Gratian and the *Decretales*,[52] in which this new law was included,

51 G. refers to Cujas' *De feudis libri quinque, et in eos commentarii* in his *Opera omnia in decem tomas distributa* in the famous edition by Annibal Fabrot (Paris 1658), reprinted in Naples in 1722, 1727, and 1758.

52 Graziano da Chiusi (d. c.1179), one of the greatest lawyers of the Middle Ages, was educated probably in Bologna. He became a monk, and was made a cardinal by Alexander III. He wrote a textbook which became a classic on the law of the

but did not know where or how in the world it had originated. I began enthusiastically to study these matters, because it was a subject which belonged to the late period, to elucidate which I had undertaken all my previous studies. And since in the meantime I had become closer to, and more friendly with, Aulisio by accompanying him to his home after the public lecture, I often asked his advice on how properly to study canon law. And as he had done with civil law, he gave me adequate instruction on how clearly to understand it, and suggested plain and simple rules to avoid the many vain and useless issues with which modern Roman canonical writers had marred and confused it. From his sensible talks I understood many truths hitherto unknown to me, which with time made me aware of many others discovered later.

I understood that as Roman history was necessary for the study of civil law, so ecclesiastical history was necessary for canon law. From this I would have had enough knowledge of the origin of this new law, from which the *Decretum* and *Decretales* were compiled, and the use made of those other new compilations made in Europe. From my previous studies in Roman history and jurisprudence, I already understood that the ancient Romans did not make a separate corpus of their pontifical law, but combined it with the public laws of which it was a very small part, since it was not so diverse and elaborate and was restricted solely to their sacred and religious matters, to the direction of the legitimate cult of their gods, and to their rites and divine ceremonies. The new canon law, therefore, had to be regarded as a completely different field. I was extremely glad to find that it was not necessary to go back to very remote times to learn about its beginnings and origins; on the contrary these were found correctly in the time of the emperor Constantine the Great [306-337], when also the new and late Roman jurisprudence began. Since Constantine had been the

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Church, the *Decretum*, dated 1139-1140, because it incorporates decisions of the Second Lateran Council of 1139. It contains a vast collection of material based on Roman law, the early Church Fathers, the Councils, and on the decrees of emperors and popes. It reflects the legal aspirations of the reformed papacy of the twelfth century (*The Middle Ages*, ed. Richard. Loyne (London 1989), p. 153). Dante placed Gratian in Paradise (*Paradiso* 10.104-105) (*DBI* 59, pp. 1-6: D. Quaglioni). Decretals in canon law refer to letters of the popes which formulate decisions in ecclesiastical law. They result in general from consultation, but also derive directly from the popes. With the canons of councils they constitute the major source of ecclesiastical legislation.

first emperor who, by abolishing all restrictions, allowed the Christian religion to be embraced and publicly professed by all in the Empire, it was with him that the new jurisprudence for the new laws began. Pontifical law thus assumed a new form and aspect and gave rise to many other strange and monstrous changes, from which originated the new canon law. I could at the same time, therefore, pursue equally my studies for knowledge in both branches of law. Studying it with such method and foresight, I understood that in the beginning, as well as after the Christian religion was accepted in the Empire, this canon law had not been a separate corpus, but had been included by the Christian emperors in their *Codes* and the compilations of their *Novels*.[53] The reason was, as I realized later, that Constantine the Great decided himself to take charge of the external political system and government of the Church. Since the bishops were the superintendents of internal matters, the preaching of the gospel, rectifying customs, administering the sacraments and other sacred matters and religious rites, he declared that he was the head and superintendent of the external Church, of what concerned its new external hierarchy, acquired after it had been accepted into the Empire, the new form and arrangement both of temporal matters pertaining to it and of the persons assigned to its ministry. He was its head and inspector, and as he was the leader of the Empire, he was thus to have charge of everything within it. And no doubt the idea was raised at that time that the Church was in the Empire and not the Empire in the Church, as the ancient Church Fathers, including Optatus Milevitanus,[54] ingeniously claimed. It thus happened that Constantine and the other emperors who were his successors, even though Christians, retained among the titles passed on to them by their predecessors that of *pontifex maximus*, proper to the pagan religion, which, never having been banned in the Empire, was professed publicly no less than was the Christian title. They took also the title of 'bishop of those outside the Church' (*episcopus ad extra*) in relation to the Christian religion, since the two religions were professed

53 The *Novels* were new decrees or supplements to the codes.

54 Optatus, bishop of Milevi in Numidia (second half of sixth century); he was the first to write against Donatism. In his writings he provided important details on his times. He is the author of the famous dictum: the Church is in the Empire and not vice versa. G. quotes him in his essay 'On the Concubinage of the Romans' (*Del concubinato de' Romani*, in *Opere postume* (Naples 1770), 1, p. 161).

in the Empire, over which the emperors were leaders and moderators. This new pontifical law, therefore, did not have to be sought beyond the corpus of their *Codes* and the compilations of their *Novels*.

This was made clear by the *Theodosian Code*, compiled by authority of the emperor Theodosius the Younger [402-450], in which are included the constitutions of the Christian princes from Constantine the Great down to Theodosius' times, the sixteenth book of which includes the constitutions pertaining to this religious law. This shed much more light on Justinian's *Code*, and his many *Novels* relating to it, and the other Greek compilations which followed later under his successors the other Eastern emperors, and especially the many *Novels* of Leo the Wise[55] and so many others. From these it is clear that the Greeks, because of the external political system of the churches of the Eastern Empire, recognized only the canon law which had been established by the regulations of their emperors through their laws and novels.

From this I understood that in the West it had been completely different and that the more immediate origin of canon law, which now derives from Gratian's *Decretum* and the *Decretales* of the Roman pontiffs in the west, had to be investigated after the ruin of the Empire, when it ceased to exist with Augustulus.[56] Its beginnings, development and changes had to be studied from various secondary events which followed, and from when it reappeared with Charlemagne,[57] and then, on the extinction of his male line, when the Western Empire passed to the Germans, and from the many revolutions which

55 Leo the Philosopher: Leo VI, Byzantine emperor (886-912). The extensive writings attributed to him include many *novels* and matters relating to ecclesiastical legislation, and a homily criticising hymns and treatises in honour of Mary the mother of Jesus.

56 Romulus Augustulus, known as the last Roman Emperor of the West (475-476), was in fact a usurper and not recognized in the East. His father, the patrician Orestes, made him emperor as a child, hence the diminutive name Augustulus.

57 Charles the Great, better known as Charlemagne (742-814), king of the Franks (771-814), emperor of the West (800-814). He defeated the Saxons and Lombards, fought the Arabs in Spain, and established his rule over most of Christian Western Europe. In 800, he was crowned emperor by Leo III. His reign is known as the Carolingian Renaissance. Ricuperati (*L'esperienza*, p. 178) draws attention to the fact that with Charlemagne originated the distinction between clergy and laity, whence came also the fact that an ecclesiastic could not be subject to secular judicial procedures, a right subsequently to be generally abused.

followed, especially in Italy, after the long interregnum of the emperor Frederick II,[58] and after many other events and strange and portentous changes which took place in Europe. With the advent of many new dominions and customs, it was not surprising that new regulations and compilations of laws were written which were completely unknown in the old laws.

From a consideration of such matters I realized that much more work remained for anyone intending to study the late obscure period and the centuries less remote from us, which were full of ignorance and the source of many errors and superstitions, rather than my merely rambling among ancient Roman memories. At the same time, however, I had to admit that even if these studies were boring and laborious, they were more useful and necessary, not only for their relevance to our times by making more comprehensible the present structure of things. They were relevant also because the passage of so many centuries, from Constantine the Great down to our time, had brought about such amazing changes and introduced such strange customs and other portentous matters that the human species itself seemed completely changed, and men even in thought, in their discourse, reasoning and judgements, not only in their customs, were quite different from how they were before. I felt that this must arouse the curiosity of all to distinguish the origins, occasions and manner of so many and such strange changes. And in the belief that without history it was impossible to understand, I took the opportunity to add the secular historians as I went through the ecclesiastical historians, in order properly to understand canon law. I could thus simultaneously be enlightened in both canonical matters relating to the Church and civil matters relating to the Empire, and in understanding the origins and causes of so many other new compilations which followed, of both Lombard and feudal laws and of many other collections of our constitutions and other ordinances, rites and usages pertaining to our cities' laws and the present constitution of the kingdom of Naples.

58 Frederick II (1194-1250), last emperor of the Hohenstaufen line, king of Sicily (1198: at the death of his parents, he was placed under the guardianship of Innocent III) and of Germany (1212). He strove to consolidate Imperial power in Italy over the papacy, but plans were frustrated by the popes and by a lack of support from Lombardy (Chapter Two: Appendix).

For ecclesiastical history I was directed to Eusebios,[59] Sokrates,[60] Sozomen[61] Sulpicius Severus,[62] Theodoret,[63] Zonaras[64] and other ancients. Since in this field, however, great progress had been made in France, I decided to enlist the aid of the moderns, and in particular that of Fleury[65] and Tillemont.[66] And for the actual history of the origin and development of canon law, the works of von Mastricht,[67]

59 Eusebios (c.260-340), born in Palestine; bishop of Kaisareia (c.314); a moderate supporter of Arius, was exonerated from heresy and tried to mediate between the Arians and the 'orthodox'; he finally accepted the Nicene Creed. The death of his teacher Pamphilios as a martyr in 310 and Constantine's Christianizing of the Roman Empire were his main sources of inspiration. His major work, the *Ecclesiastical History*, was influenced by Flavius Josephus, the Acts of the martyrs, and the biographies of the Greek philosophers and Hellenistic scholarship, and it became the model for all subsequent ecclesiastical histories (Michael Grant, *Eusebius as church historian* [Oxford 1980]).

60 Sokrates (c.380-c.450), a lawyer from Constantinople, continued Eusebios' *Ecclesiastical History* from 305 to 439, relying on documents and first-hand testimony.

61 Sozomen (died c.450), another lawyer from Constantinople, wrote a history of the Church from 324 to 439, based on Sokrates' work, although it is never mentioned. Only Book Nine on monasticism is an independent work.

62 Sulpicius Severus (c.363-c.420/5), historian and hagiographer, monk and priest, wrote a *Chronicle* which summarized sacred history from the creation to 400.

63 Theodoret (c.393-466), born at Antioch, made bishop of Kyrrhos in 423; involved in disputes between his friend Nestorius and Cyril of Alexandria. His major works include *Graecorum Affectionum Curatio*, which contrasts Christianity with paganism; a *Church History* from Constantine to 428; and a *Religious History*, which contains biographies of ascetics.

64 Johannes Zonaras (twelfth century), Byzantine historian and canonist. Among other works he wrote an *epitome of histories* which was a universal history down to AD 1118. He is, with Xiphilinos, our main source for the reconstruction of Dio's books 61-68, and especially important as a source for the period 450-550.

65 Claude Fleury (1640-1723), born at Paris, jurist, ecclesiastical historian and priest. His major work, *Histoire ecclésiastique*, 20 vols (Paris 1691-1720), was censured for its 'Gallican views', but unlike other works by him, was not placed on the *Index* because of the intervention in its favour by Benedict XIV (*DHGE* 17, pp. 483-489).

66 Louis-Sébastien Le Nain de Tillemont (1637-1697), Jansenist priest, author of the first history of the Roman Empire (the first six centuries), which he was forced by ecclesiastical censors to publish in two parts, an unfortunate division which persisted to the present time: (1) *Histoire des Empereurs*, 6 vols (Paris 1693-1712); and (2) *Mémoires pour server à l'histoire ecclésiastique des six premiers siècles* (Paris 1693-1712). The history is virtually a transcription of the sources; in his humility, Tillemont enclosed every word of his own in square brackets. Ronald T. Ridley, 'On knowing Sébastien Le Nain de Tillemont', *Ancient Society* (Leuven), 23 (1992), 233-297.

67 Peter von Mastricht (1630-1706), born at Cologne, Protestant theologian and preacher, taught theology and Hebrew in Frankfurt, Duisburg and Utrecht. Wrote *Novitatum Cartesianarum Gangraena* (The Gangrene of Cartesian Novelties) (Deventer 1677), and *Theologia Theoretico—Practica* (Utrecht 1699).

and Doujat,[68] the first books which I read on this subject, were a great comfort. By proceeding thus step by step following the order and chronology of the times, therefore, I made myself familiar with the historians and other writers, both secular and ecclesiastical, of centuries less remote from and closer to us. And because my limited means did not enable me to buy the necessary books, and my small circle of friends meant that I had no one who could lend them to me, I did not fail to frequent and spend hours on the days it was open in a magnificent and rich library which had been opened in the aristocratic quarter of Nido in Naples a few years earlier through the munificence of Cardinal Brancaccio.[69] Apart from the books of the two cardinals of that illustrious as well as ancient family, the last cardinal had left a fund not only for the support of the librarian and custodians, but also to buy new books as they were printed, which were displayed there for the use and convenience of the public. I cannot deny that it was most helpful and useful to me, not only for its wealth of books relevant to my studies, but also for the acquaintance which I made there of the city's learned and literary men who frequented it, whose wise discourse even more enlightened me. When conferring with Aulisio on what I had read and learned there and how I had come to know about subjects truly worthy of attention, he used to tell me that I had come to Naples in my adolescence in the golden age, whereas he had had to pass his adolescence in the iron age, in which he found few such men and there was neither such ready availability nor diversity of books; that to read some good book he had had to travel as far as the monastery of San Giovanni a Carbonara and beg from the monks the favour of letting him into the library left to them by Cardinal

68 Jean Doujat (1609-1688), born at Toulouse, 'Father of canon law in France', member of Parliament in Toulouse and Paris, professor of Canon Law at the Collège de France, historian to Louis XIV; he taught mythology and history to the Dauphin. His main works are *Histoire du droit canonique* (Paris 1677), *Historia iuris civilis Romanorum* (Paris 1678), *J.P.Lancelotti Institutiones iuris canonici*, 2 vols (Paris 1670, 1685), and *Titi Livii historiarum libri* (Paris 1679) (*DBF* 13, pp. 774-775).

69 Francesco Maria Brancaccio (1592-1675), born near Bari, was forced over jurisdictional matters to flee to Rome from his bishopric in Capaccio. Spain opposed his return to Naples as archbishop of Bari and vetoed his election as successor in the papacy to Clement XI. It was his wish that his vast library be open to all (the first public library), and both it and the palazzo were bequeathed to the City of Naples. It has now become part of the National Library (Nicolini, *Scritti*, p.79; *DBI* 13, pp. 774-776: G.Lutz; *DHGE* 10, pp. 386-387).

Seripando,[70] so that for a brief hour he could profit from reading a few rare and learned books.

II

In the meantime, with similar and different opportunities, I was acquiring great knowledge in my studies and also meeting other scholarly friends. Among them it was my good fortune to meet one whom gratitude demands that I not overlook duly praising, since he was the first to enlighten me on matters of sound philosophy and other humanist disciplines. He was Filippo de Angelis,[71] an upright Neapolitan citizen, well-versed in the study of literature, and above all a lover of the Tuscan poets, and most expert in both the poetical and rhetorical art and the style of the most celebrated and famous orators and poets. He himself used often write poetry, of which we have in print some learned lyrics (*canzoni*) and cultivated sonnets. He was also learned in philosophy and other sciences. In Naples, however, the foremost philosophy, which came from France and had ousted the Scholastic philosophy professed in the cloisters, was that of Pierre Gassendi:[72] the great erudition and eloquence of his books had inspired all, and especially the young, to study them. De Angelis had embraced that philosophy and never abandoned it, even though the philosophy of René Descartes,[73] which

70 Cardinal Girolamo Seripando (1493-1563), Augustinian, bishop of Salerno in 1554, cardinal in 1561; a most learned man, he left his library (see *Civil History*, bk 32, ch.5, sect.1=Ogilvie, 2, p. 553) to the monastery of S. Giovanni a Carbonara (Lorenzo Giustiniani, *Mem. stor. della R. biblioteca borbonica* (Naples 1818), pp. 47-59; *Vita*, ed. Nicolini, pp. 20-21).

71 Filippo de Angelis, from Lecce, published a collection of poems: *Rime* (Naples 1698).

72 Pierre Gassendi (1592-1655), born in the Provençal Alps, French philosopher, scientist, mathematician, on which subjects he wrote extensively. He wrote also biographies of Epikuros, Nicholas de Peiresc, Tycho Brahe, Copernicus and others, and essays on ancient coins, the Roman calendar and the theory of music. Professor of Mathematics at the Collège de France from 1645, he was an opponent of Aristotelianism and Cartesian metaphysics. Gibbon eulogized him thus: 'the greatest philosopher among men of letters and the greatest man of letters among the philosophers' (*An Essay on the Study of Literature* (London 1764), p. 15). Although Gassendi's works were considered dangerous reading by the Inquisition, they were not placed on the *Index* and, unlike those of Descartes, were not censured (*DBF* 15, pp. 617-619; Barry Brundell, *Pierre Gassendi* (Dordrecht 1987)).

73 René Descartes (1596-1650), born at La Haye in Touraine, French rationalist philosopher and mathematician, 'the father of modern philosophy'. Early in his

was introduced there later, had made many change from the Gassendist to the Cartesian school.

To compensate for the grave loss of those three useless years of Scholastic philosophy, I decided under de Angelis' guidance to study that of Gassendi, for which my previous studies in Scotus' philosophy presented no obstacle, because, as they had left me merely with confused images, I had almost forgotten them. The eloquence and erudition of the new Gassendist philosophy, therefore, overwhelmed me, and I read his works with inexpressible pleasure. As the number of his volumes alarmed me and I did not want to neglect my studies in jurisprudence and Roman history, I was glad of the *Epitomes*[74] which Gassendi had compiled precisely for this reason. These I read avidly and with great satisfaction, recognizing in it a sound and more credible philosophy, which removed all the obscurity and dimness in which I had been immersed until then. It is true that I could not then understand the wise admonition which they instilled, the great truth of which I realized with time and experience: that all knowledge both metaphysical and physical, no matter how much man studied, must in this great workshop of the world be directed to moral philosophy. In Gassendi's philosophy it was therefore taught last of all, and for no other reason than to guide men in their moral life, works, conduct, and customs.

When engaged in these studies I read the six books of *De natura rerum* (*On the nature of things*) by Titus Lucretius Carus[75] and the extent of Gassendi's endeavours in refuting some errors of paganism, to show that for everything else Lucretius' teaching was sound and not to be

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career he rejected Scholasticism. He argued that one can doubt all one's sense experience, but not one's own existence as a thinking being: *cogito ergo sum*. His most famous work was *Meditationes de prima philosophia* (Amsterdam 1641). He also wrote *Discours de la méthode pour bien conduire sa raison et chercher la verité dans les sciences* (Leiden 1637). G. wrote of him in his *Triregno* (Chapter Two: Appendix). *Oxford Companion to Philosophy*, ed. T. Honderich (Oxford 2005), pp. 201-205.

74 Gassendi's *Syntagma philosophicum* is the most famous part of his collected works. Ricuperati observes that Gassendi's influence, in particular its 'implicit relativism' and scepticism, permeates G.'s work, and that it led him to investigate the history of the development of law rather than its foundation (*L' esperienza*, p. 139).

75 T. Lucretius Carus (c.90s-c.50s BC), author of *De rerum natura* (On the nature of things) in six books of hexameter verse, a major source for Epicureanism. It was a vital source in the Renaissance and Enlightenment because of its rationalism, and the idea of the social contract (Book Five). Epicureans believed that the gods existed, but did not interfere in human affairs, that the soul perished with the body, and that therefore there could be no punishment in an afterlife.

rejected by those professing the Christian faith, to which it was not opposed. I read also at that time the books of Sextos Empeirikos[76] often quoted by Gassendi, which were then very rare in Naples, and by good fortune a friend of mine who had them did me the favour of lending them to me. I read the *Lives of the Philosophers* by Diogenes Laertios[77] and other books relevant to these philosophic studies, so that I became like my contemporaries, a Gassendist philosopher.

I was confirmed in Gassendi's theories also by the fact that through Spinelli in the meantime I had become friends with a famous physician and philosopher of those times, Agnello di Napoli.[78] Although other physicians and especially the young were beginning to distance themselves from Gassendi and follow Descartes' philosophy, he remained unmoved, and for as long as he lived held to Gassendi's theories, and through our frequent conversations he instilled in me that I should persist in them. On the one hand, therefore, de Angelis, who had suggested it to me, and on the other, di Napoli, who had confirmed me in it, kept me convinced of this philosophy, from which I shifted only in later years, as will be revealed in the course of my *Vita*.

To de Angelis I owe not only these studies, but also his having introduced me to good poets and the most cultured Tuscan writers in order to study both eloquence and a more cultured and elegant style, and the correctness and excellence of Tuscan expressions and phrases. He was the first to reveal to me the beauties of Petrarch[79] and our

76 Sextos Empeirikos (c.AD 200), Greek physician and sceptical philosopher. His name denotes that he was of the 'empirical' school of physicians. He is one of the best sources for Stoic logic. Three of his books survive: *Outlines of Pyrrhonism*, on his advocacy of sceptical philosophy and rejection of dogmatic philosophies; *Adversus Mathematica* I-VI (Against the professors); and *Adversus Mathematica* VII-XI (Against the dogmatists).

77 Diogenes Laertios (early third century); little is known about his life. He wrote a compendium on the lives and teachings of the ancient philosophers, a series of quotations mostly from secondary sources, but both a valuable source for Stoic doctrine, and especially important for extensive quotations of Epikuros.

78 Agnello di Napolì (b. 1658) 'began to teach philosophy in 1683 to great applause in reference to the new discoveries of the century, and was foremost among lecturers on medicine' (Giovanni Origlia, *Storìa dello Studio di Napoli*, 2 vols (Naples 1753-54), 2, p. 12: B., p. 24). 'From the trial of atheists between 1788 and 1797, it transpired that [the accused] Niccolò Galìzia had been speaking on the theory of atoms in the home of Agnello di Napoli' (Luciano Osbat, *L'inquisizione a Napoli. Il processo agli ateisti 1688-1697* (Rome 1974)).

79 Francesco Petrarca (1304-1374), born at Arezzo, Italian poet and scholar. He was the

other eminent and renowned poets. Captivated by their sweetness, I did not tire of reading and re-reading their poems and whatever had been observed by others of their marvellous artifice and wisdom. It is, however, true that, although I liked them so much and during the day I almost always had them in my hand, they never made me capable myself of composing a single line.

Dante's *Commedia* in those early days was not completely to my taste. I admired only a few cantos, such as the hard death of Count Ugolino,[80] the story of the loves of Francesca over the reading of Galeotto,[81] that of King Manfred,[82] and the appropriateness and obviousness of the analogies and similarities and other parts. And those expert in the language and his style used to tell me that this showed that I had not yet fully understood it or arrived at the ultimate point of perfection, which I would reach when that divine poet would please in all that he had done. And later I realized the truth of their words.

As I was eager to know the first writers in the sciences and liberal arts, I had the wish, for the poetry, to read Homer. On reading the *Iliad* in the Latin translation by Lorenzo Valla, and the *Odyssey*,[83] however,

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earliest of the great Renaissance humanists, and a major influence on other writers. He is responsible for rescuing from loss most of the surviving books of Livy (1-10, 21-40).

80 Dante was punishing Ugolino for treachery, whether for betraying the Ghibelline cause to become a leader of the Guelfs, or for treachery to his grandson (Paget Toynbee, *Concise Dictionary* (New York 1968), pp. 536-537). In the *Inferno* Dante and Virgil see two sinners frozen one above the other in the same hole, the upper one (Ugolino) gnawing the head of the lower (Ruggiero), by whom he was himself betrayed (Chapter Two: Appendix).

81 Francesca da Rimini. Francesca's 'loves' refers perhaps not only to the brother of her husband, with whom she had fallen in love when reading with him of 'Galeotto' or Galehaut, the character in the *Romance of Lancelot du Lac* who persuaded Queen Guinevere to kiss Lancelot and thus begin their mésalliance. Francesca tells Dante: 'That day we would read more in it'; 'loves' must also refer to her husband, who surprised the lovers and killed them (Toynbee, *Concise Dictionary,* pp. 242, 250).

82 Manfred (1231-1265/6), king of Sicily. As a Ghibelline, he was detested and excommunicated by popes Alexander IV, Urban IV, and Clement IV. The last two confiscated his crown and gave it to Charles of Anjou, who defeated him in battle. Charles had Manfred's excommunicated body buried at the foot of the bridge in Benvenuto. G. wrote a moving account of Manfred's life and death in the *Civil History* (bk. 18, 19, ch.1-3: see Chapter Two: Appendix).

83 G. refers probably to the edition *Homeri poetarum principis, cum Iliados, tum Odysseae libri XLVIII, Laurentio Vallen et Raphaele Volaterrano interpretatibus* (Antwerp 1528) (B., p. 26). Lorenzo Valla (c.1406-1457), Italian humanist, wrote with brilliance and originality, and his critical study of Latin, *De Elegantiis Latinae Linguae* (1444 (Rome

as I was ignorant at that time of the constitution of Greece and much more so of Asia, and of the peoples who inhabited them in those very ancient times, and was not equipped with other knowledge necessary to understand the poems, I drew little profit from them and barely retained in my mind the main facts and names of those most illustrious heroes. At an advanced age, therefore, when I went back to reading them, they seemed new to me and truly worthy of being re-read and admired.

Of the Tuscan authors who had written in prose, de Angelis suggested, among the foremost, the two Giovanni—Boccaccio[84] and Villani[85]—and other Florentine writers. And to study the art of eloquence and the different kinds of style, he proposed *I Commentari sopra Demetrio Falereo* by Panigarola,[86] which I read with great care and attention. To these I added Bembo's[87] prose, the discourses of Giulio Camillo Delminio,[88]

1471)) is still considered unsurpassed. His treatise of the Donation of Constantine, *De falso credita et ementita Constantini donatione declamatio* (1440 (Basel 1517); *The Treatise of Lorenzo della Valle*, trans. C. Coleman (Yale 1922)), is a classic and pioneering critical analysis, a *tour de force*, based solely on internal criteria, which exposed as a medieval forgery the major document on which papal temporal power relied. Until Valla was made apostolic secretary to Pope Nicholas V, he waged war on the temporal power of the papacy (*Lorenzo Valla e l'umanesimo italiano*, ed. O. Besomi and M. Regoliosi (Padova 1986)).

84 Giovanni Boccaccio (1313-1375), Florentine(?), Italian poet and humanist; he travelled widely as Florentine ambassador. The stories in his greatest work, the *Decameron,* were taken from current popular fictions. He greatly influenced Chaucer, Philip Sidney, Shakespeare, Dryden, Keats, and others (*DBI* 10, pp. 838-857: Natalino Sapegno).

85 Giovanni Villani (c.1275-1348), Florentine chronicler and banker, member of the Black faction, died in the plague; author of *Cronica* in twelve books, from the origins of Florence to his own times; he was noted for his belief in divine retribution and his interest in statistics (*DBI* 99, pp. 333-338: Marino Zabbia).

86 *Il predicatore overo... Dell'elocutione, con le parafrasi, e commenti, e discorsi ecclesiastici di Mons. Francesco Panicarola* (Venice 1642). Francesco Panigarola (1548-1594), born at Milan, orator, bishop of Asti, apologist for Sixtus V against Henry IV; wrote on theology and left various collections of speeches (*DBI* 80, pp. 773-777: Vincenzo Lavenia).

87 Pietro Bembo (1470-1547), born at Venice, Italian poet and scholar, secretary to Leo X, cardinal; wrote one of the first Italian grammars; helped to codify the writing system (*DBI* 8, pp. 133-151: Carlo Dionisotti).

88 Giulio Camillo Delminio (1485-c.1544), born at Friuli, man of letters; famous for his vast learning, mocked and derided unjustly as a charlatan in his lifetime (*EI* 12, p. 562; not in *DBI*).

Muzio,[89] Salviati,[90] and others. On the matter of style, however, in all the works which I read, none seemed more sage and learned than that written by Father Pallavicino,[91] Jesuit and later cardinal, his *Dell'arte dello stile*, which for subtle reflections and precise sagacity surpassed the diligence and observations of the others. With age I made some headway in these studies, and later for a knowledge of times less remote from ours, I came to know the histories of Italy of the last centuries. From those of Guicciardini[92] and Machiavelli[93] I studied style, and as that of Machiavelli seemed simpler, easier and more fluent than the contorted, convoluted and laborious style of Guicciardini, I kept more to that of the

89 Girolamo Muzio (1496-1576), born at Padua, poor but became a courtier; finally received by Maximilian I. His varied literary work began with the Counter Reformation; author of *Battaglie in difesa dell'italica lingua* (Venice 1582) (*DBI* 77, pp. 614-618: Flavia Letise).

90 Leonardo Salviati (1540-1589), Florentine scholar, wrote on the *Decameron* and Tasso's *Gerusalemme liberata*; he also composed poems and plays (*DBI* 90, pp. 47-52: Claudio Gigante).

91 Francesco Maria Sforza Pallavicino (1607-1667), born at Rome, Jesuit, cardinal; historian, philosopher, theologian; appointed by Innocent X to investigate Jansenist theory; wrote a history of the Council of Trent; commissioned to correct Paolo Sarpi's work on the same subject. G. refers to *Considerazioni sopra l'arte dello stile e del dialogo* (Rome 1640) (*DBI* 80, pp. 512-518: Federica Favino).

92 Francesco Guicciardini (1483-1540), Florentine lawyer, administrator, general, and historian. He served the Medici until his forced retirement in 1537, when he turned to history. His *Storia d'Italia* in twenty books begins in 1494, describing Italy's ruin at the hands of France and Spain, and is marked by strong anti-clericalism. Ricuperati (*L'esperienza*, p. 162) observes that G. reproached him for his too great efforts to be objective. (*DBI* 61, pp. 90-104, P. Jodogne; G. Benzoni; *Francesco Guicciardini nel V centenario della nascità* (Florence 1984)).

93 Niccolo Machiavelli (1469-1527), Florentine secretary and historian, who served the Medici. He wrote the *History of Florence* (to 1492); *The Prince* (1532) his most famous and most misunderstood work (placed on the *Index*); and *Discourses on Livy* (Florence 1531), an analysis of Livy's first decade and Rome's rise to greatness as a republic, to serve as a model for contemporary Florence. Ricuperati observes that G. was influenced by Machiavelli's *Istoria fiorentina*, his praise of Theodoric and the Lombards, and his thesis that the papacy had prevented the formation of a national state (*L'esperienza*, pp. 161-163). Brunello Vigezzi notes that while G. was deeply influenced by Machiavelli, he was never prey to futile Machiavellism 'because of his fundamental assumption that the great characters of history: Barbarossa, Gregory VII or Innocent III are all possessed by their great ideas' (*Pietro Giannone Reformatore e storico* (Milan 1961), p. 146). His influence is evident also in G.'s treatment of the Lombards, which is typical of the Italian historiography of the 1700s, in that he agrees with Machiavelli on the weakness of the Byzantine laws and thus foresaw, with him, their consequences for Italy (*ibid.*, pp. 317-320).

former than the latter.

Absorbed by these studies, since I was neither moderate nor systematic but driven by youthful zeal, I had no wish to put them aside in the hours after the midday meal or to exercise by walking, and I always stayed fixed at home. With time, therefore, I acquired an obstruction so great that it eventually made me jaundiced, and for many months I suffered from the sickness called 'the King's Evil'.[94] I tested all the useless remedies recommended to me to cure it, including the idiotic ones. In reference to such remedies, I was told by a friend who was a lawyer that at the convent of the sisters of Regina Coeli there was a nun who cured jaundice. As I went often to visit Agnello di Napoli who lived near there, I decided one morning to see if she could cure me. I had her called, explained my sickness, and asked her to have pity on me. After encouraging me, she asked if I had a wife, and on being told no, made me kneel down. She then recited certain words over my head, of which I remember only two: *arcum conteret*,[95] prescribed some syrups and distilled waters[96] to be taken in the morning, and sent me away, telling me to come to her each morning for eight days, so that in her room she might continue what still had to be done to cure me. I told di Napoli how I had found such a sympathetic doctor, and we laughed over her continuing the antidotes of syrups and weak wines with the devotions and sayings from the psalms, and I left her to her incantations and did not return. By keeping to the long path suggested by him of exercise, iron, and abstaining from cakes and other coarse, uncooked, salty, and acidic foods, I began to lose that tiredness in the limbs which I felt more when quiet than moving around, and finally to free myself completely from it. This served as a lesson for the future to regulate my hours of study and not neglect morning walks and other physical exercise.

94 The 'evil' is scrofula.

95 *arcum conteret* = he is wearing out his bow; for *arcus* in this sense, cf. Apuleius, *Met*. 2.16.

96 This perhaps could mean water in which had been soaked rusty nails to remedy an iron deficiency (Mario Fubini, review of Bertelli's edition of the *Vita di P.G.*, pp. 484-485). G. always used the above cure of drinking water in which rusty nails had been soaked, except that in Vienna, on the advice of Pio Niccolò Garelli, he substituted water for absinthe (letter to his brother Carlo, 2 June 1731: *Epist.*, p. 806).

Appendix (Chapter Two)

[1]

G.'s first surviving letter, to his uncle, is a fascinating account of these events, and a marvellous insight into the intellect of G., only twenty-four. He is already a historian.:

To the most revered Don Carlo Antonio Sabatelli

Ischitella
Naples
27 November 1700

Dearest Uncle,

I am moved in this letter to give you news of events of such great significance and moment, which have not happened before in the world, not least in our time, and will not happen in the future; and of a matter already long foreseen, not, however, without fear of war, changes and great agitation in the whole of Europe. These events have now occurred so peacefully that one still suspects them to have been dreams or fantasies. They are the death of our king, the coronation of his successor, and the election of the pope, matters which have all happened in a short time.

In Naples on Saturday, 3 November at three hours in the night [c.9:00 p.m.], a courier arrived from the Spanish ambassador in Rome to this viceroy, bearing the very mournful news of the death of our king [Charles II of Spain] on 1 November, precisely at a time when throughout all his kingdoms and particularly in Naples very great celebrations were underway for the news come of his improvement. The courier also brought the news that our king had, for the sole purpose of public peace, already acceded to the will of all the grandees of Spain by naming as his successor the duke of Anjou, the second son of the Dauphin of France, and made him monarch of Spain [Philip V, 1700-1724], by excluding the archduke of Austria, second son of the emperor. It would otherwise have given rise to a very long and calamitous war in the whole of Europe and in particular in this Kingdom.

All this news was known in Naples on the Sunday morning, and the loss of such a saintly king was generally mourned. Peace, however, was envisaged because of his having named as his successor the duke of Anjou, so that here all remained quiet. In the banks alone there was some uproar, because everyone ran to withdraw money, but then it immediately ceased. The nobility, however, and in general those most knowledgeable of the things of the world feared greatly that the king of

France would not accept the exaltation of his nephew, but would want to stand by the division, and incorporate in the monarchy of France the kingdoms of Naples, Sicily and Sardinia, because that would have meant a great increase in the said monarchy. To make the duke of Anjou monarch of Spain meant nothing to France, because on his arrival in Spain he will no longer be French but Spanish, and it will be as though Charles II had had a son. This fear grew from the preceding leaflets come from Paris (for better understanding, I send you one), from which it is gleaned that the king of France would not have accepted the exaltation of his nephew. This fear lasted no more than three days in Naples, because on the Wednesday news came from France and Milan that the king of France was certainly satisfied, and that when he summoned all the princes of the blood and his Parliament, they had recognized the duke of Anjou as the king of Spain. And this very morning a new courier has arrived for the viceroy, bearing the latest news that on 1 December he left for Madrid, accompanied as far as the borders of Spain by his two brothers, the duke of Burgundy and first born, and the duke de Berry, the third son, who also has been nominated in default of his brother.

The duke of Anjou is the young age of seventeen, and because his name was Philip, he has been made Philip V, king of Spain. In Naples, today in fact, his portrait has appeared, printed on paper, which I send you. It is commonly believed, however, that he is much more handsome.

In Rome, when the cardinals learned of the death of the king of Spain, they hastened the appointment of the new pontifex. And, because the Spaniards joined the French, and the zealots supported the latter, destiny fell on one whom no one expected, of whom there was never any mention. It was Cardinal Antonio Albani of Urbino, secretary of briefs under the dead pontifex. And although he was of the French faction, everyone united behind him. He was made pope, therefore, on Tuesday, 23 November, the feast day of the pope who was St Clement. And he chose to call himself Clement XI, and not Alexander IX, even though he had been appointed a cardinal by Alexander VIII. The pope is very young, being aged no more than fifty-two. He is, nevertheless, subject to illness. It is said that at this moment he is in fact in bed, although making a rapid recovery. He is of great intelligence, and is a man thought capable of the dignity of the papacy, which, it is assumed, he will exercise with glory as long as his many relatives, whom he keeps quite poor, will not be a hindrance to him. The portrait which I send you is a natural one and among the best in circulation.

Because all these events have occurred in a brief period of time, it is believed that they must produce changes, tumult, sedition, war and ruin throughout the Catholic world. Until now, however, we can say that matters have proceeded with great peacefulness and quiet. And of

the emperor nothing is feared, because he does not have the strength to oppose France and Spain, who are today united, and also because marriage is planned between the archduchess his daughter and the said duke of Anjou, today Philip V and our monarch. Since matters have begun thus, they will continue peacefully. In Milan no disturbance is expected, or that the emperor, given that the State is an Imperial feud, will not wish to incorporate it in the Empire, since the male line of Philip II in which his father Charles V invested him is extinct. There is, nevertheless, firm hope that things will quieten down and there will not have to be any change.

Here tomorrow will begin the melancholy ceremonies for the death of the king, which will continue for nine days. When finished, the festivities for the crowning of the new king will begin with the viceroy's taking the oath from all the barons of the kingdom and the whole city, and the usual ceremonies will be conducted to proclaim the king by circulating the new money with his portrait and arms.

The viceroy remains full of admiration for the loyalty of all the nobility and city, who, when news came of the death, placed themselves in his hands with assurances that what was ordered in the king's will and by the junta of Spain would be done. It is therefore to be hoped that the Spaniards will consider noteworthy this most loyal action of the whole kingdom, and perhaps matters in that regard will be much better in the future, as is generally hoped with universal gladness. Our hopes are all the greater on hearing that our new king is a high- spirited youth and shows much judgement and mettle, so much so that he will not leave everything to his magistrates, as in the past the three previous kings of Spain have done, to the great detriment of their vassals. And this is what I wanted to convey of the world's most important matters, which although public also concern us in a private sense, and I omit those more minor and of little importance, about which time I shall not fail to let you soon know.

I reply now to your very dear letter which I received this week, in which you write of the reason for not having received my letters and thus not replying to what you were asked to do. And your not replying to the said letters would have caused me much more discomfort if so many great events had not occurred. I remain extremely anxious, however, to receive your reply to all which I wrote, to learn your feelings about my departure and to decide what will most please you.

The prince [perhaps the prince of Ischitella: Nicolini, *Scritti*, p. 142] is much better, and if he is not completely recovered, he is not far from it. There is no more talk of his departure...

In reference to what you wish to know of the coming of the monseignor archbishop to Naples, I have heard from a person worthy

of trust that he came here in order to be as close as possible to Rome, to be able to go there straight away to kiss the feet of the pope, on the assumption that Panciatici or Marescotti would be elected, and from the latter, if elected, he was hoping for the [cardinal's] hat, as he had given him to believe. I imagine, therefore, that he will now go back, having learnt of the elevation to the papacy of Cardinal Albani...

And finally, sending my love to my mother and everyone at home, I remain, devotedly kissing your hand.[97]

[3]

Of the duke of Medina Coeli, G. wrote:

He encouraged Learning and Learned men to a great Degree, assembling them in his Palace, where with vast Attention and Complaisance, he heard their different Compositions. So that the *Belles Lettres*, which in the preceding Government had got a footing among us, became more flourishing and more firmly established... [Those who gave lectures] recited the most noble Compositions in different Languages, both in Prose and Verse... The Duke de Medina... was both the Spectacle and the Spectator of various worldly Vicissitudes, which at last brought him to an unhappy and lamentable End.[98]

[8]

Of Domenico Aulisio G. wrote:

By his profound Learning, especially in the field of the Roman and Greek [Jurisprudence]: By his Skill in Languages and his great Assiduity, he introduced the true Method of explaining the Laws... This Man was wonderful for his deep Knowledge of all manner of Learning. He was not only profoundly skilled in the true Jurisprudence, as his Works testify, but in the Mathematics, the Latin, Greek and other Oriental Languages. He was a great Antiquary and had a particular Delight in the Study of Ancient Medals... He was a great Philosopher, Poet and Orator; and he made so great Progress in the Study of Physick, that he wrote a learned and most accurate History of Physick, which he designed to have published, but by his own natural Indifference, always dubious and wavering, and never pleased with his own Works, being prevented by Daniel le Clerc, it remains in MS with the other Works left us... He has likewise left us many other Works upon Poetry... but all of them

97 Nicolini, *Scritti,* pp. 139-142.
98 *Civil History*, bk 40, ch.3=Ogilvie, 2, pp. 831, 832, 833.

imperfect, and full of Erasements, and short Expositions in the Margin...[99]

[10]

Of the Theodosian and Justinian Codes G. wrote:

> On the laudable Custom they [the Roman emperors] had in making use of the Works of the famous Civilians, without whose Advice nothing was done, either in the Government of the Commonwealth, or any other serious Matters... the Justinian Code ought to be more esteemed by us than the Theodosian; forasmuch as Justinian compiled likewise the Constitutions of the Emperors before Constantine, which Theodosius did not, who only collected those of the Princes from Constantine the Great down to his own time.[100]

[17]

Of Trajan's reply to Pliny's request on how to deal with the ever-growing number of Christians, G. wrote:

> That they being accus'd and convicted, he should proceed against them with Severity, but if they were not accus'd, he should rather wink at them.[101]

[58]

In the Fifth Crusade in 1228, Frederick II took Jerusalem and made himself king there. On returning to Italy, he continued his struggle with the popes until his death at Castel Florentino. Bertelli here quotes Macchiavelli, *Istorie fiorentine* 1.5: 'one may... easily imagine the sufferings of Italy and the other Roman provinces at that time, when not only the government and the prince but also the laws, customs, way of living, religion, language, dress and names were changed'.[102]

[73]

Of Descartes, G. wrote:

> Perhaps he would have been more useful and profitable to the human species, if, since this renowned and incomparable philosopher came to

99 *Civil History,* bk 40, ch.5=Ogilvie, 2, pp. 841-842.
100 *Civil History*, bk.1, ch.8=Ogilvie, 1, p. 28.
101 *Civil History*, bk 1, ch.2, sect.2=Ogilvie, 1, p. 46.
102 B., p. 21.

> us so late, he had appeared in the centuries most remote to us when philosophers had been given licence to say freely what they felt about natural things and expound freely what they had extracted after long and meticulous research. Descartes came to us when the Christian world was completely convinced that our sacred books were to be a rule for us, and a guide not only in matters of religion but also in physical and natural phenomena... This great philosopher... could not withstand or resist the impetuous river in which the whole world was absorbed, which deafened all with its loud and clamorous din [asserting] that through divine revelation human souls were certainly immortal and existed in their own right completely independently from the body and consequently in their own state, even though separated from the body.[103]

[80]

Dante, *Inferno*, Canto 32, lines 124-132 on Count Ugolino:

> We had already left him
> when I saw a pair so closely frozen in a single hole
> that one head was the other's cap.
> The top one's teeth had pierced
> the other at the juncture of his brain and nape,
> as though, from hunger, he were biting into bread.
> He gnawed the skull and other parts
> in just the manner that Tydeus, in his rage,
> had gnawed away at Menalippus' temples.[104]

[82]

On Manfred, G. wrote:

> Behold the unfortunate End of this invincible and gallant Hero, a Prince (laying aside his too great Thirst after a Crown, and his Misfortune of being hated by several Popes, who represented him to the World to be a Man both cruel, barbarous and void of Religion) to be compared to the most famous Captains among the Ancients. By his great Courage, Liberality, and Love of Justice, he kept his Dominions always in a flourishing State. It is true he violated the Laws, but then it was only for Sake of a Crown; however in all other things he was a Promoter of Piety and Justice. He was a deep Philosopher and a most expert Mathematician,

103 *Triregno. Regno terreno* 1, p. 283.
104 Trans. Roderick Foster: see Acknowledgements.

not only a Patron of learned Men, but most learned himself... He was fair, of a beautiful Shape, and genteel Carriage, most affable, always pleasant and smiling; and of an admirable and ready Wit; insomuch that there are not wanting some, who for his Liberality, Gracefulness and Courtesy, have compared him to Titus, the Son of Vespasianus, who was reckoned the Delight of Mankind. There are still remaining among us shining Monuments of his Liberality, such as the Harbour of Salerno and the famous City of Manfredonia, so called from his Name. And if the continual Trouble of defending the Kingdom against the Invasions of four Popes had not taken up his time, he would have left us more magnificent Monuments of his Bounty, and provided this Kingdom with wholesome Laws.[105]

105 *Civil History*, bk 19, ch.3=Ogilvie, 2, p. 36.

Chapter Three: 1701-1706: Naples

1701—The reign of Philip V, King of Spain; the governorship of the same Duke of Medina Coeli and then of the Duke of Escalona the Marquis d'Vilhena, Viceroy[1]

I

In the meantime the seventeenth century had passed and we had entered the eighteenth. It was six years since my arrival in Naples, during which time I had devoted myself to these studies, I had to think about turning to the legal profession and treading the dust of the courts to find some honourable way of living without relying any more on help from my family. Because of the death of the uncle of my mother and the family's considerable contribution to my support in Naples for the space of six years, and their providing also the money for me to rise to the rank of doctor, they were not in a position to continue their support. And as I was twenty-five, they considered me of an age when I could support myself with my first earnings, even though small, at the bar. I therefore decided, after taking the doctorate, to embark on a career in the courts. For that purpose I had to look for a lawyer under whom I could gain experience, not least in establishing myself and rendering myself capable of handling some case.

In the city of Naples the degrees of the doctorate were not conferred by the university, as in other cities, but by the grand chancellor of the kingdom and his college of doctors, who examine the candidates and declare them doctors, if eligible.[2] I was examined in civil and canon law,

1 Juan Manuel Fernandez Pacheco, the marquis Vilhena, duke of Escalona (1650-1725), viceroy of Naples 1702-1707.

2 See the *Civil History* for the ceremony of the conferring of the doctorate (bk 25,

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and in accordance with procedure, I expounded before the college some laws and decrees set for me. When I was passed by unanimous vote, they dressed me in a gown, placed a hat on my head and a ring on my finger, and opening the corpus of civil and canon law before me, they formally invested me with the authority to plead, interpret, teach and expound the laws and canons, and with other rites and ceremonies made me a doctor of civil and canon law. And they drew up a diploma for me on parchment with a pendant seal as a record for posterity.[3]

When looking for a lawyer with whom to study the practice of the courts, I suffered the same fate which befell me when beginning to study the *Institutes*. A lawyer[4] was proposed to me who, although of great probity and reputation as one of the foremost of the city, was purely a barrister (*forense*) without any other knowledge. He was quite unread and hardly aware of the clumsy Latin in the dull legal tomes, inept at pleading cases in the courts, and much more so at writing and drawing up legal pleas, even those of a barrister, of which I did not find any worth reading. After accompanying him in the morning in the courts and going to his home in the afternoon to study in his library, moreover, I found nothing but dull and insipid books all on matters pertaining to the courts. As I did not want to forget my studies of learned and classical authors, this caused me great pain. Among the many worthless books I recognized only the volumes of Antoine Favre,[5]

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ch.9=Ogilvie, 2, pp. 328-30). G. received his doctorate in 1701. The University of Naples was founded in 1224. G. was to become one of its reformers. See his submission: 'Parere intorno alla riforma de' Regi studi di Napoli disteso dal dottore P.G.', Vienna, 29 April 1733 (TAS, *Mss. Giannone*: Ricuperati, *Carte torinesi* (Turin 1963), p. 32).

3 There is surely, as Pier Luigi Rovito observes, irony here on the part of the sorrowful prisoner of Miolans, but no doubt also the realization that he had thereby, in theory, embarked on the road to wealth and power (in *P.G. e il suo tempo*, p. 269). Ricuperati draws attention, moreover, to the immense, unacknowledged hardship which G. must have suffered owing to poverty and a provincial background in his years of study in Naples to obtain his degree (*L'esperienza*, p. 97).

4 Giovanni Musto. It was Michele Marie Vecchioni who discovered his name (*Vita*, p. 5). Andrea Merlotti states that G. began his studies with Musto after the sudden death of his great-uncle Carlo Sabatelli, who had provided him with the small allowance. In the same year, he began to attend lectures at the Accademia di Medina-Coeli (*DBI* 54, p. 511).

5 Antonio Favre (1557-1624), jurist from Savoy. G. cites *De erroribus pragmaticorum et interpretum iuris* (Lyon 1598), *Codex Fabrianus definitionum forensium et rerum in sacro Sabaudiae senatu tractatarum* (Lyon 1606), *Iurisprudentiae papinianeae scientia ad ordinem Institutionum imperialium efformata* (Lyon 1607) (B., p. 30.3).

condemned there never to be opened, covered with dust and spiders' webs. I therefore interspersed the boring reading of the lawyers with a few hours on Favre's *Codex*, his *Iurisprudentiae papinianeae*, and on the books compiled by him, *De erroribus pragmaticorum*. After some time, however, I realized how little profit I drew from it and how uselessly I spent the time, and I confided to my dear Spinelli my misfortune in having encountered such ill-luck in the choice of the lawyer who was to be my guide. As soon as he heard the name, which I now do not wish to remember, he severely reproved the choice, and gave me not only advice but also help in changing him and choosing another who was his close friend. He was Gaetano Argento (see Fig. 5),[6] whom Spinelli had known from when Argento had been the pupil of the famous lawyer Serafino Biscardi,[7] later regent, who through his great learning in law had advanced to become in those times at the beginning of the new century one of the most eminent and illustrious lawyers. Spinelli took me to meet Argento and earnestly and persuasively recommended me to him. And not content with having repeatedly recommended me, he had other people of note speak to Argento on my behalf.

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6 Gaetano Argento (1661-1730), born at Cosenza, son of a grocer, had at least five siblings. He was a brilliant student. Thanks also to the influence of his patron, Rocco Stella, whose direct intervention secured him his first post as member of the Royal Council (Sacro Real Consiglio) in 1707, he rose effortlessly to the highest office, becoming regent of the Collateral Council in 1709, president of the Sacro Real Consiglio in 1714 and delegate of the Royal Jurisdiction (protector of Imperial rights against the Church), and finally was made a duke (*DBI* 4, pp. 122-125, E. Gencarelli). G. paid tribute to him in the *Civil History* (bk 40, ch.5=Ogilvie, 2, p. 841; Chapter Three: Appendix).

7 Serafino Biscardi (1643-1711), born in the province of Cosenza, famous for his eloquence (*DBI* 10, pp. 654-657: G. Ricuperati). G. wrote of him and his erudition in the *Civil History*: 'Next to him [Francesco D'Andrea] in Eloquence and Learning, and the Art of Pleading and Writing well was the famous Advocate Serafino Biscardi. He had likewise Colleagues, D. Niccolo Caravita and Amato Danio, but unequal to him in Eloquence' (*Civil History*, bk 40, ch.5=Ogilvie, 2, p. 841). Biscardi was related on his mother's side to Argento (Nicolini, *Uomini di spada* (Milan 1942), p. 201). After he was made fiscal lawyer of the Regia Camera della Sommaria in 1698, he gave all his clients to Argento. Biscardi served on the Council of Italy (Giunta d'Italia) with the favourite of Charles VI, Rocco Stella, so that Argento also received Stella's patronage (*ibid*., pp. 218-19, 250). He united with Nicolò Caravita, Giuseppe Valletta and Pietro di Fusco in opposing the introduction of the Court of the Inquisition, with his *Memoriale mandato alla maestà di re Carlo secondo per gli affari del S. Officio della città e Regno di Napoli* (Bibl.Naz.Naples, quoted by Lino Marini, *P.G. e il Giannonismo* (Bari 1950), p. 53). He also wrote against the economic immunity of the clergy (Harold Stone, *Vico's Cultural History* (Leiden 1997), p. 37).

Fig. 5 Gaetano Argento (1661-1730), by Francesco Solimena, *Funerali nella morte del Signor duca D. Gaetano Argento* (Naples 1731), https://ia601300.us.archive.org/11/items/funeralinellamor00musc/funeralinellamor00musc.pdf

The change was inestimably advantageous to me.[8] I found him profoundly erudite and knowledgeable on both Latin and Greek authors, and not only on feudal and municipal law but also Roman jurisprudence, which he had drawn from the clearest sources. His library was embellished with the best and most select jurists and

8 G. remained in Argento's group of students from 1700 to 1707 and there wrote the essay based on history and law which inspired the *Civil History* (*DBI* 4, p. 123: E. Gencarelli).

canonists. In it were the works of Andrea Alciato,[9] Budé,[10] Jacques Cujas,[11] Douaren,[12] Connan,[13] Bauduin,[14] Brisson,[15] Hotman,[16] Mornac,[17] Antonio Agustin,[18] Leconte,[19] Denis and Jacques Godefroy,[20]

9 Andrea Alciato (1492-1550), born near Como, entered the University of Padua to study law at the age of fifteen. When aged twenty-two he was already known for his writings, which include *Adnotationes* to the Justinian Code. He revived the study of jurisprudence (*EI* 2, p. 246) and became professor of Law successively at Avignon, Bourges, Bologna, and Ferrara. His *Opera Omnia* are in 4 vols (Frankfurt 1617) (*DBI* 2, pp. 69-77: R. Abbondanza).

10 Guillaume Budé (1467-1540), born in Paris, jurist, numismatist, antiquarian, diplomat, and secretary to Louis XII. He set up the library at Fontainbleu; wrote *Adnotationes* to the *Pandects*, interpreting them philologically rather than in a legal sense; and founded the *Collège des trois langues* (Latin, Greek and Hebrew), which became the Collège de France (*DBF* 7, pp. 611-612).

11 See Chapter Two, n.50.

12 François Douaren (1509-1559), born at Moncoutour, French jurist, studied law in Paris and Bourges under Alciato; lectured in Paris on the *Pandects* to the sons of Guillaume Budé; second only to de Thou as a jurist; quarrelled with Cujas and Bauduin. His complete works on law went through five editions in his lifetime (*DBF* 11, pp. 637-638).

13 François Connan (1508-1551), born at Paris, studied law under Alciato and was a magistrate under Francis I. His *Commentaria juris civilis* in 2 vols was published posthumously in 1553 (*NBG* 11, p. 491).

14 François Bauduin (1520-1573), born at Arras, French jurist, theologian and historian, studied at Louvain. Banished from Paris for being a Protestant in 1545, he went to Geneva; he reconverted to Catholicism and returned to Paris; attempted to reconcile the churches; returned to Geneva again as a Protestant and worked briefly as Calvin's secretary; went to Heidelberg where he taught history and law, and became a Lutheran; quarrelled with Calvin. His published works reveal his vast learning. He reinterpreted law on the basis of history and literature (*DBF* 5, pp. 908-909).

15 See Chapter Two, n.24.

16 François Hotman (1524-1590), aristocrat, French jurist, author of many treatises on law, state councillor under Henri de Navarre; succeeded Cujas in the chair of law at Bourges. A Huguenot and close friend of Calvin, he was saved by his students from the massacre of St Bartholomew's Day, August 1572, and fled to Geneva, where he was made professor of law (*DBF* 17, pp. 1309-1310).

17 Antoine Mornac (1554-1619), born in the Touraine, French jurist, lawyer of Parliament in Paris. He wrote on the Digest *Observationes in xxiv priores libros Digestorum et in iv priores libros Codicis, ad usum fori gallici*, 4 vols (Paris 1721) (*NBG* 36, p. 616).

18 See Chapter Two, n.25.

19 Antoine Leconte (1526-1586), born at Noyon, French jurist, professor of law at Bruges and Lyon. De Thou was one of his students. He was a cousin of Calvin, but his lifelong opponent; wrote annotations to texts on civil and canon law (*NBG* 30, p. 235).

20 Denis Godefroy (1549-1621), born at Geneva, celebrated French jurist, studied at Louvain, Cologne, and Heidelberg, where he became a Huguenot. In 1580, he was forced to go to Geneva, where in 1585 he was appointed professor of law to replace

Ciron,[21] Gonzalez y Virtus,[22] and van Espen.[23] Who was omitted? There was no lack of other legal writers, but a clear distinction was observed among them between the clumsy and dull writers and those who had adapted Roman jurisprudence for use in the courts, who, being serious jurists, knew in their learned books how to treat and give zest to the theory of law. There were most erudite books of all kinds, of poets, historians, orators, and philosophers, and among others, all the works of Pierre Gassendi.

What pleased me above all, however, was to find there young men of my own age and some older. They had embarked on law under Argento's tutelage, and were very scholarly, sensible and lovers not only of legal studies but also of literature and the various fields of learning. Almost all of them I later saw rise to the highest honours in the legal profession.[24] After making friends with them, my knowledge steadily increased through our frequent discussions on our studies. And when

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Pacius. In the invasion by the duke of Savoy his house was robbed and his precious library burnt. His *Corpus Juris* remained a basic source for more than a century (*NBG* 20, pp. 898-903). On Jacques Godefroy, see Chapter Two, n.44.

21 Innocent Ciron (died 1648), professor of Canon Law at the University of Toulouse, then its chancellor. He published *Paratitla in quinque libros Decretalium Gregorii IX*, *Quinta compilatio epistolarum decretalium Honorii III*, and *Observationes juris canonici in quinque libros digestae*, which all appeared in the same year, 1645 (*DBF* 8, pp. 1323-1324).

22 Emmanuel Gonzales y Virtus (c.1673-1710), Spanish canonist, studied law at Avila; professor at Valladolid. He was a rigorist (arguing against the illegitimate sons of priests being given any office, ecclesiastical or civil). He became bishop of Tucuman in today's Santiago (*DHGE* 21, p. 655).

23 Zeger Bernard van Espen (1646-1728), born at Louvain, ordained priest in 1678, professor of Canon Law at Louvain; a 'clear, elegant, effective' writer, anti-Roman and Jansenist in sentiment. He interpreted the ecclesiastical liberty established by the Council of Trent as being liberty by divine right only in a spiritual sense. His major work *Ius ecclesiasticum* (The Rights of Ecclesiastics) (Louvain 1700), was based on a study of ancient ecclesiastical discipline and refuted the Church's usurpations of temporal power. His works were most studied by the Italian jurisdictionalists, not least by G., in the early eighteenth century (*EI* 14, p. 344). After van Espen's famous *Ius ecclesiasticum* was placed on the *Index* in 1725, G. wrote to his brother Carlo that 'the famous van Espen' had not only presented him with a copy of *De recursu ad principem*, but also, 'because of the respect which I show him personally in my work, had had translated into Flemish the entire chapter where I deal with the banning of books [Chapter Four]' (Vienna, 29 June 1725: *Epist.*, p. 262).

24 Argento's house was referred to as 'the temple of the severe muse and retreat of the most learned men of the city' (Vincenzo Ariani, *Vita di Argento*, 136; quoted by Nicolini, *Uomini di spada* (Milan 1942), p. 223). From such an atmosphere emerged not only the *Civil History* but also the masterpiece of Giambattista Vico, the *Scienza nuova* (*New Science*) (*ibid.*).

some rivalry developed among us, our studies became more assiduous and intense. In the meantime, as I had changed to the best lawyer, I left the first, who shortly afterwards died. It must be said that, although I profited little from him in the courts, because of his devout life he gave me the opportunity of meeting Father Antonio Torres,[25] a learned, wise and discreet priest of the Oratory instituted in Naples by Father Caracciola.[26] Father Torres was living in the religious house of San Niccolò alla Carità and presided over a special congregation frequented by many lawyers, where on Sunday mornings, apart from other spiritual exercises, he gave such learned, fervent and thoughtful sermons that many were inspired to go and hear him. I therefore joined the congregation, and by constantly attending was fortunate enough to have Torres himself as my spiritual father. He instructed me in true and sound Christian morality, and put me on guard against empty superstitions and other showy and outward demonstrations, which were to be regarded as more pharisaic and pagan than evangelical and Christian.

I often read the *Arte della perfezione cristiana*[27] of Cardinal Sforza Pallavicino, and read no other spiritual books with more devotion than the *Confessions of St Augustine*, although at that age I hardly understood their blend of the puerile and base with the great and sublime, especially when he rose to the highest theological and platonic speculations. I admired his genius in philosophical matters, but felt that his too great attachment to the splendid ideas of Plato had changed his intellect and made him subtly metaphysical, and his first profession of rhetoric had unfortunately made him a lover of strange and daring metaphors, and contrasts and cold antitheses, which were, however, normal for African brains.

As I advanced on the way of the courts following the renowned Argento, I began to be better acquainted with other lawyers from hearing them speak in the courts of the Council of Santa Chiara.[28] Although I

25 Antonio Torres (1636-1713), of aristocratic Spanish origin, was first a Jesuit. He espoused the philosophy of Quietism, which stressed silent prayer, public charity and spiritual peace, and was its most popular preacher (Chapter Three: Appendix).

26 G. may refer to Fabrizio Caracciolo, abbot of Santa Maria Maggiore of Naples, co-founder with Giovanni Adorno of the Order of the Chierici Regolari Minori (Regular Minor Clerics) or to St Francesco Caracciolo (1563-1608), the third founder of the Order, who was beatified by Clement XIV (B., p. 32.3).

27 Published in Rome, 1665.

28 The Consiglio di Santa Chiara was named after the place where the Sacro Real Consiglio, Naples' supreme magistracy, used to meet. It was instituted by Alfonso I

had come too late to have the pleasure of admiring the eloquence of the incomparable Francesco D'Andrea[29] and the gentle, impressive discourse of Biscardi and other older lawyers, either dead or promoted to the magistracy, there was no lack of lawyers who, if not so eloquent, were learned, polished, clear, and elegant. And Argento by long study and untiring practice had overcome his own nature, which was not in his favour, so that his speeches had become subtle, learned, strong, and most persuasive.

On arriving at Naples I could have met D'Andrea, but after he had been honorably discharged from the magistracies he held following his time as lawyer, he had retired first to the nearby island of Procida,[30] and then to Puglia, near the city of Melfi in a region called Candela, where he died. And he had vanished from the sight of men in that solitude to devote himself even more to philosophical studies, in which he totally immersed himself in his old age. Although I was not able to look on his face, I read the marvellous fruit of his divine mind in the few works which he left us. Among them, apart from some of his learned pleas, was his incomparable treatise: *Sopra la successione del Brabante*,[31] and the amazing *Disputazione feudale*,[32] which he published when holding the post of fiscal advocate of the royal patrimony of Naples.

I knew Biscardi not as lawyer but as magistrate, because he had at the time been promoted to the post of fiscal advocate. I heard him speak

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of Aragon in 1492, and comprised a president and twenty-four councillors (*Vita*, ed. Nicolini, pp. 241-242; Chapter Three: Appendix).

29 Francesco D'Andrea (1625-1698), born at Ravello, a reformer in education, champion of Descartes, opponent of Aristotelian and Scholastic philosophy. An internationally renowned lawyer, he was also actively interested in scientific projects. Naples' leading scientists, such as Tommaso Cornelio, dedicated their work to him (Harold Stone, *Vico's Cultural History* (Leiden 1997), pp. 14-15). His two disciples, Serafino Biscardi and Gaetano Argento, had a profound influence on G. (*DBI* 32, pp. 529-536: A. Mazzacani) (Chapter Three: Appendix).

30 Here D'Andrea wrote his unpublished *Avvertimenti ai nipoti* (Admonitions to Nephews) (B. p. 34.3); published in Naples only in 1990!

31 *Riposta al trattato delle ragioni della regina Christianissima sopra il ducato del Brabante* (Reply to the Treatise on the Reasons of the Most Christian Queen in Reference to the Duchy of Brabante) (Naples 1667).

32 *Disputatio an fratres in feuda nostri regni succedant, cum fratri decedenti non sunt coniuncti ex eo latere, unde ea obvenerunt* (Debate on Whether Brothers May Succeed to Feudal Properties in our Kingdom When the Deceased Brother Has No Relatives of his Own on that Side, so that They [the feudal properties] Fall to their Lot) (Naples 1694) (B., p. 34.5).

many times in the court of the Royal Cabinet (*Regia Camera*) of Naples[33] in defence of the Treasury in the most celebrated cases, where he did not hesitate to set aside his prerogative and speak in public with the doors of the courts open, so as to be heard by all. And, in fact, to his eloquence were added not only scholarship and the art of fine speaking, but also a gravity truly senatorial. I read many of his learned and erudite pleas given as lawyer in defence of the weighty cases of his clients and other undertakings, and as fiscal advocate, in defence of the royal patrimony.[34] In this field, however, Argento certainly surpassed his teacher, because his pleas were more abundant, weighty and fertile, both in learning and strong arguments, and the subject for investigation was discussed with an exactness which left nothing new to be added by others, even if they wished to take the trouble to re-examine it and subject it to new scrutiny.[35]

I cannot deny that, by assiduously reading his learned and wide-ranging legal pleas, I increased my knowledge and made considerable progress in my defences in court. As I had his pleas always before me, he more than the other legal writers enabled me to begin to examine and write up some cases, imitating, as well as I was able, his style and manner of treating them. And if I were fortunate enough to find that in some case some legal clause had to be examined which I had seen examined in one of his pleas, I would, moreover, be saved the trouble of consulting other writers, as I was certain that he had seen them all. Making good use of them, therefore, I embellished my writings in such a way that, compared with the pleas written by my equals, mine were more wide-ranging, scholarly and commendable. For my purposes and the use which I made of them, it mattered little to me that Argento's

33 It was called also the Regia Camera della Sommaria, and was a high advisory body for matters concerning finance, with jurisdiction over all cases involving the royal finances and disputes involving the *baroni* (feudal lords) or the *università* (local communities) (Anna Maria Rao, 'The Feudal Question', in *Naples in the Eighteenth Century*, ed. Girolamo Imbruglia (Cambridge 2000), p. 95).

34 Lorenzo Giustiniani, *Memorie istoriche degli scrittori legali del Regno di Napolli*, 3 vols (Bologna 1787), 1, p. 124, cites two allegations (B. p. 35.1).

35 Giovanni Donato Rogadeo (1718-1784) notes that Celestino Galiani (1681-1753) and Nicolo Fraggianni (1686-1763) took a contrary view. Rogadeo quoted Fraggianni, who referred to Argento's pleas as an 'undigested mass of vague, uncritical erudition... with copious quotations and destitute of reasoning' (*Saggio d'un opera intitolata 'Il diritto pubblico e politico del Regno di Napoli'* (Cosmopoli, i.e. Lucca 1767), pp. 76-77; Nicolini, *Uomini di spada* (Milan 1942), pp. 220-221).

early pleas did not correspond to those written in the last years of his practice as a lawyer, which, in fact, were more suitable for my ends. In the early pleas he was more ordered and methodical, and arranged his arguments in better order and with less digression. In the last pleas he resembled a great, impetuous river which, having broken its banks, was extending its abundant waters broadly over everything. Despite their abundance, however, they were limpid and clear, and no longer mixed with mud, gravel, brushwood, or stones. By using his pleas as so many ample and expanded preliminary notes, therefore, I always had at hand material for my small labours which at that time I was beginning to compose.

As I advanced in the courts under the escort and guidance of such a teacher, and became acquainted with others who frequented the courts for law-suits, I came to be known to some provincials. The first were from the province of Lecce who, on recognizing some ability in me and that I was serving under so great a captain, were encouraged to entrust me with the defence of some of their cases, and to procure similar cases for me from their compatriots. Although the cases were not worth much, they were useful in improving my performance in the courts, and because, with the albeit small emoluments derived from them, I might carry on, and without further inconveniencing my family, support myself in Naples. I comforted myself as best I could in these straitened circumstances by bearing in mind that wise saying, born of experience, which I had often heard from old lawyers, that for anyone embarking on a legal career there were three stages: the first where it was necessary to work for little or no earnings, the second where the labour was commensurate with the reward, and the third where there was little work and great earnings. I was never to know that happy stage. With the cases of some inhabitants of Lecce, the first which I dealt with, I thus began to make myself known. And when in one case it was necessary to put it in writing, I wrote the plea, which the client liked and decided to publish. It was the first plea which I had published.[36]

From time to time as they would arise I was entrusted with other

36 No trace of this allegation has survived or was mentioned by Panzini (for other pleas, see B., p. 36). Panzini states that G. supplemented his income in the courts by writing for other famous lawyers 'for whom he provided the legal pleas for a certain fee' (*Vita*, p. 4).

cases by other provincials, so that by acquiring more experience and acquaintance with the magistrates, I became more confident. When I had won some of them and more were continuing to come, I was in a position to bring one of my younger brothers[37] to Naples and introduce him first to the study of philosophy, then to that of law, and finally to set him on the way of the courts.

It happened then that because of the death of the princess of Marano, a dispute arose over her succession. Lady Isabella Spinelli, the countess of Bovalino, who aspired to it, had engaged Argento as her lawyer, but as he was hampered by other pressing matters, he gave me the task of attending to her law-suits, in particular to that which involved the above succession against Caracciolo, prince of Marano. And since the matter under dispute in this case was not feudal successions but estates, tenures which in the kingdom of Naples were regarded as being allodial, this subject had not been treated by lawyers with the necessary dignity and clarity. When I was asked to write on it, I had occasion to investigate how the estates had been introduced into the kingdom of Naples, and to show that they could be established on the feudal domains, not only in contracts between the living but also in last wills and testaments. No servitude was inferred by them in the feudal domains, as usufruct was not implied but the simple convenience of enjoying their fruits, which was distinct from usufruct. This was confirmed not only by the authority of legal writers, as had been done hitherto, but also on the basis of the principles of Roman jurisprudence itself, by citing many laws in the *Pandects*. I thus proved with evidence that the Roman jurists, when it was impossible to establish usufruct by capital, landed estates and dowries, used to advise that power be granted to collect the fruits, which did not imply any bondage. From this our forefathers rightly

37 Carlo Giannone (1688-1755), G.'s younger brother. As G. relates in his *Vita,* he brought Carlo from Ischitella to Naples and sent him to university, where he became a lawyer. Given that Carlo was twelve years younger, G. seems to have regarded him as a son. On G.'s departure from Naples, never to return, he left him in total charge of his affairs in Naples, not least his finances. One of Carlo's gravest crimes was his negligence in paying the tiny but vitally necessary twelve ducats per annum to the convent (G. groaned at how difficult it was to survive in Vienna on 1,000 ducats a year!). He had always been a source of anxiety and irritation to his brother Pietro, and remained an intransigent enemy of Giovanni. To him, however, we owe the existence and initial preservation of G.'s letters. It is to him that G.'s great body of extant correspondence is addressed.

introduced the estates on the feudal domains, and these estates were to be included in the allodial inheritance, not the feudal inheritance, left by the deceased. By virtue of this, those in possession of the estates, although not heirs in the feudal domains, could enjoy all the fruits of the feudal estate, even that of jurisdiction, as fruit of the same.

This plea,[38] which was printed and read with pleasure by both lawyers and magistrates, made me better known in the law-courts. I then began to make some name for myself because, when lawyers needed to treat similar cases of estates, they sought out this text and arranged their defences and composed their pleas in accordance with its principles and dicta.

II

While advancing along the path of the legal profession, I did not neglect my studies in philosophy and history or other fields of the humanities, by associating with the city's foremost literary figures whom in the meantime I had come to know. I heard some of their learned lectures given before the duke of Medina Coeli, the viceroy, who often arranged gatherings in the royal palace.[39] There in a most ornate and magnificent hall in his presence and before an assembly of the highest nobility and the magistracy with the participation of many lawyers and other men of letters, various lectures were held on sublime and noble subjects in prose and verse, and in many languages: Greek, Latin, Tuscan, and Spanish.

Among the academicians, I formed a bond of perfect friendship with two of them, Nicola Capasso (see Fig. 6),[40] then professor of Canon Law

38 This plea also cannot be traced and is not recorded in Panzini (B., p. 38.1).

39 The first meeting of Medina Coeli's academy took place on 20 March 1698. Meetings were bi-monthly and were held for almost four years in the Palazzo Reale. Chapter Two: Appendix [3].

40 Nicola Capasso (1671-1745), born near Aversa. His studies resembled those of G. and Vico, except that, unlike them, his rise to eminence was rapid and fortunate. Aulisio's teaching, his 'rigorously historical and critical method in understanding law' was decisive for Capasso. He advocated an anti-ecclesiastical, anti-baronial role for the state. In 1703 he attained the chair of Canon Law in the University of Naples. His lectures at the Medina Coeli reflect his strict adherence to absolutism and the science of law. At the invitation of the Elect of the City, in 1717 he wrote against the Sant' Ufficio (the Holy Office, or the Inquisition), in particular, its presence in its tribunals in Naples. He was a poet who wrote in the Neapolitan

at the university, and Nicola Cirillo (see Fig. 7),[41] who was professor of Medicine in that university; he was a profound philosopher, great botanist and most expert doctor and anatomist. As he was immersed in Descartes' philosophy, with which he was profoundly familiar, I began to distance myself from some of Gassendi's views, and he made me read Descartes' works, especially his *Meditationes* and the *Principia philosophiae*, the *Dioptrique*, and the treatise *Les Météores*.[42] And it is undeniable that on reading them I felt that I could better myself through their many

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dialect, satirizing all his contemporaries, including his friends. Around 1726 he circulated among his friends his translation into Neapolitan of Homer's *Iliad* (*DBI* 18, pp. 397-400: Ajello; Ricuperati, 'La prima formazione di P.G.', in *L'esperienza*). Ajello observes that Capasso was able to remain an academic and not take any political appointments: 'He served and flattered, theorized on and justified (as all his writings show,including his unedited petition against the Inquisition) the position of the despot' ('G. fra libertini e illuministi', *RSI*, 87 (1975), 104-131, pp. 110-112). See, among his other letters those, undated, recorded in *Giannoniana*, pp. 73-74. G.'s letters to his friends Nicola Capasso, Nicola Cirillo, Giovanni Lorenzo Acampora, Biagio Garofalo, Francesco Cailò, and others, have almost all been lost (Nicolini, *Scritti,* p. 29). Capasso was probably G.'s dearest friend, and their friendship lasted all their lives.

41 Nicola Cirillo (1671-1734), born near Naples, a pupil of celebrated teachers, through whom he was profoundly influenced by Cartesian thought. He graduated in 1692 and taught physics at the University of Naples, as well as holding the post of head physician at the Hospital for the Incurable. His progressive thinking would have jeopardized his application for the chair of Medicine at the university in 1726, had not Niccolò Garelli, the Imperial librarian and physician to Charles VI in Vienna, intervened on his behalf from Vienna. G. wrote that after the death of the famous Lucca Tozzi, the chair of Medicine 'flourished not less but rather acquired greater Lustre, when filled by the so celebrated Niccolò Cirillo' (*Civil History*, bk 40, ch.5=Ogilvie, 2, p. 843). He was a close friend also of Argento, and attended him on his deathbed. His most important works are his two collections of *Consulti medici* (Naples 1738), published posthumously. His correspondence with G., in the possession of Domenico Cirillo, was destroyed with the latter's library and papers in the chaos and destruction of 1799 (*DBI* 25, pp. 801-805: Baldini). For his portrait Nicola Capasso wrote the following inscription:

'As he lived by books
he is immortalized by books' (Nicolini, *Vita*, p. 28, 2).

There are more references to Cirillo than to anyone else in Pantaleo Minervini's edition of G.'s correspondence, the *Epistolario,* but generally only for the sending of G.'s affectionate regards. NB: Cirillo's first name is given also as Niccolò, a variant of Nicola. The citation in the *DBI* is followed.

42 *Meditationes de prima philosophia, in qua Dei existentia et animae immortalitas demonstrantur* (Meditations in Which the Existence of God and the Immortality of the Soul Are Proven) (Paris 1641); *Principia philosophiae* (Paris 1644). Before the above two works, there appeared a single volume: *Discours de la Méthode pour bien conduire sa raison, et chercher la verité dans les sciences. Plus la Dioptrique, les Météores et la Géométrie, qui sont des essais de cette Méthode* (Leiden 1637).

beautiful discoveries and well-grounded speculations, worthy of that divine genius, and in particular later, when I read the method used by him in studying, in the admirable treatise *Les passions de l'âme* and his other two works, although they were left unfinished: *Tractatus de homine et de formatione foetus*.[43]

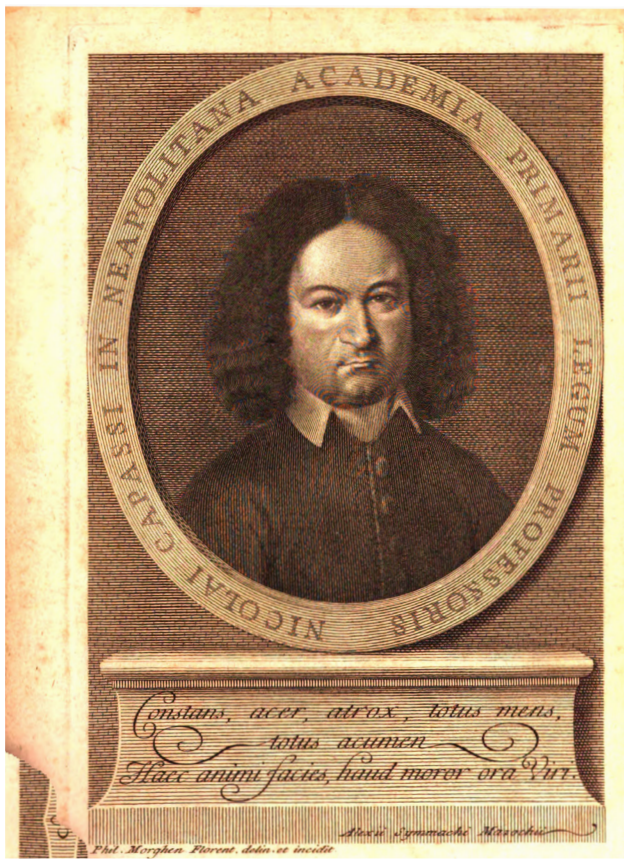

Fig. 6 Nicola Capasso (1671-1745), http://www.bibliotecanapoletana.it/assets/archivio/libri/teatro04/005.pdf

43 *Les passions de l'âme* (Paris 1649); *Tractatus de homine, et de formatione foetus, quorum prior notis perpetuis, Ludovici de la Forge M.D. illustrator* (Treatise on Man and the Formation of the Foetus) (Paris 1677).

NICOLAVS CIRILLVS IN REG. VNIVERS. NEAP. PRIM. MEDICINAE PROFESSOR REG. SOCIET. LONDIN. SOC. ANN. LXIII
VI libris vixit libris immortuus hic est
Vivat ut in libris mortuus ipse suis
N. Capassus I. C. Collegae et amico optimo
G. Filosi Sca

Fig. 7 Nicola Cirillo (1671-1734), by Giuseppe Filosi, from Cirillo, *Consulti Medici*, Naples 1738. Wellcome Collection and Wikimedia Commons, CC BY 4.0.

These studies made me truly understand our base human condition and wretchedness in relation to the visible world and the great universe. These works revealed another truth to me, instilled by Descartes himself, that in philosophy no one should compel himself to serve under a particular master,[44] and that one's sole guide in studying the stupendous

44 One should not espouse only one school of philosophy. The following statement is taken from the dedication of the *Profession of Faith* (B., p. 40.2).

works of nature has to be reason and experience alone. From then on I considered it levity or vanity to champion the philosophy of Gassendi or Descartes or any other philosopher, instead of following, after mature and exact investigation, the school found most to conform to reason and experience. And the manner of investigating the truth in things by subjecting them to examination was shown to me by Malebranche's scholarly and subtle book: *De la recherche de la vérité*,[45] which I read on the advice of the authoritative Capasso, who told me about it and persuaded me to study it. I understood the meaning of that wise admonition to direct all physical and natural knowledge, and especially the knowledge of ourselves, solely to acquiring good morals which, in our wanderings through this world, might not only guide us in regulating our life and customs, but also make us strong and patient in the misfortunes and adversity to be undergone when traversing this tempestuous sea full of quicksand, pirates, and cruel rocks.

And during the fierce and incessant persecutions suffered in the course of my painful life, as will be recounted, in truth the only comfort which gave me the courage to endure them patiently was the knowledge of the world, of our base nature and the wretched human condition, subject to changes of fortune. When these changes happen, they should not be thought strange and portentous, but consonant with the course of the immutable series and concatenation of effects and their more immediate causes.

This profit which I derived from my philosophical studies was undeniably a great solace and comfort in the midst of so many calamities and hardships. I bless, therefore, the time spent on them and the troubles and discomforts endured to study them. Although I had to become involved in the dishonest and quibbling world of lawyers and the tumult and noise of the courts, I never abandoned those philosophic studies in the hours of solitude and quiet. One year, in fact, the learned Cirillo told

45 Nicolas de Malebranche (1638-1715), born at Paris, philosopher, became an Oratorian secular priest in 1660. Although influenced by Augustine and Descartes, he was an original thinker. His most important works are *Recherche de la Verité* (The Search for Truth) (Paris 1674) and *Traité de la nature et de la grâce* (Essay on Nature and Grace) (Amsterdam 1680). He stated that God reveals his omnipotence in the simplest possible way, and is the immediate cause of all human knowledge, and that one's first and simplest idea is of the infinite.

me that in that semester he was giving public lectures to his students on the work *De causis morborum liber* (On the Causes of Sickness),[46] and that as he had to treat the diseases relating to the head, he would describe the construction of the brain, the physical mind, the origin of nerves, the structure of the eyes, ears, nostrils, mouth and all the parts composing the head. This was in order to have a better understanding of the source of memory and reminiscence, and the reasons for its being often lacking or lost, and the provenance of the other ills which alter our imagination. As a result, often the intemperate course of the intellect gives rise to dreams, illusions and other empty fantasies and spectres, thus causing other diseases in our external senses. I was, therefore, attracted by such a noble subject and stole whatever time I could to go and hear him. Whenever he was to make some private anatomical examination or I was told that the celebrated philosopher and physician Luc' Antonio Porzio,[47] who at that time held the chair of Anatomy at the university, was to make some dissection on a human corpse or that of an animal, I did not fail to attend. On such an occasion I became acquainted with the famous Gregorio Caloprese,[48] a profound Cartesian philosopher, who

46 Claudius Galenus/Galen of Pergamon (129-201), rose from being gladiator-physician in Asia Minor to become court physician to Marcus Aurelius. He wrote extensively first on philosophy, then on medicine. He was most influenced by Plato and Hippokrates and excelled in diagnosis and prognosis. Bertelli (B., p. 41.1) refers to *De causis* in the *Medicorum graecorum opera quae extant* VII (Leipzig 1824), pp. 1-41. His *Method of Medicine* is now available in the Loeb Library (3 vols).

47 Luc' Antonio Porzio (1639-1723), physician and natural philosopher, held the chair of Anatomy at Naples. He was a reformer in the field of medical science and the legal and social aspects of medicine, a committed Cartesian, and paid particular attention to the cure of many ailments, not least the widespread sicknesses in armies. In 1693 and 1694, he wrote *Le cinque lettere in difesa dei moderni* in reply to the Jesuit Giovan Battista de Benedictis, who in *Lettere apologetiche* notoriously attacked the impiety of modern scholarship (*EI* 9, p. 480). Ricuperati has stressed the influence of Machiavelli, in particular *The Prince*, in his writings (*L'esperienza*, pp. 148-149; *DBI* 33, pp. 368-371: A. de Ferrari).

48 Gregorio Caloprese (1650-1715), a native of Calabria, philosopher, physician, man of letters, renowned pedagogue; he espoused and lectured on Plato, Homer, Virgil, Dante, and Tasso, championed anti-authoritarianism and anti-dogmatism in philosophy and science, and was known by contemporaries as 'the great Cartesian philosopher'. Among his pupils were Alessandro Riccardi, Nicola Capasso, Nicola Cirillo, Giambattista Vico, Gian Vicenzo Gravina (his cousin), and the poet Pietro Metastasio (*DBI* 16, pp. 801-805: A. Quondam). 'Gregorio Calaprese, likewise a deep Philosopher, gave good Proofs by his learned Writings, how great a Proficient he was in the Cartesian Philosophy' (*Civil History*, bk 40, ch.5=Ogilvie, 2, p. 843).

was always present at the anatomical observations made by Porzio.[49]

I again had the opportunity to continue these studies, because, having sent my brother to Cirillo to study philosophy, I used often question him about many things relating to them and review his work to see how profitable they were for him and whether he had properly understood them. Such matters being always in my mind, they afforded me much relief and enjoyment during the official holidays. And I remember that several years later during the holidays for Carnival, my curiosity was stirred to know why the snow which falls on Vesuvius on the rim of the crater throwing up flames and fire, lasts longer than the snow which falls on the other summit of the same mountain, which does not emit flame and is much higher. I solved the problem from the drainage which occurs when the snow falls on the sandy soil there. As the water does not mix with the remaining snow, it preserves it much longer. This did not happen on the other peak, where instead of sand there is hard earth, so that, as the water of the melted snow cannot drain away and mixes with the remaining snow, it quickly dissolves it and converts into small, minute streams.[50]

49 Raffaele Ajello brilliantly evokes the glory of G.'s youth in the 'golden age' of Naples, where it was not at the time considered at all unusual that a 'profound Cartesian philosopher' like Gregorio Caloprese, a scientific naturalist (also a Cartesian) like Nicola Cirillo, a young jurist like Pietro Giannone, and one of the venerable teachers of an entire generation such as Luc' Antonio Porzio, were to be found gathered round an anatomy lesson to try to understand the workings of the brain ('Cartesianismo e cultura oltremontana al tempo dell'*Istorie civile*', in *P.G. e il suo tempo*, pp. 3-182, p. 177).

50 'Lettera scritta da Giano Perentino ad un suo amico che lo richiedeva onde avvenisse che nelle due cime del Vesuvio in quella che butta fiamme ed è più bassa, la neve lungamente si conservì, e nell'altra ch'è alquanto più alta ed intera, non vi duri che per pochi giorni' (Letter Written by Giano Perentino to One of his Friends Who Asked him How It Happened that, of the Two Summits of Vesuvius, on the One Which Throws out Flames and Is Lower, the Snow Lasts for a Long Time, and on the Other, Which Is Somewhat Higher and More Complete, It Lasts Only a Few Days) (Naples, 26 February 1718: NBN, *Miscellanea vulcanica*, D.80, n.2; reprinted in the Appendix of Nicolini's edition of the *Vita*, pp. 429-431). G. ended his letter, 'State sano e amatemi' (Stay well and love me). G. used for this short essay, which Cirillo encouraged him to publish (Panzini, *Vita*, p. 10), the anagram Giano Perentino, which he was to use in his account of the administrative organs of Vienna. This essay reveals G.'s lifelong interest in scientific matters. See also his description of the rainbows of Miolans (*Vita*, ch.11).

III

[1702]

In the meantime I was making considerable progress under Argento in the law-courts. As I pursued my studies in history and jurisprudence, a very appropriate and convenient opportunity arose to advance and extend them to the ultimate point of perfection. Since Argento's home, more than that of any other lawyer, was a flourishing centre for erudite and scholarly young men embarked on the legal profession, we all decided to establish an academy[51] among us within its domestic walls. In it lectures were to be given on set days on some difficult text of the *Pandects* or *Code* according to personal choice, to demonstrate its principal meaning or to dispute some legal case or article, in imitation of what was done in the court of the Council of Santa Chiara. Two youths would take the parts of the contending lawyers and the others, who were more experienced, the part of the judges who were to decide it with their well-reasoned and publicly expounded judgements.

It happened during these exercises that a proposal was made to expound over many lectures the second title of the *Pandects* on *the origin of law*, the author of which was the jurist Pomponius,[52] in order to have a precise knowledge of the origin and progress of Roman jurisprudence. I willingly yielded to one of my colleagues who was longing to take on that burden, provided that I were allowed, when he finished, to begin my lectures, since I intended to trace the legal history of the late period and to continue it down to our own times. As the task seemed hard and tiring, it was commended by everyone, and I was therefore even more encouraged to undertake it. I put myself to this test also because my preceding studies had always been directed to this end, and I considered that enough had been written on ancient and middle Roman jurisprudence, its origin and progress, but not on the late period

51 *L'Accademia dei Saggi* (Academy of the Wise) (B., p. 43.1).

52 Sextus Pomponius, Roman jurist of the time of Hadrian and the Antonines; he wrote more than 300 works, including the largest work in Roman literature: the commentary on the Praetor's Edict in 150 books. The *Digest* is based extensively on his works. Among them is the *Liber singularis enchiridii*, an invaluable compendium of Roman historical and legal sources, magistrates etc down to the time of Julian.

and much less on the origin of the laws of other states which in Italy succeeded to the Romans, and especially to our kingdom of Naples.[53]

I was all the more urged to do this by the example of the Englishman Arthur Duck,[54] whose precious book *De usu et auctoritate iuris Romanorum* (The Use and Authority of Roman Law), then very scarce and little known in Naples, had shown me the way to do in the kingdom of Naples what he had done precisely in the kingdoms of Great Britain, without digressing to other remote countries. Although he had gone through almost all the kingdoms and provinces of Europe, the book revealed that it was not the work of a single individual. Each of its writers had written on the province where he was born, because, having long lived there, he could minutely observe the vicissitudes and various changes in its political and civil state.

In consequence I realized that the history of laws could not be precisely understood unless it were combined with the civil history, in order to know the authors, occasions, aim, use and interpretation of the laws, and to understand the different states, changes and constitutions of things which caused so many diverse and complicated rules. I was even more confirmed in this by another Englishman, Bacon of Verulamium,[55]

53 There was a great mass of laws, all part of the legal code of Southern Italy from the Byzantine, Lombard and Swabian periods, which had never been revoked, codified or ordered, in which was to be found material to defend any case (Lino Marini, *P.G. e il Giannonismo* (Bari 1950), p. 13). 'Moreover I have endeavoured to support all that I have related with the Authority of Men most worthy of Credit, and who were either Contemporaries of the Events that are treated of, or most exact Searchers of our Records. My Style shall be altogether plain and simple, being willing that my Talents, few and weak as they are, should be all employed in Matter rather than Words, by directing my Reader to the Search of Truth alone; and I am willing likewise, that its Clearness should depend on a right Connexion of Events with their Causes, than on Phrases of Speech, or the over-nice Ranging of Words' (*Civil History*, intro., p. vi).

54 Arthur Duck (1580-1648), English jurist and statesman. His magnum opus was *De usu et autoritate iuris civilis Romanorum in dominiis principum christianorum* (The Use and Authority of Roman Civil Law in Christendom) (London 1653), published posthumously and translated into French and German. It refuted the view that England made no use of Roman civil law. 'In tracing the fortunes of Roman law in the various kingdoms of Europe, he produced the first history of law on a European scale, based on the best authorities' (*DNB*). His 'exultation of intermediate bodies and the technical class of jurists, found fertile ground in the kingdom and among jurists' (Raffaele Ajello, *Preilluminismo giuridico* (Naples 1965), p. 111). *ODNB* 17, pp. 31-32. G. paid him a tribute in the *Istoria civile*: Chapter Three: Appendix.

55 Francis Bacon (1561-1626), born at London, Viscount St. Albans, philosopher, essayist, orator and lawyer. Elizabeth I referred to him as her 'learned council'. He

who in his learned book *De dignitate et augmentis scientiarum* included among the desiderata a precise civil history, since he wisely reflected that in the other histories, even in natural history, great progress had been made, but not in civil history.

I began, therefore, with these lectures given in our academy to make a thorough study of the books which I considered necessary for this purpose. As some of them were rare and unknown in Naples, they were made available to me with great courtesy by Valletta's grandsons, who still kept intact the famous library left to them by their grandfather Giuseppe Valletta.[56]And before anything else I exhausted the *Theodosian Code* with the commentaries of Jacques Godefroy and the authors mentioned above, who were contemporary with the emperors from whose constitutions the *Code* was compiled: from Constantine the Great down to Theodosius the Younger and Valentinian III. Although it was great labour and of enormous difficulty, I endured it; for the new things which I discovered there not observed by others, and especially in order to have a clear and distinct idea of the provinces which formed the kingdom of Naples at that time and of the rulers who governed them. These centuries were completely obscure and unknown to us. Our historians were all mute, and would mention something about the subsequent times of the emperor Justinian, following Prokopios, who had suggested information on them in his *History*, which they did not even know how to turn to their advantage.

I then read the books of Cassiodorus[57] and Jordanes, and they much

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rose to the rank of lord chancellor under James I, but was accused of corruption by his enemies and had to retire to private life. His major works include *Proficience and Advancement of Learning* (London 1605), with its expanded Latin version (to which G. refers) and *De augmentis scientiarum* (London 1623). Among his essays is the famous *Atheism* (1612) (*ODNB* 3, pp. 123-144: M. Peltonen).

56 Giuseppe Valletta (1636-1714), Neapolitan, the son of a poor tailor, who became immensely rich, and was a fervent Cartesian; he endowed the University of Naples with a chair in Greek. His library of 18,000 volumes was at the time Italy's richest private library, and was open to all students. Among his major works, which are anti-curialist, are the influential treatise *Del Sant' Ufficio* (On the Holy Office and its Presence in Naples) (Naples 1716), *Istorica filosofica* (Naples 1716), and in praise of Descartes, *Lettera in difesa della moderna filosofia e de' collaboratori di essa* (In Defence of Modern Philosophy and its Collaborators), published posthumously with the false place of publication of Rovereto 1732 (*DBI* 98, pp. 122-25). His grandsons were Niccolò and Francesco (B., p. 44.3; Chapter Three: Appendix).

57 Flavius Magnus Aurelius Cassiodorus (c.490-c.583), senator, Roman politician, and writer; consul 514. He established a religious community which emphasized

enlightened me on the following times of the Goths,[58] which were also confused and obscure to us. Prokopios' *History*, which I read in the Latin translation by Huig de Groot, as well as his learned *Prolegomena*,[59] cast more light on the times of Justinian. From the compilations of the *Code* of that emperor and the many *Novels*, both his and his successors', many matters could be extracted to clarify the history of our provinces and especially the cities which remained for a long time under Greek rule. It was necessary, however, to trace them here and there with great trouble through the many other Greek compilations and the numerous *Novels* of the subsequent eastern emperors.

More obscure times followed, when our provinces came under the Lombards.[60] And in such darkness the only help came from Paul Warnefridus,[61] Erchempert,[62] and a few ancient chronicles of the

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the intellectual activities of its monks, had far-reaching importance for preserving ancient books, and became the model for the Benedictine order. He wrote among other works a *Chronicle*, a summary of Roman history down to 519; a vast history of the Goths in twelve volumes, meant to reconcile Goths and Romans, now lost, which was summarized by Jordanes; and he organized the translation of Greek works (Josephus' *Jewish Antiquities*, and the *Historia Tripartita*, an ecclesiastical history from 306 to 309, compiled from Theodoretus, Sokrates, and Sozomen). He was one of the founders of western medieval culture.

58 For G.'s encomium of the Goths for their respect for Roman law see *Civil History*, bk 3, intro.=Ogilvie, 1, pp. 115-116 (Chapter Three: Appendix).

59 Hugo Grotius (Huig de Groot) (1583-1645), born at Delft, jurist and theologian. At the age of nine he could write fluent Latin verses. In 1618, he was imprisoned for reasons relating to religion and political conflict, but thanks to his wife he escaped in a box and reached Paris, where Louis XIII gave him a pension for some time. There he wrote the great work on international law: *De Jure Belli et Pacis* (On the Law of War and Peace) (Paris 1625) (*EB* 12, pp. 621-623). G refers to *Vandalica et Gotthica Procopii. Excerpta ex arcana Procopii historia ad res vandalicas et gotthicas pertinentia*, translated later, perhaps during his imprisonment (*ibid.*). G was greatly influenced by Grotius' humanism, religious tolerance, and refutation of divine right and the assumptions of ecclesiastics (Ricuperati, *L'esperienza*, p. 163). His 'learned *Prolegomena*' are prologues to *De jure belli ac pacis*.

60 G. wrote on the Lombards in the *Civil History* (bk 5, ch.4=Ogilvie, 1, p. 272: Chapter Three: Appendix).

61 Paul the Deacon (c.720-c.799), son of Warnefridus of noble Lombard origin; educated by the grammarian Flavianus. He was a tutor to the daughter of the powerful Lombard king Desiderius (750-774), then went to the court of Charlemagne in 783, where he tutored Charles' daughter. At Charlemagne's court he wrote the *History of the Bishops of Metz*, an important source for ecclesiastical history. On his return to his life as a monk in the monastery of Monte Cassino, he worked on an edition of the letters of Gregory the Great (590-604), and wrote a *Life of Gregory*. His last and most important work was the *History of the Lombards*, trans. William Foulke (Philadelphia 1907).

62 Erchempert (second half of ninth century), ancestor of the dukes of Benevento. He wrote an extended history of the Lombards, *Historia Langobardorum Beneventanorum 774-889*, continuing the work of Paul the Deacon (*DBI* 43, pp. 66-71: M. Oldoni).

Benedictine monks, in particular that of Leone Ostiense.[63] I believed, therefore, that it would be possible to avail myself of the modern Neapolitan histories written by such serious and careful authors as Angelo di Costanzo[64] and Francesco Capecelatro,[65] given that there was nothing to hope for from the confusion of the other dull and boorish writers. I found, however, that Costanzo, taking fright at the dense darkness encountered when making his way towards those obscure times, as he himself confessed, had begun his history from the Angevines. And Capecelatro could give his history no earlier beginning than the reign of Roger I, king of Sicily,[66] omitting the first Normans who came to Puglia and the others from the line of Tancredi,[67] the ancestor of the dukes of Puglia and the first counts of Sicily.

On reaching the times when Italy and the kingdom of Naples suffered major changes, and the Roman pontiffs, by constantly advancing their monarchy, had established another empire within the princes' domains, the major difficulty was to compose an exact civil history according to this new arrangement. It was not enough to stop at the sole government of the princes, their laws and the civil state of their realms. One had

63 Leo Marsicano (1045-1115), bishop of Ostia and cardinal of Marsica. He joined the Benedictine Order and became librarian in Monte Cassino, and in 1101 was made cardinal bishop of Ostia by Pascal II. He wrote the chronicle of the monastery of Monte Cassino, which was completed by Peter the Deacon (*DBI* 64, pp. 552-557: M. dell'Omo).

64 Angelo di Costanzo (1507-1591), Neapolitan statesman, lyric poet, man of letters, and historian. He published after decades of labour *Istoria del Regno di Napoli* (Naples 1572), covering the period from 1250 to 1486; this was begun in 1527, when he fled the plague in Naples, and published in twenty books in 1581. Although he made extensive use of documents and archival material, he was accused of fabricating sources when they were not available. His last years were embittered by poverty and the harsh criticism of the first eight books of his *Istoria* (*DBI* 39, pp. 742-747: P. Farenga). His history was among those most used by G. (B., p. 46.3).

65 Francesco Capecelatro (1595-c.1670), born near Aversa, politician and historian, wrote diffusely on the *Istoria della città e del regno di Napoli detto di Cicilia*, which was not published fully until the nineteenth century. His main works are *Annali della città di Napoli* (Naples 1849), and *Diario delle cose avvenute nel Reame di Napoli negli anni 1647-1650* (Naples 1850-1854) (*DBI* 18, pp. 442-445: G. Russo).

66 Roger I, count of Sicily (1031-1101), courageous soldier, able politician, restored the Catholic faith in Sicily, yet his religious tolerance was unique for his time. 'He was a youth of the greatest beauty, of lofty stature, of graceful shape, most eloquent in speech and cool in counsel. He was far-seeing in arranging all his actions' (Goffredo Malaterra, quoted in *EB* 23, p. 453)..

67 Tancredi, king of Sicily (1190-1194), natural grandson of Roger II. The Sicilian nobility crowned him king of Sicily at Palermo. His reign was racked by civil wars over his accession. It was disputed by Henry VI and Richard the Lionheart, but the armies of the former were twice rendered powerless by some plague, and the claim of the latter was settled by a large sum of money (*EI* 33, p. 224).

to know that other, new empire established in their midst,[68] and in particular in the kingdom of Naples, an empire which had almost absorbed the civil government and made it, in reference both to persons or property, almost completely ecclesiastical. Canon law could no longer be seen as an appurtenance of civil law and recognized in the codes of the emperors Theodosius and Justinian and in the novels of the other Eastern emperors, or in the West in the *Capitularies*[69] of Charlemagne, Ludwig and the other emperors who followed. It had already become a separate and independent body which recognized another monarch and legislator, rivalling in fact the civil laws and rights, and it sought to pull down and subjugate civil law. In emulation of the *Pandects*, therefore, the *Decretum* came into existence, the *Decretales* emulated the *Codex*, and vying with the *Novels* were the many *Extravagantes* and new collections of papal bulls, and finally Justinian's *Institutes* were emulated by those of Paolo Lancellotti. And in order that nothing should be left out, the *beneficiaria* were set against the feudal law.[70]

As I realized from that and other portentous changes that it was in no way possible in our times to write an exact civil history without taking into account both political and ecclesiastical power, I became frightened by the arduous, almost hopeless task of unravelling it. Although I had begun the work, with business increasing in the courts our academy soon ended, so that few lectures were given there. As nevertheless usually happens, since I was inspired by the subject and more by the work, which appeared new and still unattempted by other writers, I did not fail to continue it. The more I advanced, however, instead of becoming shorter, the path became longer, because in the process I was entering into greater vastness and, as though submerged in an immense, deep ocean, I could no longer see the bottom or the shore, and was many times tempted to abandon it.[71] I did finally succeed, because my burning

68 One of the most important developments in anti-curialist thought was the necessity to distinguish between temporal and spiritual power (Lino Marini, *P.G. e il Giannonismo* (Bari 1950), p.67). For G.'s comments in the *Civil History*, bk 19, ch.4=Ogilvie, 2, p. 47 (Chapter Three: Appendix).

69 *Capitolaries*: the ordinances of the Carolingian rulers. The first collection of them was produced in the reign of Ludwig the Pious by Ansegisus, abbot of Fontanella in 827 (B., p. 47.1).

70 *Beneficaria*: that part of the law which refers to ecclesiastical benefices in contrast to feudal ownership (B., p. 47.2).

71 G. perhaps alludes here also to the fact that histories of Naples had already been written by Giovanni Antonio Summonte (1550-c.1602) and Nicola Partenio Giannetasio (1648-1715) (Chapter Three: Appendix).

desire and the comfort given me by some friends overcame the terror and fright felt at the prospect of the many long and sustained labours to be endured before coming into the desired port. I did not add at that time the many persecutions, pains and misfortunes which, even though I did come into port, were being prepared for me by my hard, bitter fate and inexorably cruel destiny.

My work began[72] around 1702 in the reign of Philip V, king of Spain[73] (whom, in the weeks of his sojourn in Naples, whence he passed to the army in Lombardy, I had the chance often to see dine in public in the circle of many illustrious personages, Italian and also Spanish and French), and under the government of the duke of Escalona, the viceroy (see Fig. 8).[74]

Fig. 8 Juan Manuel Fernandez Pacheco (1650-1725), viceroy of Naples 1702-1707, by Juan Bernabe Palomino (Royal Spanish Academy). Wikimedia Commons, public domain.

72 Between 1713 and 1721 G. wrote twenty-five books. He then wished to publish his work so far, but was dissuaded by his friends, who warned him that, in the inevitable furore from the ecclesiastics over its contents, he would probably never resume writing.

73 Philip V, first Bourbon king of Spain (1683-1746), reigned 1700-1746, born at Versailles, grandson of Louis XIV and great-grandson of Philip IV of Spain. Bertelli (B., p. 48.1) notes that in 1701 the king, on his way to visit the Spanish possessions in Naples and Milan, had to stay in Naples because of the outbreak of the war of the Spanish succession (1701-1714) and join the army in Lombardy which Prince Eugene, commander of the Imperial troops, had invaded.

74 Juan Miguel Fernandez Pacheco (1650-1725), eighth marquis di Vilhena, duke of Escalona, viceroy of Naples 1702-1707 (B., p. 29.1).

This viceroy, no less than the duke of Medina Coeli, favoured the *litterati*, but in particular the humanities. And being a lover of the sciences and liberal arts, he set about reforming[75] the considerable abuses which had developed in the university of Naples, and many were abolished by his programme. And our Aulisio had found such favour with him, that if the vicissitudes in ordinary affairs had not brought about that change in Naples which later became apparent, he would certainly have raised him to the highest honours in the legal profession, either as councillor in the Council of Santa Chiara or president of the Royal Cabinet.

Although with time my activity in the law courts increased, I did not fail to resume my studies on public holidays or the summer holidays or those of the grape-harvest[76] when the law-courts closed. And as I had acquired some merit for my labours employed in the case of the succession of Marano on behalf of the countess of Bovalino, Isabella Spinelli, who had an ancient palace belonging to her family, known as the palace of the Spinelli, on the coast of Posilipo, each year I had permission through her generosity, when the law-courts closed at the beginning of July, to go and live in some rooms of the palace. With those studies I continued the work embarked upon, for which purpose I took with me whatever books were necessary, and I would then return to Naples in September.

These studies were initially no hindrance to my legal career since I was not burdened with many tasks, but as I proceeded and gained more friends and clients, they became more weighty and burdensome. While Argento was practising as a lawyer and I was following in his footsteps, I became acquainted with the most learned magistrates, and above all, since he often took me to his home, with the regent Gennaro D'Andrea,[77] brother of the famous Francesco. It was my good fortune to

75 The reform of February 1703. G. was later in Vienna in 1732 to become involved in reform of the university at the request of Celestino Galiani. He wrote a submission on the matter: 'Parere intorno alla riforma de' Regi Studi di Napoli', ed. V. Guadagno (Naples 1958) (B., p. 48.2).

76 Autumn.

77 Gennaro D'Andrea (1637-1710), Neapolitan jurist, member of the Accademia degli Investiganti, instituted in 1663 on the model of the Royal Society by his brother Francesco and the physician Luc' Antonio Porzio, among other famous scholars. 'He was a pupil of Tommaso Cornelio, who had introduced a new Philosophy into Naples and caused the works of Descartes to be taught there' (*Civil History*, bk 40, ch.5=Ogilvie, 2, p. 842). D'Andrea rose through the office of fiscal advocate of the

admire that grave and judicious magistrate, a true senator and worthy of taking his place among the Roman senators, whose virtue and wisdom he embodied. He and his example inspired in me the almost perpetual reading of the books of Livy, which he had always in his hand. He was so attached to them, that as Pliny the Younger writes how a citizen of Gades from Further Spain travelled to Rome solely to see Livy, D'Andrea, if he had been Livy's contemporary, would have come from as far away as America, since he was such an ardent admirer of his books. Although he had read them from cover to cover, he never wearied of re-reading them. And I cannot deny that, spurred on by the example of such a man, as I had Livy almost always in front of me, I drew great profit from the noble, serious and great manner in which he wrought his incomparable and divine history.

Appendix (Chapter Three)

[6]

G. paid tribute to Gaetano Argento:

> out of Gratitude, and because I had the good Fortune to be the Disciple of one... who, in the Opinion of every Body, is without the reach of Envy and Emulation, I cannot pass him over in Silence. This is the incomparable Gaetano Argento, who from his Youth, being Master of the most abstruse and uncommon Learning, of the Languages, History, and the Belles Lettres, he applied himself to the Study of the Laws, in which, by the Penetration of his Divine Genius, his surprising Memory, and indefatigable Application, he succeeded to a wonderful Degree; insomuch, that by the Profoundness of his Knowledge, and especially in Jurisprudence, he exceeded all the Lawyers that ever flourished among us. And being afterwards advanced to the Supreme Magistracy and to

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court of the Vicaria around 1677 to be member of the Royal Council (1681), and then of the Council of Santa Chiara. After posts in Spain (1690-1695), he returned to become a regent in the Collateral Council. He persuaded the viceroy Medina Coeli to deal harshly with those involved in the Macchia Conspiracy of 1701. He was then appointed the leading member of the Giunta d'inconfidenza which for almost a year 'took judicial vengeance on the vanquished... with the greatest alacrity, to the complete benefit of the executioner and the country's prisons.' (Marini, 'Per uno studio della civiltà politica meridionale nel secondo seicento', *ASPN*, 3.4 (1964), 347-386, p. 359). In 1707 he was replaced as one of its regents by Argento (*DBI* 32, pp. 536-537: M. Biagetti).

> the chief Honour of President of our Sacred Council, he acquired a most noble Character; for having the Superintendency of the Affairs of State of the greatest Moment, he discovered not only the Effects of his Learning, but of his Wisdom and the Art of Government.[78]

Francesco D'Andrea in 1692 referred to the equal opportunities for the *homo novus*, such as Argento and G., in the legal profession of Naples:

> Having travelled somewhat in Italy..., I dare to say that there is no other city in the world... where a man with no property other than his own merit can rise to great posts and immense riches, to supreme *dignitas*, and to govern the Republic without need of birth or money to succeed.[79]

In Raffaele Ajello's splendid words:

> The aristocracy of culture and study was now set advantageously against that of blood... The image which the magistrate strove to give of himself... reflected a gravity of customs, Spartan austerity, heroic morality, ingrained stoicism in accordance with ancient models; the sobriety of patriarchal virtues, self-sacrifice, detachment from worldly life...[80]

[25]

After Quietism was pronounced a heresy in 1687, its champion Fr Miguel Molinas (1640-1697) died after serving ten years of his sentence of perpetual incarceration in the prisons of the Inquisition. Although the ban on Torres' preaching and hearing of confession was lifted at the turn of the century, he could not have felt warmly towards the Roman curia. Among the 'many lawyers' there would have been anti-curialist intellectuals and magistrates suspect to Rome.[81] Vico, as well as G., remembered Torres as the 'intelligent and sensitive guide for Neapolitan intellectuals in the flowering of science and philosophy free from dogmatism and prejudice, and free from the arid Scholasticism of the Jesuits and the prevailing feudal attitudes'.[82] G. was to write that the teachings of Jesus of Nazareth were based on the observance of the universal moral law and omitted all emphasis on rites and ceremonies. Such as there were 'were very few and most simple, all innocent, all

78 *Civil History*, bk 40, ch.5=Ogilvie, 2, p. 841.
79 *Avvertimenti ai nipoti*, 1696 (Naples 1990), pp. 167-168.
80 In *P.G. e il suo tempo*, intro., pp. 27, 52.
81 Ricuperati, *L'esperienza*, pp. 139-141.
82 *DBI* 31, pp. 502-505: A. Gisondi.

useful, none extrinsic, none necessarily sought after, none laborious, none superstitious and much less magical, glamorous and mysterious'.[83]

[28]

The Council of Santa Chiara:

> The excellence of this Tribunal is that no appeal may be addressed on its decrees to other tribunals, but only new revisions on the decrees passed within it.[84]

Grimaldi became its presiding magistrate in 1723 and remained so until his forced retirement in 1735.

[29]

Francesco D'Andrea was in spirit G.'s real mentor. 'He was the most political of the pre-Giannonians, the one most aware of the possibilities of his own class'.[85] He was G.'s true teacher also because 'he chose the problematic and transient but positive dimension of history against the hypothesising of law'.[86] G. portrayed him in the *Civil History*:

> As for the Jurisprudence, we have seen that Francesco D'Andrea was the first who both pleaded and wrote according to its true Principles, and the Interpretations of Cujacius and other learned Men. And having for many Years exercised the Employment of an Advocate, and acquired that Fame which is known to all the World, he likewise acquired many Imitators; so that in our Tribunals, more Barristers began to be distinguished from true Lawyers. Being afterwards made Judge of the Vicariate by the Count of Saintistevan, and by his Means soon afterwards advanced by King Charles II to be a Counsellor, and then Attorney-General of the Royal Chamber, in exercising which Office, in his Pleadings, and especially in that famous Feudal Dispute [*Disputatio An Fratres in Feuda...* 1694], he displayed his Learning, his Knowledge in History, and the true Jurisprudence. After having been three Years in that Office, he got leave from the King to return to the Sacred Council; whence afterwards, by

83 *Triregno*, *Regno celeste*, ed. Parente, 2, p. 41.
84 Anon., 'Memoria per l'Ecc.mo Sig. Conte D. Giulio Visconti, destinato da S.M.C.C. per Viceré del Regno di Napoli': Biblioteca della Società napoletana di Storia patria, ms. 21, quoted in Costantino Grimaldi's *Memorie di un anti-curialista del Settecento*, ed. V. I. Comparato (Florence 1964), p. 34.
85 Lino Marini, *PG e il Giannonismo* (Bari 1950), p. 23.
86 Ricuperati, *L'esperienza*, p. 102.

> reason of his many Infirmities, and the great Desire he had of retiring from all Business, in order the more quietly to apply himself to the Study of Philosophy, in which he took exceeding Delight...[87]

[39]

The Academy of Medina Coeli: The intelligentsia, including also G.'s renowned contemporary Giambattista Vico, participated and attended. Over 450 poems read there are still extant and over 150 lectures exist in various collections. That of Nicolò Sersale in five volumes, prepared in 1715, appears to be the largest collection. The majority were on history and were summaries from ancient writers such as Pliny and Strabo. Those delivered on ancient history accounted for 60%, mathematics and natural sciences 20%, the humanities 8%, and politics and political theory 12%. Gregorio Caloprese, one of the founders of the Academy, gave the first four lectures on the origins of empires. In general, there was little reference in any lecture on history to contemporary research; for example, there was no reference to Tillemont who in 1692 published his *Histoire des empéreurs*.[88] Nicolò Sersale's five volumes of the lectures are preserved in the manuscript *Delle lezioni accademiche de' diversi valentuomini de' nostri tempi recitate avanti l'ecc.mo Sig. Duca di Medina Coeli, Done Viceré che fu del regno di Napoli... copiate dall'originale che si trova presso il sig. D. Nicolò Sersale* (Academic Lectures by Various Worthy Men of our Time Given in the Presence of the Most Excellent Duke of Medina Coeli, Former Viceroy of the Kingdom of Naples, Copied from the Original in the Possession of Nicolò Sersale), NBN, Mss. XIII; B 69-73; this copy goes back to 1715.[89] Stone cites a more complete list of the manuscripts of the lectures by Michele Rak, in *P.G. e il suo tempo*, pp. 659-689.[90]

[53]

Brunello Vigezzi's admirable observations on G.'s use of sources reveal that G. rejects in general any illusion to miracle; he chooses authors in whose lifetime the events took place, and nationals in preference to

87 *Civil History*, bk 40, ch.5=Ogilvie, 2, pp. 840-841.
88 Harold Stone, *Vico's Cultural History* (Leiden 1997), pp. 93-101.
89 See Ricuperati's exhaustive account in *L'esperienza*, p. 107.
90 Stone, *Vico's Cultural History*, p. 94. See also *Civil History*, bk 40, ch. 3=Ogilvie, 2, pp. 831-832.

foreigners; he tends not to rely on modern sources if they are sceptical about what was maintained in the past; he distinguishes clearly partisan sources, whether they be Guelph, Ghibelline, Gallican, Protestant or Jesuit, from the genuine historical sources, and uses the others with caution; he emphasizes the precise difference between chronicles and histories.[91]

[54]

G. wrote of Arthur Duck:

> A Briton, separated from the rest of the World, thinking that others had confin'd the Reach of Human Understanding to too narrow a Compass, shew'd that he had Courage enough for so great an Understanding. This was the famous Arthur Duck, who would not confine himself to his own Country of England, but went in Search of the Use and Authority of the Roman Laws in the new Dominions of Christian Princes as well as to the neighbouring as to the remoter Countries.[92]

To the meticulous scholarship of Harold Stone we owe the interesting fact that another historian of Naples, Nicola Partenio Giannetasio (see below), published in 1719 a Neapolitan edition of Arthur Duck's *De Usu et autoritate iuris civilis Romanorum*.[93]

[56]

The library of Giuseppe Valletta: The great library of Giuseppe Valletta was finally sold to the priests of the Oratorio for the tiny sum of 14,000 *scudi*. When they heard that the Elect of the City intended to buy it to make it a public library, one of the priests ruined their negotiations and succeeded in having it fall into the hands of the Oratorio, 'in order that the city not be filled with heretics'.[94] A description of his library has been compiled by Fr A. Bellucci, 'Il fondo vallettiano dell'Oratorio filippino', in *Fuidoro*, nn.5 and 6.[95]

Among Valetta's circle were some 600 men of letters, including

91 *P.G. Riformatore e storico* (Milan 1961), p. 144.11.
92 *Civil History*, intro., p. iii.
93 Stone, *Vico's Cultural History*, p. 209.
94 Giovan Niccola Bandiera, Biblioteca comunale di Sienna, *Carteggi Benvoglienti*, 26 Dec. 1725, ms. E.IX.21, quoted by Raffaele Ajello, *Arcana juris* (Naples 1976), p. 125.
95 B., p. 44.3.

Francesco D'Andrea, Giuseppe Lucina, Filippo d'Anastasio, Niccolò Galizia, Nicola Capasso, Nicola Cirillo, Matteo Egizio, Costantino Grimaldi, and Ottavio Ignazio Vitagliano.[96] He is lauded in the works of visiting scholars (Jean Marbillon, Barthelemy Germain, Jacques d'Orville, Gilbert Burnet, and Anthony Shaftesbury).

[58]

G. wrote of the Goths:

> Hitherto they knew no other Magistrates nor other Laws but those of the Romans: henceforward they shall see themselves mixed with those of Foreign Nations, who, altho' Barbarians, deserve nevertheless to be commended, not only on Account of their many and remarkable Virtues, but likewise because they were so obsequious to the Roman Laws, and honoured them so much, that they not only durst not revile them, but with extreme Moderation, contrary to the Laws of Victory, by which the Vanquished became subject to the Laws of the Victors, retain'd them. Therefore the Reader must not expect, that in this and the following Books, of the *Goths*, *Longobards* and *Normans*, who have all the same Origin, I ought, as many have done, to treat them as inhuman, fierce, and cruel, and to term their Laws impious, unjust, and rude, as they are, for the most part, reputed by our Writers. In the Exploits of their Princes, Piety, Justice, and Temperance will shine no less than Fortitude and Magnanimity; and their Laws and Customs, altho' they cannot be compared to those of the ancient Romans, ought not however, to be thought to fall short of those of later Times, while the Empire was declining, when the Condition of a Roman became more vile and abject, than that of those who were reputed Barbarians and Strangers.[97]

[60]

G. wrote of the Lombards/Longobards:

> Thus likewise ended the Kingdom of the Lombards in Italy; a Kingdom, tho' in its Beginnings rude and unpolished, yet afterwards it became so mild and civiliz'd, that for the Space of Two Hundred Years that it lasted, it was envied by all other Nations. Italy being once accustom'd to the Government of the Longobard Kings, did not look upon them any more as Strangers, but as its own natural Princes; for they had no other

96 Lorenzo Giustiniani, *Memorie istoriche degli scrittori legali del Regno di Napoli*, 3 vols (Bologna 1787), 2, pp. 227-228.

97 *Civil History*, bk 3, intro.=Ogilvie, 1, pp. 115-116.

> Kingdoms or Dominions in any other Part of the World, but Italy was now become their own Country; for which Reason it could not be said to be in Slavery, and ruled by a foreign Nation, as it was afterwards, when, by deplorable and frequent Changes, it was subjected to various Nations, and groan'd long under the heavy Yoke of Bondage.[98]

[68]

G. summed up the development of papal power in the *Civil History*:

> The Pope thus became a Monarch, the Cardinals Great Senators, and the Apostolic See the Royal and General Court of Christendom. Gregory IX [born c.1155, pope 1227-1241], in order to the more firmly establish the Monarchy, set about to compose and publish the Decretals, the result of which was the entire Ruin of the ancient Canon Law, and the Establishment of an absolute and unbounded Power in the Roman Pontiffs.[99]

And yet, there are cautions:

> The *Civil History* does not fit easily into the category of simple jurisdictionalism, although Giannone's adversaries did their best to make it do so, asserting that it was written and, moreover, by more than one hand, to discredit the Church. In this way they avoided tackling the profound political, moral and religious coherence which permeates the work, which contains within it the unique germ of Giannone's later ideas.[100]

[71]

G.'s predecessors as historians of Naples: Important histories of Naples had already been written. Giovanni Antonio Summonte wrote *Historia della città e regno di Napoli*, 4 vols (Naples 1601), to which another volume was added in the edition of 1676.[101] Nicola Partenio Giannetasio, Jesuit, then published his *Historia neapolitana*, 3 vols (Naples 1713).[102] Summonte's work concentrates more on the history of the institutions and political system. He draws much from Guicciardini, but writes

98 *Civil History*, bk 5, ch.4=Ogilvie, 1, p. 272.
99 *Civil History*, bk 19, ch.4=Ogilvie, 2, p. 47.
100 Dino Carpanetto and Giuseppe Ricuperati, *Italy in the Age of Reason* (New York 1987), p. 108.
101 Bertelli, *Opere di P.G.*, p. 375.2.
102 *Ibid.*, p. 440.2.

with sympathy of the *populares*. Giannetasio bases himself closely on Summonte. Giuseppe Valletta wrote a preface to Giannetasio's *Historia*.[103] G. had written only ten books when Giannetasio's history was published in 1713,[104] and was daunted by it. Giannetasio, a scientist but originally a classicist, was Naples' most widely published poet, and one of the two Neapolitans named by Muratori for his *Repubblica letteraria* (Republic of Letters).[105] He had been excluded from lecturing at the Medina Coeli Academy probably, however, because he was a Jesuit.[106] Nicola Cirillo was one of his students. G. wrote of Giannetasio in the *Civil History*:

> Besides, from my Youth I had heard, that P. Parthenius Giannettasius, in the Solitude of Sorrentum, freed from all worldly Cares, with great Help, and a huge Apparatus, had undertaken to write the Neapolitan History; and altho' my Design was quite different from his, nevertheless, both of us, tho' with different Aims, designing to treat of the same Subject, I apprehended that he, by prying more narrowly, might deprive me of the Novelty of many Things which I had observed, and perhaps might search more nicely into others, than I was able to do, who wanted so many Helps and so much Leisure. And this contributed to incline me to lay aside the Undertaking.[107]

103 Ricuperati, *L'esperienza*, pp. 145-146, 149-150.
104 *Vita*, ed. Nicolini, p. 46.
105 Stone, *Vico's Cultural History*, p. 126.
106 *Ibid*., p. 94.
107 *Civil History*, intro.=Ogilvie, 1, pp. v-vi.

Chapter Four: 1707-1722: Naples

1707, under the reign of the King and later Emperor Charles VI[1] and the government of Count Daun[2] and Cardinal Grimani[3] and later again under Count Daun, Viceroy

I

The year 1707 brought great changes and upheavals to Naples, in the fortunes not only of private citizens but also of the state, as the changes of a new rule are accustomed to bring in their train. As the German armies had entered the borders of the kingdom and then on 7 July within the city of Naples, in a short time the whole kingdom passed under the domination of Charles of Austria, who was then king. He had his royal seat in Barcelona and was the brother of the emperor Joseph, on whose death in 1711 he became also Roman emperor and was known as Charles VI (see Fig. 9).

1 Charles VI (1685-1740), second son of Leopold I and Eleanor of Pfalz-Neuburg; brother of the emperor Joseph I (Chapter Four: Appendix).

2 Philipp Lorenz Wierlich von Daun (1669-1741), count of Teano, marquis of Rivoli, twice served as viceroy in Naples (1707-1708 and 1713-1719). *NDB* 3, pp. 529-530. Chapter Four: Appendix.

3 Vincenzo Grimani (1655-1710), made cardinal in 1697 after pressure from Leopold I on Innocent XIII to reward him for diplomatic service; viceroy 1708-1710. Grimani was an astute and perceptive viceroy and vigorous anti-curialist. On his deathbed he sought and, in the emergency, was given the apostolic blessing by Cardinal Archbishop Pignatelli on behalf of the pope. Pignatelli was then severely reprimanded by Clement (Nicolini, *Uomini di spada* (Milan 1942), pp. 277-278). Grimani still found time to write the libretto for Handel's opera *Agrippina*, which has a sub-plot relating to intrigues in the papal court, and he may have written also that for *Acis and Galatea*, which has a similar plot (Harold Stone, *Vico's Cultural History* (Leiden 1997), pp. 140-141). *DBI* 59, 658-662: A. Borelli.

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Fig. 9 Charles VI, HRE 1711-1740, attributed to Martin von Meytens, Wikimedia Commons, public domain.

Since these radical changes had induced some Spanish magistrates to follow the party of Philip V and leave Naples, our lawcourts were left almost empty. It was necessary for Count Martinic,[4] who had been sent by the emperor Joseph as plenipotentiary minister in political affairs (as Count Daun had supreme command in military affairs), to replace them with other magistrates,[5] whom he took for the most part from the

4 Iiri Adam y Martinic (Martinez in G.) (1645-1714), born at Prague, he studied law; Austrian ambassador to England and Portugal, then to Northern Italy and Rome; he was Naples' first Austrian viceroy from July to September 1707, but retired because of ill health.

5 Tiberio Carafa, at the request of Count Stella, prepared 'a list of subjects whom, for ability or probity or birth or service, he considered deserving of posts'. They

Bar Association. Among them our Argento was promoted to the rank of councillor in the Council of Santa Chiara.

With his promotion, the young lawyers more advanced than I had the advantage of being left many of his and others' clients. After the harvest was reaped, I was left the gleanings, and derived little profit from them. This was due even more to my not being endowed with the shrewdness, vigilance and boldness which allowed the others to go ahead, pushing and shouting everywhere, soliciting and obsequious, and often by discreditable, base means, extorting clients and carrying them off against their will.

I was by nature inept at that and ill-suited for it, and in fact averse to using subtle tricks and going searching for clients in a submissive, servile manner.[6] There remained for me from Argento a few cases which I had begun to treat as a procurator under him when he was practising law. He himself had entrusted me with their defence, which I wrote up as lawyer. I still had, therefore, the cases of the countess of Bovalino (although, when she married, her husband availed himself more of his own lawyers than of me), and of the duke of Frosolone and marquis of Baranello, Francesco Carafa, who was a descendant of the ancient counts of Maddaloni. This young man was in the care of the duchess of Frosolone, his mother, a Spanish lady of the illustrious Quiroga family, of sparkling intellect and, although her strength was not equal to her magnanimous heart, she was as pleasant as she was liberal and most bountiful. She entrusted me with the defence of many cases, both hers and those of her son, the duke. This gave me the opportunity, especially after the duke's premature death without children, when I had to dispute with the Treasury on the estates in the regions of Baranello and Frosolone, of making myself better known in the courts and earning some respect and reputation among the lawyers.

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were Serafino Biscardi, Gaetano Argento, Francesco Nicodemo, Gennaro D'Andrea, Vincenzo de Miro, Domenico Aulisio, Alessandro Riccardi, Pietro Contegna, and Pietro Giannone (Nicolini, *Uomini di spada*, p. 232).

6 Gian Donato Rogadeo (1718-1784) observed that G.'s more pedestrian career in the courts illustrated the fact that a 'man of letters... could not make his fortune in the law courts without the spirit of adulation' (*Saggio di un' opera intitolata il diretto pubblico e politico del regno di Napoli* (Lucca 1769), p. 74; quoted by Elia del Curatolo, 'Per una biografia di Nicola Fraggianni', *Clio* (1971), 253-302, p. 265; Chapter Four: Appendix).

Although with Argento's move to the magistracy, in one sense I profited little in comparison with my companions who succeeded him, nevertheless his profound legal erudition had made him the most eminent, hard-working and tireless councillor on the Council of Santa Chiara, so that his learned opinions won over the verdicts of his other colleagues. Because of my familiarity with him, and to show the others that he had some respect for me, it happened that I acquired other new clients, attracted more by that connection than any other consideration. And people were induced to have recourse to me all the more because Argento availed himself of me to write the pleas in some of his own cases. Among these was a case of precedence which he had with his colleagues in a matter which I would like to relate here.

Although Count Martinic, by virtue of the plenary powers given him by the Emperor Joseph, had appointed many magistrates in Naples, King Charles, the emperor's brother, and the court of Barcelona considered their appointments invalid because they were made by one not empowered to do so. The Emperor Joseph, at that time king of the Romans,[7] had in 1703 with the emperor Leopold, his father, renounced the monarchy of Spain in favour of King Charles,[8] then archduke of Austria, and had divested himself of all right over the kingdoms which composed that monarchy. Count Martinic, therefore, could no longer exercise his plenary powers. And although he had appointed the magistrates provisionally until they were confirmed by King Charles, their appointment was thought to be not a matter of confirmation, since it was invalid, but rather reappointment, and it was considered as such by the court of Barcelona. The court, therefore, had sent new accreditation to others and also to those who had been appointed by Martinic, not confirming them but reappointing them, disregarding completely Martinic's action, and those not sent the accreditation

7 In the Holy Roman Empire this title, which preceded that of emperor given by coronation, after the refusal of the crown by Maximilian I, came to indicate the crown prince (B., p. 52.1).

8 Charles II, king of Spain, had been in favour of the Habsburgs' claim to his throne, but the machinations of his courtiers and French pressure forced him to change his will in favour of Philip of Anjou, nephew of Louis XIV, which was disputed by Charles of Austria. Charles' father, the Habsburg emperor, Leopold I (1658-1705), had renounced all claims to the Spanish crown in 1703 in favour of Charles, his second son; and the heir of Leopold I, the emperor Joseph I, also renounced any claim to it in favour of his brother Charles.

remained private individuals, as they had been before, and were not acknowledged as magistrates.

Argento also was sent accreditation but, like the others, it was not to confirm his appointment but to reappoint him. From this arose the dispute over precedence between those whose accreditation was dated before King Charles' accession to the Spanish throne, but after Martinic's promotion, and those who had been appointed by Martinic, even though the date of their accreditation sent from Barcelona was after King Charles' accession. The former claimed that, as they were not obliged to take into account what had occurred under Martinic, since it had been null and void, the earlier date of their accreditation was to be accepted. The latter, among them Argento, claimed that for precedence it was enough to have previously exercised the same posts. I had the task of writing in support of the latter group.[9] On examining the question in reference to the principles and examples treated by the *Theodosian Code* and according to the rules presented and observed by Jacques Godefroy in his precise treatise *De praecedentia*,[10] I showed that even if the entitlement to the post was defective, the fact that they had previously exercised it was sufficient grounds for precedence. The work was not displeasing to Argento, and was given to the regents of the Collateral Council,[11] who were to decide the matter. Although no decision was reached, they were left as before in the same seats with precedence over the others. And as this plea was circulated and read with pleasure, I began to be known to magistrates to whom my name was previously quite unknown.

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9 It was the councillor Francesco Solanes who raised the question of precedence. Although Argento did not bestir himself to ensure that G. acquired new clients, he continued to call on G.'s collaboration on difficult matters which Argento did not have sufficient time to treat (Pier Luigi Rovito, in *P.G. e il suo tempo*, p. 268).

10 Jacques Godefroy, *Diatriba de iure praecedentiae repetitae praelectionis...* (Geneva 1627); the reference here is to the second enlarged edition of 1664 (B., p. 53).

11 This was the supreme magistracy of the kingdom of Naples. 'Under the seemingly neutral cover of judicial activity, the supreme magistracy practised and maintained, day by day, the sole equilibrium possible between the various opposing forces operating in the kingdom. The exclusion of all control, including that of the viceroy, was one of the guarantees for the validity of the system' (Anna Casella, in *P.G. e il suo tempo*, p. 596). It was set up under the Spanish system of government (1503-1707) to assist the viceroy, who replaced the sovereign. It was composed of both aristocrats and jurists, and was to satisfy the local demand for a share in government (Anna Maria Rau, 'The Feudal Question', in *Naples in the Eighteenth Century*, ed. Girolamo Imbruglia (Cambridge 2000), pp. 95-117, pp. 95-96).

As Count Martinic, after having been barely three months in Naples, was not well regarded by King Charles, who had appointed Count Daun as his viceroy, he returned to Vienna. The kingdom thus remained under Daun's governorship, and then passed to that of the viceroy Cardinal Grimani. He gave Councillor Argento the task of writing the defence of the royal edict sent to Barcelona, which ordered that no bishoprics, abbeys, prelacies, ranks or benefices, either major and minor, or those not requiring residence, even the pensions of the kingdom, could be conferred on anyone not a subject of the kingdom, thus completely excluding outsiders and foreigners.[12]

Clement XI,[13] who then held the Roman pontificate, strongly opposed the edict, describing it as offensive to ecclesiastical liberty and the Holy See. It was therefore necessary to prove that the edict conformed not only to the laws and constitutions of other princes and to the usages and customs of all other European countries, but also to the sacred canons, to the actual constitutions of the Roman pontiffs, and to the old and unshaken practice of the Church, and that it conformed to ecclesiastical discipline.

Argento embarked on these studies, although he was completely new to, and unversed in, ecclesiastical matters,[14] since his previous studies had been quite different. His marvellous intelligence, however, became even more obvious, because by applying himself to the matter on that occasion, he mastered the subject in a short time and published his three scholarly dissertations on the subject of benefices.[15] These rivalled the

12 For a fuller account of the royal edict see Chapter Four: Appendix. Bertelli (B., p. 53) refers to A. Varro, *Collezione delle prammatiche* (Naples 1772), 1, pp. 361-364.

13 Clement XI, Gianfrancesco Albani (1644-1721) was made pope on 23 November 1700. G. describes him in his first known letter, addressed to his uncle and benefactor Carlo Antonio Sabatelli, written on 27 November 1700, when G. was aged twenty-four (see Chapter Two: Appendix [1]). Voltaire described Clement as resembling St Peter, because he would assert, deny, repent, and weep (*Age of Louis XIV*, tr. M. Pollack (London 1961), p. 224, quoted in Sergio Bertelli, *Lodovico Antonio Muratori* (Naples 1960), p. 103).

14 Michele dell'Aquila observes that the prisoner of Miolans here chooses to ignore the fact that, although Argento in his time had published those three learned dissertations on ecclesiastical matters and had continued to challenge the policies of the court of Rome under the vice-regencies of Grimani, Borromeo, and Daun, when the directives from Vienna changed, he seems to have most prudently observed them ('Difficile vita col Principe di P.G.', in *Giannone, de Sanctis, Scotellaro* (Naples 1981), p. 31).

15 Argento, *De re beneficiaria dissertationes tres, ubi Caroli III Austri-Hisp. regis etc.,*

other two scholarly works which appeared at the same time, written by Grimaldi[16] and Riccardi.[17] The subjects were not so new, but they had both previously employed their talents in ecclesiastical studies.

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edictum quo fructuum capionem in sacerdotiis externorum et vagantium clericorum iubet, tum summo tum optimo iure recte atque ordine factum demonstrator (Three Dissertations on Benefices, Where the Edict of Charles III, King of Austria and Spain, Ordering the Taking Over of the Income of Foreign and Wandering Priests, Is Shown to Have Been Done with Total Legality, Correctly and in Order) (Naples 1707) (B., p. 54); see Chapter Four: Appendix.

16 C. Grimaldi, *Considerazioni teologico-politiche fatte a pro' degli editti di S.M. Cattolica intorno alle rendite ecclesiastiche nel regno di Napoli* (Theological and Political Considerations in Support of the Edicts of His Catholic Majesty on Ecclesiastical Income in the Kingdom of Naples) (Naples 1707-1708) (B., p. 54). Costantino Grimaldi (1667-1750), Neapolitan magistrate, man of letters, and anti-curialist; friend of G.; vehement Cartesian; he was 'vividly aware that Descartes had risen to illuminate the world from that darkness into which it had unhappily fallen' (Giustiniani, *Memorie istoriche degli scrittori legali del Regno di Napoli* (Bologna 1787), 2, p. 137). He wrote three successive acclaimed replies to Gian Battista de Benedictis in 1699, 1702, and 1703 against this Jesuit's support of Aristotle and rejection of Descartes; cf. his autobiography, *Memorie di un anti-curialista del Settecento* (Florence 1964). Grimaldi was persecuted for his anti-curialism by the Viceroy, Cardinal Althann, who passionately espoused Rome's pressure on Grimaldi, and did all he could to prevent the publication of his book, *Discussioni istoriche, teologiche e filologiche fatte per l'Occasione della Risposta alle lettere apologetiche di Benedetto Alettino* 3 vols (Naples 1725). After Grimaldi's courageous defence of the Edict, he wrote to Charles personally for protection from the courtof Rome, and Charles advised the viceroy Cardinal Grimani that Grimaldi be given his royal protection. In recognition of his labours, Charles made Grimaldi a councillor of the Council of Santa Chiara in 1709 (*ibid*., p. 139). He was eventually deprived of his position as councillor, and imprisoned for a month; his books were dumped in the sea. Grimaldi reflected G.'s commitment to the rights of princes over the temporal power of the Church, and the awareness of the abuses of the Index and the Inquisition (Elvira Chiosi, *Lo spirito del secolo* (Naples 1922)). With Biagio Garofalo, also G.'s friend, Grimaldi wrote defending G. from the opposition mounted against him un Naples for his self-defence, the *Professione di fede*, against the Jesuit Giuseppe Sanfelice. *DBI* 59, pp. 490-495: F. Meschini (quite inadequate).

17 R. Serra d'Isca (alias of Francesco Alessandro Riccardi), *Ragioni del regno di Napoli nella causa de' suoi benefici ecclesiastici* (Defence of the Kingdom of Naples in the Cause of its Ecclesiastical Benefices) (Naples 1708). Francesco Alessandro Riccardi (1660-1726), Neapolitan lawyer, and *novus homo* like Argento and G. He studied to become a priest, but abandoned the idea. It appears that later in 1695 he had a scuffle with a priest in the cathedral of Naples over some slur on the honour of his sister (Nicolini, *Uomini di spada*, p. 266). After his *Ragioni,* Charles of Austria in 1709 summoned him to Barcelona and in 1710 made him pro-fiscal lawyer of the Council of Italy, in 1713 of the Council of Spain in Vienna, and a prefect of the Palatine Library. It was to him in great part that G. owed his acceptance in Vienna. Lorenzo Giustiniani wrote of him: 'despite his passionate nature, he had an excellent heart and was totally upright' (*Memorie storiche degli scrittori legali del Regno di Napoli*, 3 vols (Bologna 1787), 3, pp. 91, 100; Chapter Four: Appendix).

Clement thought to fell all three with a single blow when, with his special brief, he characterized these writings indiscriminately as impious, schismatic, rash, erroneous, destructive of ecclesiastical liberty and ultimately heretical.[18] He forbade reading or possessing them, under pain of excommunication at his discretion, and ordered that they all be thrown into devouring flames. Those thunderbolts, however, were hurled in vain. None of the works was touched by fire, and they were, on the contrary, sought out and treasured and read by everyone with great praise and commendation of the authors.

This defence then induced Argento to make a deliberate and more independent study of ecclesiastical matters. He became aware of the many unexpected attacks made on the rights of the princes,[19] and he learned in future to be wary and vigilant, so that at least new abuses were not added to the old. This was the end on which Pope Clement seemed completely and studiously intent. As Argento's distinguished erudition, moreover, had been recognized in Barcelona, he was promoted to the rank of regent in the Collateral Council as a reward for that glorious labour, as Grimaldi was promoted to the rank of councillor of Santa Chiara, and Argento was entrusted with the delegation of royal jurisdiction.

When holding this post of delegate during Clement's pontificate,[20] he was always strenuously active in opposing the many stratagems attempted by the court of Rome, especially during the vice-regency of Count Daun. On Cardinal Grimani's death,[21] which occurred in Naples,

18 These works were condemned with two briefs, that of 17 February 1710 against the submissions of Argento and Riccardi and the first part of Grimaldi's, and that of 24 March against the second part of Grimaldi's submission. Both may be found discussed in G.'s *Apologia dell'Istoria civile*, in *Opere postume*, 1, pp. 170-73; G. in fact copied out both briefs.

19 For centuries the kingdom of Naples was officially the feud of Rome. Papal interference was normal. The Church dominated the education of children, and claimed the right to administer justice and pass sentence, even though any criminal could find refuge in any ecclesiastical property. Gilbert Burnet noted that there were about 20,000 religious, 10,000 of them friars, in the kingdom of Naples in 1685 (Fausto Nicolini, *Aspetti della vita Italo-Spagnola* (Naples 1934), p. 245) At the end of the seventeenth century the Church owned two-thirds of the entire free property of the kingdom, and those properties which were most highly prized (Bianchini, *Storia delle finanze del Regno di Napoli* (Palermo 1839); quoted by Lino Marini, in *P.G. e il Giannonismo* (Bari 1950), pp. 29, 32, 34; Chapter Four: Appendix).

20 1700-1721.

21 Cardinal Grimani died on 26 September 1710.

and after the interim vice-regency of Count Carlo Borromeo,[22] Daun was again sent to Naples as viceroy. In those times there were fiercer and more sustained jurisdictional conflicts with the court of Rome, especially over the Church's claim of local immunity by its presuming to qualify the crimes which were to be granted sanctuary. Others included disputes over immunity of ecclesiastical persons and their property, over the appointment of bishops in Naples by order of the viceroys, and over the royal *exequatur*,[23] wills in favour of religious bodies, royal patronage and similar matters. These conflicts provided many opportunities to study such matters. To oppose them more forcefully it was not sufficient, as in the past under the Spaniards, to be content with single examples and their maxims extracted from an imaginary and not very sound or stable canon law, but necessary to go back to their origins, the canons, the teachings of the Fathers, and to the ancient and uncorrupted discipline of the Church. As a result the usurpations and assaults began to be demonstrated with greater evidence and were consequently more strongly resisted. Since Argento used to avail himself of my work and that of his other students in the investigation of such matters to lighten so much labour, this meant that I might more fully extend my knowledge and sound more deeply the origins of so much jurisdictional conflict. I could, moreover, examine the weak and sandy foundations supporting the machinery erected by the court of Rome, more through others' weakness and ignorance than its own virtue, and the knowledge of the origins and history of the stages of its development was in itself enough to destroy it.[24]

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22 Marquis Carlo Borromeo-Arese (1657-1734), viceroy from 14 October. 1710 to 20 May 1713. He was born in Milan, and was one of the richest, most powerful, and aristocratic patricians; a close friend of Muratori, he befriended intellectuals during his vice-regency, which was marked by hope, the polemic with Rome, and participation in politics. As viceroy, he had a fleet constructed at his own expense! He became a just and honest tax-collector for Charles VI for tribute to finance the Ottoman War (*DBI* 13, pp. 81-84: Ricuperati).

23 *Exequatur*: the control exercised by the State on ecclesiastical policy and legislation (in particular on excommunications and the conferring of benefices). *Testamenta ad pias causas* (wills for pious causes); that is, in favour of religious bodies. Royal patronage: the right of the sovereign to propose for episcopal seats and ecclesiastical benefices persons who were acceptable and subjects of the kingdom (B., p. 56). Of all the rights of the prince, G. most emphasised that of *exequatur regium*, to be exercised also in reference to the Church's banning of books and placing them on the *Index* (Marini, *P.G. e il Giannonismo*, p. 88). G. wrote on it at length in the *Civil History*, bk 33, ch.5=Ogilvie, 2, pp. 636-638: Chapter Four: Appendix).

24 These lines emphasize the constant wish of the sorrowing prisoner to convey the

On devoting myself to these studies I realized how beneficial had been the previous work on ecclesiastical history, the origin and development of canon law and the knowledge of the late, neglected centuries from which so many changes had ensued. By not ignoring the ancient state of affairs and the origins of so many changes, I therefore saw clearly the subsequent abuses and the many corruptions, and the assaults made on the royal power of the princes. I was so much more induced to pursue my work begun on the *Civil History*, which I considered was a fit theme to deal with these struggles and one able to illustrate more clearly the boundaries which had become confused between the empire and the papacy.

I also understood why Argento, who had taken up such studies very late, not from the beginning of his career but when the opportunity arose to examine some particular conflict, was not always consistent and uniform. On some points he seemed strong and on others weak and more full of scruples and vacillating than a woman. For this reason he needed others to encourage him to remain firm and constant. And from this beginning I imagine that in his old age, or perhaps because in recent times he was not as well supported by the Viennese court as he was in the beginning by that of Barcelona, he unfortunately became passive and slow and subject to the flatteries and allurements of the court of Rome.[25]

II

[1715[26]-1720]

During this time my mother died, which caused me great grief, and left her only daughter[27] at a nubile age, with no other woman to guide her,

direction of, and justification for, his studies. 'G. studied from their origins and throughout the whole of his *History* the form and driving force of the acquisition of material property on the part of the ecclesiastics, and identified in that process... a power not only sectarian but also totally alternative and destructive' (Raffaele Ajello, in *P.G. e il suo tempo*, pp. 364-365).

25 G.'s loyalty to Argento does not allow him to see Argento as a shrewd politician. Like G. he had been a *novus homo*; his father had not had a profession.

26 1715 was a decisive year also for G., because Giovanni (1715-1806) was born to him and his mistress Elisabetta Angela Castelli (*DBI* 54, p. 511: A. Merlotti).

27 Vittoria (1685-1735).

and with only my father, who was already old. As it was necessary to have her married as soon as possible, with the property left at Ischitella[28] as her dowry, she was given in marriage by my father with my consent to a physician[29] in the city of Vesti, where she went to live in the home of her husband. As my father was left alone, I decided to bring him to Naples, so that in his old age he might have the consolation of living and dying in the arms of his sons. I was already in a position to afford this new expense, because by constantly advancing in the legal profession I had become fairly well known in the law courts. This was due especially to the fact that after Argento's subsequent promotion to the highest post of president of the Council of Santa Chiara, there was no lack of new clients[30] who entrusted the defence of their cases to me. One of these cases excited such strong and clamorous contention between me and the opposing lawyer that it caused a great stir in Naples and unfortunately made me known to everyone.[31]

The citizens of San Pietro in Lama were disputing with the bishop of Lecce[32] his imposition of a tithe, which he claimed not as a baronial tax, but an ecclesiastical one on the olives; as a result it was to apply to the olives taken from all the trees of the olive grove, which were to be transported at the citizens' expense to the bishop's oil-presses. The citizens, whose defence I undertook, claimed, on the contrary, that the tithe was due to the bishop as baron of that feudal domain, but did

28 G.'s father sold his pharmacy and all his possessions for only 90 ducats. 'Since the prince of Ischitella was left the debtor, by delegation from the buyer, the generous knight wanted to pay this (i.e. to satisfy the debt) by giving G. two very beautiful broken-down horses, so as to be rid of the nuisance of G.'s father, who considered the 90 ducats the [sole] return made to him of the ancient property of his family and the industry of his entire life, and he did not ever cease to importune the prince to have him paid' (Vecchioni, *Vita*, p. 12).

29 Domenico Tura.

30 Among them was the noble family of Tarsia, in whose palace Argento rented his own apartment (Nicolini, *Uomini di spada*, p. 222). G. served first the princess di Tarsia, who died in 1731, then her son the prince throughout the twelve years which he spent in Vienna (see G.'s *Epist.*; also Giovanni Giannone, *Memorie,* below).

31 The case took place in the years 1715 to 1716 (*Vita*, ed. Panzini, pp. 5-8).

32 Of the vehement curialist Monsignor Fabrizio Pignatelli, Argento once wrote: 'The bishop of Lecce, who wishes in everything possible to operate outrageously as though he were Prince...' (*Consultazioni di giurisdizione ecclesiastica*, AAV, *ms gesuitico* 191; quoted by Arturo Jemolo, *Stato e Chiesa* (Naples 1972), p. 325). The same bishop had excommunicated sixty-four persons, among them magistrates, who had intervened on behalf of the peasants (Ricuperati, *L'esperienza*, p. 137).

not apply to all the trees and especially not to the ancient ones already enumerated in many still surviving inventories. And as this was a baronial tithe, the bishop had to collect the olives under the actual trees and have them taken to his oil-presses at his own expense.

The lawyer[33] of the bishop decided, in a plea which was published, to parade his erudition and enter into a long dispute on the tax of the tithe, which he claimed was ecclesiastical and the bishop's due by divine and not baronial right, and applicable to all the trees. In the belief that it could be exacted from all the trees as though they were all new, on the supposition that the old trees enumerated in the ancient inventories had all died, he decided to enter also into a dispute on the length of life of olive trees, which he wanted to claim was no longer than two hundred years. It was my task on that occasion to make a thorough investigation of this subject and make him aware of the many errors arisen from confusing the ecclesiastical tithe with the baronial, and on the length of life of olive trees, relying on the authority of ancient writers both Latin and Greek, who had attributed to them a life of many hundreds of years, as in the case of ancient oaks.

My plea[34] on this, which was also published, shamed the opposing lawyer, and therefore incited him to reply with the help of many others, on seeing me generally applauded and praised. It happened, however, that since the correction of one error usually results in others, his

33 He was Nicola D'Afflitto, whom Panzini (*Vita,* p. 6) describes as 'one of the most prominent lawyers of his time' (Nicolini, *Uomini di spada*, pp. 96-101). *Ragioni della Mensa Vescovile di Lecce, intorno all'esazione della decima co' posseditori di oliveti nel feudo di S. Pietro in Lama* (Plea of the Episcopal Refectory of Lecce in Reference to the Exaction of the Tithe from the Owners of the Olive-groves in the Feud of S. Pietro in Lama) (Naples 1715). D'Afflitto henceforth bore G. a grudge, and, when appointed auditor-general of the army, defamed him, Nicolini suggests, to Althann, which helps explain Althann's 'passive and deeply hostile attitude' to G. (*Uomini di spada*, p. 101).

34 *Per li possessori degli oliveti nel feudo di S. Pietro in Lama contro Monsignor Vescovo di Lecce, barone di quel feudo, intorno all'esazione della decima dell'ulive, Commissario il Reg. Consigliero Sig. D. Costantino Grimaldi* (On Behalf of the Owners of the Olive-groves in the Feud of S. Pietro in Lama, against Monsignor Bishop of Lecce, Baron of that Feud, in Reference to the Exaction of the Tithe on the Olives, Commissioner: Royal Councillor Costantino Grimaldi) (Naples 1715). It was reprinted in G.M. Novario, *De Vassallorum gravaminibus tractatus* (Naples 1777), 3, pp. 278-320 (B., p. 58). Rovito in his excellent essay observes that, while G.'s erudite plea earned him much praise, it also established him as an anti-curialist in the eyes of the ecclesiastics, since his defence was a denunciation of the bishop (in *P.G. e il suo tempo*, pp. 251-318, p. 269).

reply[35] became even duller and more verbose, and in large part also contumelious. In a couple of days, therefore, I was able to refute it with a few pages[36] and throw the author into even greater confusion by detecting new and very obvious errors, and make him an object of ridicule.

The old magistrates and lawyers of our law courts thought this controversy a new way of writing up cases and those who were strict did not approve. Others, however, let matters take their course, wisely reflecting that such literary contests induced many more of the young to study law, and that with such battles and the opportunity to read these pleas, many more people than usual were applying themselves to the humanistic disciplines. The pleas, therefore, were eagerly sought after, and the citizens of Lecce filled their province with them. As a result, both in Naples and Lecce, this case was the main topic of conversation, and the lawyers who defended it on both sides became quite renowned and celebrated.

It so happened that I argued another case, both sensationalist and serious, in the following years when I was already well advanced. It was the complicated and difficult case of the boundaries between the towns of Campochiaro and Vinchiaturo,[37] regions situated in the countryside of Molise. Campochiaro based its case on artificial boundaries, which it claimed divided the two jurisdictions. When defending Vinchiaturo's claim, I based my case on the natural boundaries of a brook and a river which divided them, and contended that the artificial boundaries

35 Nicola D'Afflitto, *Confutazione della nuova scrittura composta a pro de' possessori di S.Pietro in Lama contro il Vescovo di Lecce* (Refutation of the New Essay Written on Behalf of the Owners of S.Pietro in Lama against the Bishop of Lecce), p. 37 accused G. of 'using utterly the vocabulary and phrases of the Heretics' (Rovito, in *P.G. e il suo tempo*, p. 275).

36 P.G., *Ristretto delle ragioni de' possessori degli oliveti nel feudo di S.Pietro in Lama, contro Monsig. Vescovo di Lecce barone di quel feudo. Dove brevemente si risponde alla lunga confutazione della nuova scrittura composta a pro de' possessori suddetti* (... Where Reply Is Briefly Made to the Long Refutation of the New Plea Written on Behalf of the Said Owners) (*Vita*, ed. Panzini, p. 6; B., p. 59: Chapter Four: Appendix). The case was not decided, and only in 1744 did the new bishop, Mons. Scipione Sersale, and the peasants of the S. Pietro in Lame come to a compromise, because funds were exhausted on both sides (Nicolini, *Uomini di spada*, p. 98).

37 Campochiaro: the region was the property of the ducal family Mormile (Lorenzo Giustiniani, *Dizionario geografico-ragionato del Regno di Napoli*, 10 vols (Naples 1797-1805), 3, p. 66). Vinchiaturo belonged to the marquis Longo (*ibid*., 10, pp. 86f.; *Vita*, ed. Nicolini, p. 61.1 and 2).

divided not jurisdiction but particular territories. As I had gone with the magistrate and the lawyers on both sides to observe the place on the spot, this truth was more fully apparent. Many pleas were published, since in one plea of the opposing lawyers an attempt was made to quibble and thus confuse and obscure that truth. Once the sophisms and fallacies were revealed, it was necessary to show them more clearly, which was little to the taste of the opposing lawyer, who in his annoyance decided to defend himself with a new publication. This, however, made things worse, because he gave me the opportunity, when refuting it, to reveal his errors more clearly and confuse him. As this case had thus caused a stir and was treated in the Council of Santa Chiara with magistrates brought from other courts and the participation of President Argento, I had the good fortune of achieving a complete victory, with the boundaries dividing the jurisdictions declared to be the natural boundaries demonstrated by me, not the artificial ones which only divided particular territories.

These cases brought me considerable earnings and increased the number of my clients, so that I constantly acquired new ones, among whom were the baron of Cassano, the prince of Ischitella and other gentlemen.[38] I could have increased their number even more if I had wanted to imitate the example of those who went round searching and begging, but as my temperament was quite averse to such soliciting, I was content with a few.

To my natural disposition was added the fact that, apart from activities in the law courts, I had over me the heavy, self-imposed weight of continuing work on the *Civil History of the Kingdom*, and I feared that a further increase in my legal activities would be a hindrance. For this purpose, in order not to be remiss in either occupation, I had divided up the months and days of the year. The fifteen days of the Easter holidays, and as many as there were in the Christmas festivities, as well as those for Carnival and all the other holidays which occurred in the course of the year, I used to work on the *Civil History,* when not prevented by some legal writing which could not be deferred. The holidays for summer

38 Neither Nicolini nor Bertelli has found any note on the baron of Cassano. A case on behalf of the prince entitled *Ragioni per l'illustre Principe d'Ischitella contro Ciro Gioserani* was printed in 1717 (cf. *Vita*, ed. Panzini, p. 6; B., p. 60). Vecchioni states that G. had been made the Prince's family lawyer (Chapter Four: Appendix).

and the grape-harvest, which were longer, were, however, of particular benefit to me, and I used to spend them far from the clamour of the law-courts in the solitude of Posilipo[39] at the Spinelli palace. Later, however, I changed abode and moved my summer retreat to Due Porte, because of a matter which turned out favourably for me, as will be related.

There was in Naples a widow who died without leaving children by herself and her husband, because the children had predeceased her. All the real estate left by her husband, which she had inherited after the sons' death, she had willed to a church administered by priests in Naples, that of Santa Maria delle Grazie outside the Porta Medina. The priests immediately took possession of the property, in the belief that there were no other relatives of the husband who might claim the inheritance. It was then discovered that in the city of Vesti and the region of Peschici of Mount Gargano the husband, who was native to that region, had left many poor relatives, who, in accordance with the custom of the city of Naples, could not be denied the inheritance of half the earlier properties left by the widow. I undertook the defence of these poor people, and as they were unable to afford the expenses of the lawsuit, I had to provide the money and all that was required. And since my brother [Carlo] had become considerably knowledgeable in the practice of the courts, I had him act as attorney in the case. This was both to avoid spending more money by employing someone outside the family, and in order to provide experience for him to become better informed in the practice of the courts. The opposing priests based their claim to exclude the relatives on the assumption that, from the point of view of the deceased widow, one was to consider the property bequeathed as being a new acquisition, not an old one. The case had to be tried in the Gran Corte della Vicaria,[40] where it had been introduced by the priests to obtain that

39 Years later in Vienna G. wrote to his brother Carlo to thank his friend Onofrio Scassa for his having in his letter recalled to G. happy memories: 'in all my life I cannot remember more delightful or better days than those spent at Posilipo' (Vienna, 12 August, 1730: *Epist*., p. 734): see the engraving: 'Vatia's place'. Panzini (*Vita*, p. 9) reveals that Onofrio Scassa, a faithful friend, who visited G.'s women in the convent, and whose name is familiar to readers of G.'s correspondence with Carlo, used to stay with G. at Posilipo to keep him company. He also helped G. in his research and copied some sources for him.

40 Gran Corte della Vicaria: the supreme court of Naples 'was divided in two sections, civil and criminal, of which each was sub-divided into two courts (*ruote*). Two councillors of the Royal Council (Sacro Real Consilio) presided over the criminal

court's preamble for the conferment of all the property. There I showed, after many mornings in its court arguing the case, with much dissention between me and the opposing lawyers, that, from the point of view of the widow who made the will, all the properties should be considered 'old', since they had not been acquired by her but had passed to her from her sons, who had predeceased her. The Church, therefore, by virtue of the will, could claim admission only to half the property while the other half by virtue of custom belonged to the closest relatives of the husband, since he had acquired the property, and from him it passed to the sons and thence to the mother. It was, in effect, the judgement of the court that the Church was to be given admission by virtue of the will, but after half the property had been removed, which, having been acquired earlier, belonged by custom to the relatives of the husband, from whom it had come.

The opposing lawyers were not satisfied with this decision and appealed to the Council of Santa Chiara, and with new pleas, which were published, strove to support the claim that all the properties were new, and the decree imposed by the Gran Corte must, therefore, be revoked. I had to write up a new and more extended plea, which was published admittedly at my expense,[41] to convince the opposing lawyers and refute all their arguments. When, however, the case was to be retried, the priests administering that church, who fortunately happened to be endowed with great probity and knew that the real Church was the poor, decided finally not to pursue the law-suit. Commiserating, therefore, with the wretched state of my clients, that it would have been impious to defer the relief which their justice and the court's decision were granting them, they voluntarily agreed to the intervention and opinion of good friends, who advised that, as there was no longer any dispute, the case should be amicably ended. As a result, after several sessions we arrived at a moderate and equable division of property: to the church were left some houses and revenue within Naples, to my clients some revenue and houses outside the city in the region called Due Porte. This was

ruota. There were twelve judges in all—six for each section—as well as a fiscal lawyer, a lawyer for the poor, and numerous subordinates: notaries, secretaries, and porters. The Royal Council was the Court of Appeal for the Vicaria' (*Vita*, ed. Nicolini, p. 63).

41 The date of this case is uncertain.

so-called either because of two antique doors there or, as some have written, because the two famous Porta brothers, celebrated Neapolitan philosophers and literati, had their villas there.[42]

In order that the relatives, who lived far away, might enjoy the fruits of victory, it was necessary to convert the value of the property assigned to them into money, which would be more to their advantage invested in Puglia in their villages than could be hoped for from sources of revenue so far away. After having them valued, therefore, they were sold. And when my expenses, labours and the lawyer's fee due to me, with my brother's labours, had been deducted, I took for myself the houses in Due Porte with a small farm adjoining them, and sent them the balance of the price. They were well satisfied with this, and a public deed of cession and sale was drawn up.

When I had acquired the property, and made improvements to the house and had it furnished and fitted out, every year during the summer holidays and those for the grape harvest, I moved house to Due Porte, where, although I did not neglect my morning and afternoon exercise of walking through the countryside, all the rest of the time was spent working on the *History*. Because of my seclusion and also because when in the city I was seldom seen at parties or other gatherings of friends enjoying themselves (since, while others could do so, I could not, having apart from the business at the courts this other weight on my shoulders), I earned the sobriquet among my friends of Solitary Peter, which was a reference to Tasso's hermit.[43] And although a few knew that I was working to publish some book, I had given an idea of it only to Aulisio and Capasso and some very close friends. Some imagined that I was writing the history of the laws and magistracies of the kingdom of Naples, others that I was writing the lives of the Neapolitan jurists, and others something else, and I left them to their thoughts so as not to arouse any suspicion. Although I had completed many books so that I

42 G. wrote to Carlo later that the house was named after the two brothers Porta, and was mentioned in a work, printed in 1677, by Giovanni Battista della Porta, in which he states that the villa was of a very early date in his family and it was not known whether the place gave the name to the family or vice versa. G. suggests that Carlo ask Cirillo about the name's etymology (Vienna, 2 December 1730: *Epist*., p. 763; *Giannoniana*, p. 276). In this context for references to 'our Isabella' in the letters of Pietro to Carlo, see Chapter Four: Appendix.

43 Tasso's hermit: *Gerusalemme liberata*, I. 29.2.

could have published the first volume, I had to endure not beginning publication until the harbour was in sight. I was not mistaken in this, because events proved that if I had published the first volume, I would certainly have been prevented from publishing the second and even more so the third and fourth, and would thus have had to leave the work incomplete and unfinished.

Only the first three books, of which I had had made a clean copy from my originals, were read by Aulisio, whose approbation of the idea and pleasure at the style and arrangement of the work encouraged me to continue. I could not, however, do the same with the following books as intended, because various other impediments intervened, and in particular because I did not want to consume the time needed to emend and correct the copies. While I was postponing this, Aulisio contracted an illness so serious that it led to his death.[44] I would then have asked President Argento to look over it, but it was a hopeless and impossible task to have him read it, since his grave and increasing occupations, especially under the viceroy Count Daun, were such that he had not a moment to devote to anything else.[45]

Meanwhile as I was doggedly pursuing these long labours, strictly maintaining a regular way of life and not neglecting physical exercise, I was struck down by serious dyspepsia which caused me endless belching and acidity, and it was clearly evident that the stomach and bowels were out of order. I consulted Cirillo on how to cure myself, and after long thought and reflection he was of the opinion that, apart from application to study, it was caused by wine, which was not suited to my stomach and made it acidic, and that I must refrain from either study or wine. It was impossible to deprive myself of study as it was my profession and provided me with bread, so that I had to deprive myself of wine. Taking advantage of one summer, by gradually diluting

44 See Chapter Four: Appendix.

45 'The anonymous *Racconto* of events in Naples 1700-1730 stated (p.120) that G. had references for Vienna from Gaetano Argento, President of the Council, as he was his close friend. And from what is understood, the President was not only aware of this work, he had also given and lent him many books from which he could extract notes of what he intended to prove and have believed in his work'. Panzini (*Vita*, p. 24) states that Argento read the *Civil History* only after publication, when he made the famous comment, 'Pietro, you have set a crown on your head, but it is made of thorns'. Bertelli suggests that the prisoner of Miolans and Panzini are thus denying any accusations of Argento's collaboration on the *Civil History* (B., p. 64).

the wine with water, I reduced myself to a single glass at the end of the meal. This also I did without and replaced it with a bunch of grapes.

For three months this change from wine to plain water caused me pain and a great languor, which tempted me to take up wine again, but I held firm and unwavering. When, therefore, the languor left me, my stomach became stronger at digesting and I was cured of the acidity and other minor ills. I always bless having made this decision, since, throughout the whole of my life down to my present very advanced age, I feel much better and healthier drinking pure water than when I drink wine, and am at least sure of not being struck down by nephritic pains from gall-stones, podagra, and similar gouty maladies. It is, however, true that not being able to deprive myself of study, I have not been able to free myself from dyspepsia, which unfortunately often causes me troublesome and painful belching.

I must not omit that, among my many laborious and burdensome occupations, I found two ways of giving some relaxation to my mind, the first innocent and the second to be condoned as the weakness and fragility of human nature. I took great pleasure in the lovely seashore at Posilipo and the countryside and the delightful views at Due Porte, where I used to go. These made me forget and value less the amusements of the city, the theatre and other revels and ceremonies at the royal palace. I was remote from all the noisy spectacle and concourse of the multitude and was always a lover of the solitude of hills, plains and valleys. My other comfort and relief was to enjoy both the body's beautiful charms and the mind's beautiful gifts of a young girl,[46] whom with the consent of her widowed mother and brothers I possessed in her virginal state, and only out of fear of greater evil, since their poverty and the attractiveness of the young woman might have led her to a worse fate. She loved me as much as I loved her. I had placed her in the city in the safe keeping of honest women and often had her as companion in my solitude at Posilipo and Due Porte, where she brightened my sombre and melancholy occupations. And since she took great care of me and my domestic matters, I relied on her and had no other encumbrance than my studies.

46 Elisabetta Angela Castelli. Bertelli refers to large cuts by Giovanni his son when copying G.'s letters, to censor the sad story of his mistress Elisabetta (Bertelli, 'Appunti e osservazioni', p. 174).

I had two children by this upright and most chaste woman: a boy and a girl.[47] And I well realized how wise she was and greatly endowed with piety and virtue when I was forced to leave Naples for the Imperial court at Vienna and she decided to enter a convent, taking the little girl with her, where she led a very holy life, and decided never to come out, having left the boy in the care of my brother.

III

[1721-1722]

I began, meanwhile, with the passing years and the progress of my work to see, albeit from afar, the goal of my long labours; there remained only the last five of the forty books into which the *Civil History* was divided. I decided, therefore, to begin printing the first books. As they would take time, I was sure that in the meantime I could complete those which were left.[48] When work was to begin, a stroke of good fortune freed me from entrusting it to the printers. Apart from the fact that I would have had great difficulty persuading them to begin on it without the permission of the episcopal court, their printing houses were in the city's public squares, and as the pages were printed they would have been exposed to the eyes of the most inquisitive.

Ottavio Vitagliano,[49] a Neapolitan lawyer and my friend, had

47 A son, Giovanni, was born in March 1715 and a daughter, Carmina Fortunata, in 1721 (*DBI* 54, p. 511: Andrea Merlotti). Giovanni's *Memorie* (below) reveal that the convent was the Real Conservatorio di Sant' Antoniello alla Vicaria. In the emergency, perhaps Elisabetta did agree to enter the convent, but G.'s correspondence with Carlo, in spite of Giovanni's censorship, is darkened by the exasperation of the two brothers at the reports of her desperation, thus enclosed and unable to subsist on the small allowance sent by them, without even the possibility, as she was illiterate, of appealing directly to G. in Vienna. G. was constantly pleading with Carlo and his uniquely faithful friends, Francesco Mela and Onofrio Scassa, to visit her: Chapter Four: Appendix.

48 As it was being printed, G. worked on the last five books.

49 Ottavio Ignazio Vitagliano (died 1740). Giustiniani writes: Vitagliano 'was one of the most notable professors ofJurisprudence of whom the Neapolitan forum might boast in this century, and I feel it would be a fault to omit him and not honour my work with his name'. He died poor and very old and no longer a magistrate, but highly regarded by 'the wise'. His ideal of impartiality lost him the support of his colleagues and made him hated by less noble-minded fellow magistrates (*Memorie storiche degli scrittori legali del Regno di Napoli*, 3 vols (Bologna 1787), 3. p. 283). Nicolini, however, observes 'To be G.'s friend and to have contributed to the

obtained permission from the viceroy and the Collateral Council to have a printing press in his house, in charge of which he had placed a diligent printer named Niccolò Naso. When they had come to an agreement between themselves on their earnings, the responsibility of obtaining the permissions was left to Vitagliano.[50] Since my work contained many jurisdictional controversies resolved against ecclesiastical jurisdiction, which had become excessive at that time, it was easy to convince him that he did not need permission from ecclesiastical authorities. And it would have been irrelevant to request what they could not grant, because in their formula for granting it, it was no longer enough that the work to be printed contained nothing contrary to the holy faith and good customs; they wanted also that it contained nothing contrary to their claimed jurisdiction. After showing him several examples which no one had looked for in the books on jurisdictional conflict, we agreed that only the permission of the viceroy and Collateral Council was necessary, which I decided to attend to and send them. To all this was added something even more opportune and propitious. As Vitagliano had a country house near Due Porte, he had the printing press in his house in Naples transferred there far from all contacts, and it thus became more convenient to help with the printing in my summer holidays at Due Porte. We therefore arranged among us the money which I was to provide for the expenses, and as the type which he had was almost completely worn out, I had to provide him also with the money to cast a new one and also for a new hand-press. I could at that time afford these expenses, because my earnings from law and the lawyer's fee from some cases won by me had placed me in a position to be able to do so, and also to maintain the dignity of my home with carriage and servants.

The printing was commenced at the beginning of 1721 and continued for two years, which gave me time meanwhile to finish the last books. These two years were undeniably the most toilsome and troublesome, because as well as my activities in the courts and the labour of giving

printing of the *Civil History* did not prevent Vitagliano from censuring it shortly afterwards' (25 April 1725) in a memorial entitled 'Difesa della real giurisdizione...' G. replied with 'Osservazione' (both to be found in the *Opere postume*, 2 (1821), 146-156; *Vita*, ed. Nicolini, p. 71).

50 There was a formal contract between Ottavio Vitagliano and Nicolò Naso, by the notary Pietro Pellegrino, dated 23 August 1720. It is preserved in the Turin State Archives *Mss. Giannone*: *Giannoniana*, pp. 419-420; B., p. 67.

the last touches to the work, there was the task of checking the pages as they came off the press and correcting the errors which occurred in the printing. I was greatly relieved in this by the truly devoted Capasso,[51] who, although with Aulisio's death he had been appointed to the afternoon chair of Civil Law, did not fail whenever possible to proof-read the pages, especially those dealing with the ecclesiastical political system, and to alert me to mistakes and errors. Since his activities did not allow him to proof-read all, I must not omit the great and continuous comfort given me by the industry and exactness of another very dear friend. Because of this and because he never abandoned me in my other needs, and above all in the times of my fiercest persecution, gratitude demands that I treasure him indelibly in my memory for as long as I live. He was the very kind Francesco Mela[52] who, apart from being adorned with many virtues, was endowed with great ability in the Tuscan language, and had acquired such a pure and limpid style

51 G. wrote to Carlo from Vienna in 1724 that when it was published, however, Capasso took fright and 'went about telling everyone he had not read my work, when he had revised almost all the pages dealing with ecclesiastical government which I sent him for correction precisely for that reason' (1 January, 1724: *Epist.*, p. 100). Capasso in a letter (undated) to G. reminded him at length of the terror which the Jesuits should inspire, since they are 'a society which until now has annihilated all its enemies' (NBN, *Opusculi varii di P.G.*: *Giannoniana*, p. 79) Ajello observes that G.'s asking Capasso to read over his manuscript meant that G. kept himself safe from the kind of cultural terrorism which for at least three decades Capasso exercised in Naples. ('G. fra libertini e illuministi', *RSI*, 87 (1975), 104-131, p. 112). Another friend, Onofrio Scassa, who had helped G. and Argento decipher some of Aulisio's manuscripts (Nicolini, *Uomini di spada*, p. 17), came to his aid also in the research and transcription of sources. He was a lawyer and later became councillor of the Royal Council (Panzini, *Vita* p. 8). To Carlo's report that one of Scassa's servants had stolen some sets of the *Civil History*, and yet his master would not lay a charge against him, G. replies light-heartedly to be remembered to Scassa as 'Mercury, patron of slaves' (Vienna, 29 January 1724: *Epist*., p. 110). Alessandro Riccardi (1678-1726) and Pietro Contegna (1670-1736), both most loyal and cherished friends of G., were, with Francesco Mela, to help later with the revision and checking of G.'s *Apologia dell'Istoria civile* (*Opere postume*, 1 (1770), 1-143; Vienna, 16 June 1725: *Epist*., pp. 255-258; B., p. 68).

52 Francesco Mela (not in *DBI*; not even Bertelli can provide dates: B., p. 68): G. depended on, and trusted implicitly in, Mela's sense of literary style. Gustavo Costa writes: 'The text... not corrected by Francesco contains various lexical, grammatical and syntactical errors which G. must have incurred when speaking' (*Storia della letteratura italiana*, ed. Enrico Malato (Salerno 1995-2001), 6, *Settecento*, p. 323).Even more importantly, when G. was imprisoned, he entrusted his family in Naples to Mela. He is the second most frequently mentioned person (after Cirillo) in Minervini's edition of G.'s correspondence (Chapter Four: Appendix).

that his letters, even the intimate ones, were so polished in words and phrases that they deserved to be recommended to others as an example to emulate. He did not ever tire, as the pages came off the press, to proof-read all of them and correct with great exactness errors in both grammar and spelling, so that few escaped his sharp-sighted diligence.

On coming to the end of the fourth and last volume, therefore, towards the end of 1722, I had recourse to the viceroy, then Cardinal Althann (see Fig. 10),[53] and his Collateral Council[54] for permission to print and publish the work.[55] Because the Collateral Council had entrusted its review to Capasso, in order that a report be made to the viceroy on the work's contents, he did not take long to do so, having read it in great part when proof-reading the pages. In the report he testified that the work deserved to be published, since it contained nothing contrary to good customs, and much more because in it were upheld the royal rights and

53 Michael Friedrich d'Althann (1682-1734), born in Silesia of a noble family, was appointed auditor (1714-1718) for Austria by Charles VI; was influential in Charles' decision to evacuate Commachio; was made a cardinal by Clement XI and personally invested in it by Charles in 1720; viceroy of Naples, 1722-1728. Ricuperati observes how Althann had been instrumental in obtaining from Rome the investiture of Charles VI in 1722: 'he came, above all, to reestablish the power of the viceroy over the various magistracies' (*L'esperienza*, p. 273). G. and his colleagues initially believed that Althann would implement the best initiatives of the last Spanish political system (*ibid*., p. 222. For Ricuperati's memorable portrait of Althann, and analysis of his self-defence to Charles VI, *Rappresentanza fatta a Sua Maesta Caesarea e Catholica del Signor Cardinal Althann* (Naples 1722), see Ricuperati, *L'esperienza*, pp. 270-290. Until Althann became intent on championing the curia, he was said to be 'always intent on causing some new disgust to His Holiness', as Giorgio Spinola wrote to the Viennese nuncio Girolamo Grimaldi (17 July 1723, AAV, *Germania*: Marini, *Mezzogiorno*, pp. 207-208). *NBG* 1, pp. 933-934; *DHGE*, 1, p. 810: A. Palmieri; Chapter Four: Appendix.

54 See above, n.11.

55 'Most eminent Sir, Doctor Pietro Giannone humbly expounds to Your Eminence how, having written the *Civil History of the Kingdom of Naples*, he wishes to publish it. He therefore has recourse to Your Eminence and petitions you, by committing the review of the said work to whomsoever You think best, to allow the applicant to print and publish it, for which he will be grateful' (*Opere postume* (Naples 1770), 1, p. 84): for Capasso's review, see Chapter Four: Appendix. Contrary to custom, G. had not published at the beginning or end of the *Civil History* the decision of the Collateral Council (17 December 1722) to entrust Capasso with the review of the *History* or Capasso's favourable review (2 February 1723) or its *imprimatur*, granted on 11 February 1723. Such details would have drawn immediate attention to his having omitted, for both moral and rational reasons, to have printed in it a false place of publication or to obtain permission from the ecclesiastic authorities to publish it. This gave rise later in Vienna to the slander that the *Civil History* had been published illegally (Nicolini, *Scritti*, p. 10; *Scritti inediti*, p. 51).

pre-eminences which, as behoves a historian, were made manifest and defended with strong reasons.

Fig. 10 Cardinal Michael Friedrich Althann (1682-1734), viceroy of Naples 1722-1728, by Jacomo Rossi. Wikimedia Commons, public domain.

Permission was therefore granted to print and publish it, with the stipulation in accordance with the customary regulations, that copies be given to the appropriate magistrates, as was promptly done. The work was published in Naples[56] in March of the new year, 1723 (see Fig. 11). As a new and painful period, however, began for me at this point, it must be related in the following chapter.

56 On the title page of the *Civil History* the place of publication was courageously shown as Naples. This contravened, moreover, the tacit agreement between writer and vice-regal authorities to give a fictitious place of publication, in order not to involve them in conflict with the ecclesiastical authorities, who insisted that for books published in Naples ecclesiastical permission was necessary under pain of excommunication. The viceroy would also have been involved in its omission, and Althann referred in an interview later with Costantino Grimaldi to G.'s having flouted this understanding (Grimaldi: *Istoria dei libri*, in *Memorie di un anti-curialista del Settecento*, ed. V. I. Comparato (Florence 1964), pp. 49-50; for a full account of the interview see B., p. 69). It was no longer an auspicious time to publish the *Civil History*. As Michele dell'Aquila observes, in 1722 the Church had finally granted the investiture of the kingdom to the emperor, and Althann was to be a moderate and reconcile the government with Rome (*Giannone, De Sanctis, Scotellaro* (Naples 1981), p. 37).

Fig. 11 Pietro Giannone, *Istoria Civile del Regno di Napoli* (Naples 1723), title-page (courtesy of Rare Books, the Baillieu Library, University of Melbourne), https://www.google.co.uk/books/edition/Dell_Istoria_civile_del_regno_di_Napoli_/A-Jfi3Cfx-cC?hl=en&gbpv=1

Appendix (Chapter Four)

[1]

Charles VI: In 1702, Charles was sent to Spain during the War of the Spanish Succession (1702-1713/4) as the candidate of Austria, Britain, Holland, and their allies for the Spanish throne. He was proclaimed at Vienna on 19 September 1703, and went to Spain. His claim was contested by the nephew of Louis XIV, Philip of Anjou, who had been already recognized by Clement XI; the papal court refused to recognize the Habsburg claimant. In 1705, this caused a formal rupture between the courts of Vienna and Rome, and Charles' brother was crowned Joseph I (HRE 1705-1711) in that year. Charles, from his court in Barcelona, exerted intense pressure on Clement to recognize his claim. This resulted in the resurgence of jurisdictional debate as well as debate on sovereignty, whether Imperial or pontifical. Clement was finally obliged, under pressure from Joseph I, to recognize brother

Charles as king of Spain on 14 October 1709.[57] On the sudden death of Joseph I, Charles, as the last heir of the Habsburg line, became Emperor Charles VI in 1711, and with his investiture by Clement in 1722, a policy of reconciliation with the court of Rome began. G.'s youth, therefore, had been subject to the rigorous anti-curialist debate of those times. Lino Marini observes of Naples' intelligentsia at that time: '...there was in Naples' cultural and political life a liberty which was above all secular but never irreligious, a liberty for the most part within the existing social situation and not against it; and a liberty in government, certainly no longer Spanish, and although aristocratically ordered, always of an institutional, monarchical type'.[58]

[2]

Count Daun was a fearless anti-curialist. In 1708, he and all his magistrates were officially excommunicated, from which state only the pope, Clement XI, could give absolution. Clement himself wrote to have him told that the name Daun would remain 'perpetually tainted in the annals of the Church'.[59] Daun also served in Lombardy in 1708 as commander of the Imperial troops. G. wrote his *Civil History* under Daun's second vice-regency, and its spirit reflects the spirit of the times.[60] G. wrote glowingly in the *Civil History* of that period:

> In the Reign of our most august monarch and Emperor Charles VI, especially under the Government of Count Daun, our Viceroy, the Outrages of the Ecclesiastics and the Encroachments and Irregularities of the Bishops were vigorously curbed, the Royal Prerogatives were boldly maintained, and the Prelates were punished by the Sequestration of their Revenues; and being summoned, and not appearing, they were frequently banished from the Kingdom, which are Remedies that not only the Laws but also the antient Usage of the Kingdom allow our Princes to make Use of against them. The Immunity of the Church was preserved according to the Prescriptions of the Canons, but not of the Gregorian Bull, which upon all Occasions had been rejected. The Exequatur Regium was indispensably to be sought and obtained to all Provisions that came from Rome.[61]

57 Fausto Nicolini, *Uomini di spada* (Milan 1942), p. 262.
58 'Per uno studio della civiltà politica meridionale nel secondo Seicento', *ASPN*, 3.4 (1966), 347-386, p. 383.
59 'Dispatches of the Secretary of State... to Cardinal Archbishop Pignatelli', 16 June 1708, quoted by Nicolini, *Uomini di spada* (Milan 1942), pp. 254-255.
60 *Ibid*., p. 317.
61 *Civil History*, bk 40, ch.6=Ogilvie, 2, p. 846.

G. exulted in the advent of the Austrian vice-regency and the programme of reform:

> the appointment to the administration and judiciary of nationals, economic reform beneficial to all classes, the affirmation of the royal *exequatur*, the royal prerogatives, the opposition to all courts of the Inquisition, the intellectual flowering resulting from all that, through the academics and the contact with European culture.[62]

Those hopes were to be proved absolutely unfounded by subsequent events.[63] G.'s ideal of a national state was inherited from history and inspired by all his sources and models, from Machiavelli to Grotius. See Ricuperati's appraisal of the contradictions inherent and inevitable in the optimism of the time and in G.'s own writings.[64]

[6]

G. as a lawyer: G. wrote significantly of legal eloquence in the past: 'the lawyers of those times did not devote much study to the art of oratory, so that their addresses in court seemed luminous and solemn. They endeavoured to draw eloquence more from matter than from the style of that art... Their speeches in the *Ruota*, therefore, were short and all matter, as they did not bother about gossip and such things. Where there were abundant transactions, they willingly omitted the preambles and apostrophes'.[65]

Panzini judged that, although G. was not 'reputed to be the most enterprising lawyer of his time, he was universally considered the most erudite and judicious'.[66] Pier Luigi Rovito observes, moreover, that 'in the nerveless and dusty framework of the *scientia iuris* between the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, G. had shown a disquieting vocation to heresy,... sweeping away all the formalistic canons and pouring scorn on his jurist contemporaries'.[67]

[12]

The edict defending royal rights (1708): The royal edict was one of three edicts issued in June 1708 by Charles in Barcelona, and was part of a

62 *Civil History*, bk 40, ch.4 and ch.5, omitted in Ogilvie's translation!
63 Ricuperati, *L'esperienza*, p. 220.
64 *Ibid.*, pp. 221-226.
65 *Civil History*, bk 34, ch.8, omitted in Ogilvie's translation!
66 *Vita*, p. 4.
67 In *P.G. e il suo tempo*, pp. 317-318.

threat to cut off from the Papal State rich sources of income derived from benefices in Lombardy and the kingdom of Naples. Such income was to be confiscated and re-directed to approved authorities in Naples. The publicizing of all papal bulls, briefs and papal pronouncements was forbidden without Imperial permission. Rome's reaction was to have the viceroy Count Daun informed on 16 July 1708 that he and each regent of the Collateral Council and all involved in the implementation of the edict were excommunicated. With the arrival of the new viceroy Cardinal Grimani in 1708, relations with the papal court worsened. Although both Vienna and Barcelona were resolved to proceed gently with the recalcitrant clerics, Grimani informed Clement that, if he continued his disruption and excommunication of officials, Grimani would publish material injurious to the Holy See. Grimani was accused of forcing his fellow-clerics to break their oaths, and Clement himself accused him of breaking his own oath as a cardinal by being disloyal 'to God, the Church and Us'.[68]

Grimani chose, instead of the great names of the 1690s, three younger men, Gaetano Argento, Alessandro Riccardi, and Costantino Grimaldi, to write in defence of the royal prerogative. Costantino Grimaldi wrote in his memoirs 'that it was a task full of dangers, since he knew that one could not embark on this subject without drawing down on oneself the indignation of the Court of Rome, that it never pardoned anyone who sought to lessen its greatness'.[69]

[15]

Gaetano Argento on benefices: Argento wrote: 'The obligation imposed on the agent [cleric] of residency is inherent in the very nature of the benefice [bishopric etc.]... The prince is truly guilty who, deaf to the voices of his subjects' entreaties to restore the churches left squalid and run down by the beneficiaries' absence and avarice, tolerates that the money for the poor, for whom ecclesiastical revenue was originally intended, should benefit and make magnificent and idle the life of the absent prelates'.[70] Argento's firm defence of the Edict was not expressed

68 Nicolini, *Uomini di spada* (Milan 1942), pp. 252-261.
69 *Memorie di un anti-curialista del Settecento* (Florence 1964), p. 26.
70 T. Persico, 'Le dottrine politiche di Gaetano Argento', *Atti dell'Accademia Pontiniana*, 52 (1922), 65-86; Nicolini, *Uomini di spada*, p. 268.

as passionately or positively as those of Riccardi and Grimaldi, and was 'more prudent in tone' than Riccardi's. Argento was not therefore the object of curial reaction as was Riccardi.[71]

[17]

Francesco Riccardi and jurisdictionalism: Riccardi was deeply involved in jurisdictional disputes, which can be followed in G.'s 'Apologia dell'Istoria civile' in *Opere postume*, 1 (1770), 135-344.; and also Lorenzo Giustiniani, *Memorie istoriche* (Bologna 1787), 3, 99-103; Nicolini, *Uomini di spada* (Milan 1942), pp. 270-271; Lino Marini, *PG e il giannonismo* (Bari 1950), p. 60; B., p. 54.3.

A few days after the victorious Austrian army entered Naples on 7 July 1707, Riccardi had presented a petition to Vienna, in which he lamented the plight of the kingdom which was so potentially rich and yet in reality remained wretchedly poverty-stricken.[72] The Church's attack on him at the time was said to have incited the people to call him a Jansenist, so that he was forced to flee to the emperor in Vienna.[73] He wrote in 'Beneficiarios omnes' (pages unnumbered): 'The commands and laws of the Roman Pontiff are not always right and just.' The prince, therefore, was allowed to contest 'any enterprise of Rome which was less than right' (Marini, *PG e il Giannonismo,* p. 62).

[19]

Roberto de Giscardo and the Papacy: The friction between Church and State in the kingdom of Naples went back to the ruler of the Normans, Roberto di Guiscardo, on whom Leo IX conferred the title: 'Duke of Calabria and Puglia by the grace of God and St Peter'(1059). Roberto then declared himself the pope's vassal. The Roman curia subsequently attempted 'to establish the extension of Papal dominion and place limitations on the royal prerogative, to ensure the contributions [tribute] to the Holy See, ecclesiastical immunity and the extension of ecclesiastical jurisdiction'.[74]

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71 Ricuperati, *L'esperienza*, pp. 120-121.

72 Bibl.Naz.Naples, *Raccolta varia*: Ricuperati, 'Alessandro Riccardi e le richieste del [Ceto civile]', *RSI*, 81 (1969), 745-777, pp. 756-759.

73 Gustav Süttner, *Die Garelli* (Vienna 1888), p. 31.

74 Guido De Ruggiero, *Il pensiero politico meridionale nei secoli XVIII e XIX* (Bari 1954),

[33]

The Exequatur Regium:

> But that Court of Rome... used their utmost Endeavour to bereave our Kings of a Prerogative so dear to them that they value it as the Apple of their Eye, and the chief Foundation of their Royal Jurisdiction, viz. the *Exequatur Regium* given to the Pope's Bulls and Rescripts and all other Provisions coming from Rome, without which they are not suffered to be put in Execution.... It had its beginnings not only in the Kingdom of Naples, but in all the Dominions of the Christian Princes, with Principality itself, and belongs to them *Titulo sui Principatus* (by the title of his Princedom) or *Jure Regaliae* (by Royal Rights) as the above-mentioned Van Espen fully proves. It was contrived for the Preservation of the State, and to prevent an Inlet to Commotions and Disorders from foreign Parts; therefore it has always been lawful for Princes and commendable in them, that whenever foreign Writs came into their Dominions, whereby it was pretended to exercise Jurisdiction either Spiritual or Temporal in them, to examine such Writs before they were put into Execution... but it is required only that the Prince, who ought to be careful and vigilant that the Government of his Dominions be not disturbed, may know what is contained in Writs that come from Abroad and into his Territories, that under that Colour or Pretence, nothing be introduced which may disturb the Peace and Tranquillity of his State; and this is all that is intended by the *Exequatur Regium*.[75]

[36]

Nicola Cirillo and the olive trees: Assistance was given in the case by the physician, botanist, and close friend of G., Nicola Cirillo, on the age of olive trees, with observations on the distinction between the fruit of olive trees and the oil.[76] Among Cirillo's papers at his death were found two essays on those themes.[77] G. based his case on the observations also of the famous contemporary botanist Jean Pittou de Tournefort, on ancient writers such as Theophrastos, Pliny, and Tacitus, and on scholars such as Daniel Hensius, Bacon, and Gassendi. Panzini read with great pleasure G.'s plea on the case of the tithe 'expressed with such solid and apposite jurisprudence, that it would serve today's lawyers as an

p. 7.

75 *Civil History*, bk 33, ch.5=Ogilvie, 2, pp. 636, 638.

76 Panzini, *Vita*, p. 6.

77 B., p. 58.2.

example of clarity and conciseness'.[78]

[38]

G. and Ischitella: The Prince of Ischitella was Francesco Emanuele Pinto y Mendoza (1703-1767). His family had made its money in trade. He became a grand patron and greatly enriched the area, but he died deeply in debt.[79] The prince, nevertheless, had been ungenerous, as G. writes to Carlo, 'in my adversity', and despite G.'s legal services in a very important and successful case, he received no fee other than four silver candlesticks. The prince also later poorly treated G.'s father, Scipione.[80] Bertelli observes: 'One should remember that the Giannone family were vassals of the prince'.[81] Among 'other gentlemen', Panzini has included Marquis di Rofrano; G.'s petition for him was entitled 'Ragioni per le quale si dimostra che l'uffizio del Corrier Maggiore del regno di Napoli non dover essere compreso nella reciproca restituzione de' beni da stabilirsi negli articoli della futura pace' (Plea whereby it is shown that the office of the General Mail of the kingdom of Naples ought not be included in the mutual restitution of properties to be established in the articles of the future peace).[82] G.'s career reached its zenith in the years from 1715 to 1720. He was not greatly successful, however, because of his own natural reserve and because of his labours on the *Civil History*.[83]

[42]

Isabella Micaglia: The research of Ciro Cannarozzi has explained the significance of 'our Isabella', which appears often in G.'s correspondence. She was Isabella Micaglia and a relative of Lucrezia Micaglia, G.'s mother. She in fact lent Pietro and Carlo 200 ducats to complete the payment for Due Porta, and her children must have been putting pressure on her to reclaim the debt.[84] Carlo delayed, but Pietro directed him to reassure her that it would be paid as soon as possible. The loan was paid on 20

78 Panzini, *Vita*, p. 5.
79 Teresa Rauzino, 'Ischitella, patria di Giannone', in *Atti del convegno nazionale sulla Formazione umana e culturale di PG* (Foggia 2007), pp. 148-150.
80 Vienna, 30 December, 1724, 12 January 1726: *Giannoniana*, pp. 222, 229.
81 B., p. 60.1.
82 Peace of Vienna, 30 April 1725; *Opere postume*, 2, pp. 123-145; B., p. 60.2.
83 P. Luigi Rovito, in *P.G. e il suo tempo*, pp. 277-278.
84 Letter to Carlo, Vienna, 21 July 1725: *Epist.*, p. 269.

September 1727.[85] Almost a century later, Tommaso Fasano wrote: 'This, for the position and the view' and the air was the most praised villa in the Arenula'.[86] In 1799, the village of Due Porta 'because it was formerly the house and dwelling of the celebrated Pietro Giannone', was named 'Cantone di colle Giannone'.[87]

[44]

Aulisio and his nephew Niccolo Ferrara: Aulisio's nephew Niccolò Ferrara was accused of poisoning his uncle. After two years' imprisonment, the nephew requested G.'s help. G., after examining the evidence, was able to convince Argento (who had ordered the imprisonment 'to vindicate the cruel death of such a man and his great friend')[88] and his colleagues of the nephew's innocence, and he was released. In gratitude, he gave G. many of his uncle's books (including his copy of Spinoza's *Tractatus*) and various works in manuscript.[89] G. arranged (with the help of Ottavio Vitagliano, below, n. 280, and Argento)[90] for the publication of thirteen series of Aulisio's lectures at the university: *Commentariorum iuris civilis* in three volumes (Naples c.1719); *Commentaria in IV Institutionum canonicarum libros* (Naples 1721). In 1723, because of G.'s pressure, two books were published from Aulisio's *Delle scuole sacre*.[91] Owing also, no doubt, to the vast labour in editing the almost indecipherable confusion of Aulisio's manuscripts., G. fell out with Ferrara, and the work was published when G. was in Vienna.[92]

[47]

G. and Elisabetta Castelli: In his extant correspondence, much of which was copied and censored by Giovanni, G. does not ever refer to his mistress or his daughter by name. And until arrangements were being made for Giovanni to join him in Venice, Giovanni's existence is inferred

85 *Biografie ischitellane*, p. 47.
86 *Lettere villeresche scritte da un anonimo* (Naples 1779), p. 52; quoted by *Vita*, ed. Nicolini, p. 65.1.
87 *Monitore Napoletana*, 2 March 1799, p 40: Nicolini, *ibid*.
88 Panzini, *Vita*, p. 10.
89 Vecchioni, *Vita*, p. 10.
90 Nicolini, *Uomini di spada* (Milan 1942), p. 406.
91 B., p. 64.2.
92 Nicolini, *Uomini di spada*, p. 407.

only in the message of good wishes, at the end of G.'s letters to Carlo, to Vesta, to his sister Vittoria, and her husband Domenico Tura. After a brief guardianship, Carlo had sent Giovanni aged eight to them, after G. fled to Vienna in 1723. One thinks of G.'s near contemporary, Jean-Jacques Rousseau (1712-1778) and Thérèse le Vasseur, his companion for twenty-five years, whom he married in 1768, and with whom he fathered five children, who were all placed in the Foundling Hospital of Paris.

[52]

G. and Francesco Mela: Ciro Cannarozzi discovered in *Dal Libro dei Cresimati* (Book of Those Confirmed) in the archives of the Church of Santa Maria Maggiore d'Ischitella that the godfather of young G. was Antonio Miele of Naples.[93] Francesco would probably be his son. This would then explain why G. entrusted to him Elisabetta and their daughter when he fled to Vienna.[94] G. was later forced to entrust the education of Giovanni to him, and finally, from prison, Giovanni's welfare. 'And you must consider Sig. Mela your other father, to whom I profess infinite obligations, because in him alone out of so many friends I have experienced in my [adversity] the most constant and firm qualities of true friendship'.[95]

[53]

Cardinal Mmichael Althann: Michael Friedrich d'Althann participated under Clement XI in the reconciliation of the courts of Austria and Rome, estranged by the Spanish succession. He was a conscientious imperial ambassador in the election of Michelangelo de Conti as Innocent XIII in 1721.[96] His curialist sympathies must have been known, but negotiations over Charles' investiture were still pending. Charles directed the Elect of the City, therefore, to obey Althann as though he were the emperor.[97] His instructions from Charles were to respect the

93 *Biografie Ischitellane* (Esca 1974), p. 16.
94 B., p. 68.1.
95 Citadel of Turin, 24 November 1745: *Lettere autografe*, ed. Pantaleo Minervini (Fasano 1991), p. 210.
96 Pastor, 34, pp. 15-16.
97 Vienna State Archives 4135, 30 June 1722; Anna Casella, in *P.G. e il suo tempo*, p. 582.

Holy See without endangering the imperial prerogative, to work with the intellectual class, in particular the judiciary, to keep the Collateral Council and magistrates under control, to redress delays in the courts, and to introduce reform in fiscal and economic matters.[98] His sister-in-law, Marianna Pignatelli, had been Charles' mistress (B., p. 68.2).

[55]

Capasso's review of the *Civil History*:

> Most eminent prince: I have obeyed your command and have read the Civil History of Naples by the famous Pietro Giannone, lawyer, in forty books. I found in it nothing which might lessen the rights of kings. In truth, it seems right that he strives for this alone, to make clear the rights of Caesar and to defend most fiercely their reasons, as far as a historian is allowed. Truly therefore I think that it should be published, unless you think otherwise. I pray reverently to God for your sound health which is the very happiness of the kingdom. Naples, 5 February 1723. Your Eminence's most humble and devoted servant, Nicola Capasso.[99]

98 Ricuperati, *Storia di Napoli*, 10 vols (Naples 1967-1972), 7, pp. 395-400.
99 *Opere postume* (1770), 1, p. 53.

Chapter Five: 1723-1724: Naples

In the reign of the Emperor Charles VI and the Governorship of the Viceroy Cardinal Althann. Naples and Vienna.

I

When the printing was finished and the copies taken to my house, there were one thousand printed on ordinary paper and another one hundred on royal paper with the portrait of the emperor (see Fig. 9), to whom the work was dedicated and consecrated, and my dedicatory letter to him.[1] I had one of these bound and nobly ornamented, and presented it to the cardinal viceroy. He accepted it with much humanity and courtesy, and I heard afterwards from those around him that he did not disdain to keep it on his writing desk and often read it in his spare time. I had other copies on royal paper bound, and presented them one by one to all the regents of the Collateral Council, and to the other high-ranking magistrates where appropriate, who, as well as courteously accepting them, thanked me profusely. I presented similar copies one by one to all the Elect of the city of Naples, whose thanks on behalf of the city were accompanied by a gift of money to record their gratitude, and by electing me permanent lawyer of the city.[2] Another copy, richly ornamented like

1 The *Istoria civile del Regno di Napoli* was printed on standard paper, 33 x 21 cm. It was published in Naples on 12 February 1723 (see Fig. 11). The printer/publisher was Nicolo Naso. A portrait of Charles VI preceded the dedicatory letter (Chapter Five: Appendix).

2 Argento on 17 March 1723 summoned the City's Elect to arrange for the remuneration to be paid to G. for his contribution to the glory of the kingdom by the *Civil History* (Letter of the Nunzio to the Cardinal Secretary of State, 23 March 1723: AAV, *Napoli*, vol. 165: Bertelli, 'Appunti e osservazioni', p. 178). At the suggestion of Vincenzo d'Ippolito (died 1748), councillor of Santa Chiara, president of the Sacro Real Consiglio and a friend of G., the Elect decided that 30 Spanish doubloons as

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the one to be presented to His Majesty the emperor, was prepared for the Imperial court of Vienna, as well as other copies which were to be presented to the president, regents and other councillors, secretaries and magistrates, who in Vienna comprised the Council of Spain.[3] Others

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well as the title of Lawyer of the City with an allowance of 200 ducats per year were to be presented to 'the magnificent don Pietro Giannone... on behalf of this most loyal city... as a mark of gratitude for his book, the *Civil History of Naples* which will redound to the great benefit of the public'. The grant was signed by the five Elect: Marchese, Costanza, Pignone, Serra and de Maria; J. Velli, secretary (NAS, A libro IV, Appuntamentorum fol.39: Panzini, *Vita*, p. 24). The General Parliament of the kingdom of Naples, the *demaniali*, in which sat the most prominent barons and the cities' representatives, had not been summoned after 1642, and its function of administering 'extraordinary or voluntary taxes' (*donativi*) was carried out by the Giunta degli Eletti (Committee of the Elect). It comprised five elected members from the nobility and one from the people. Through it 'the leading nobles controlled the government of the capital and its food supply'. It was the Elect who passed on the keys of the city at every change of regime (Anna Rao, in *Naples in the Eighteenth Century*, ed. Giacomo Imbruglia (Cambridge 2000), p. 97). Bertelli quotes Ilario Rinieri (*Della rovina di una monarchia* (Turin 1901), p. xxiii) on how the Elect's grant to G. of both title and remuneration was 'almost a plot by the jurisdictionalists, men imbued with maxims come from beyond the Alps in the name of French liberty, those maxims in favour of the royal prerogative, which precisely at that time were passionately espoused by intellectuals against Rome' ('Appunti e osservazioni', p. 179). The dispatch of the Neapolitan nuncio records the announcement of G.'s award on 23 March 1723. On 9 April, however, there appears the note: 'The deputies of the Capitols have already committed the review of the work of Pietro Giannone to Drs Nicola Galizia [mathematician and expert in canon law] and Matteo Egizio [jurist and man of letters], and in the meantime have also suspended the Elects' nomination of Giannone as Lawyer of this City' (AAV, Nunziatura di Napoli: Bertelli, 'Appunti e osservazioni', pp. 180-181). Bertelli observes that Althann's objections were not limited to the session of 12 April of the Collateral Council (see below, Chapter Five: Appendix [12]), but were part of a much broader intervention to isolate G. This culminated in G.'s flight to Vienna on 22 April. Some four years later Althann concluded his *Rappresentanza fatta a Sua Maesta Cesarea e Cattolica* (Naples 1727), with a violent attack on the *Civil History*. Accepting the slander and defamation current at the time that G.'s *Civil History* was a work written by a number of people, Althann stated that it referred to the Roman pontificate with more contempt 'even than have the heretics', and that it was more dangerous than Pascal's *Lettres Provençales*, because it attacked both Church and State. 'Rappresentanza', p. 36, quoted by Ricuperati, *L'esperienza*, pp. 285-86. Recuperati states that it was also G.'s old adversary in the case against the archbishop of Lecce, Niccolò D'Afflitto, who exacerbated Althann's negative reaction (*ibid*., p. 227).

3 The Council of Spain was the old Council of Italy, instituted by the Spaniards to manage Italian affairs and then transferred to Vienna after the Italian provinces passed to the Habsburg Empire. In Vienna the Spaniards gradually took over all its posts, to the exclusion of the Italians. It comprised a president and six councillors, two each for Sicily, Naples and Milan (B., p. 70); see G.'s description in his 'Breve Relazione de' Consigli e Dicasteri della città di Vienna' (Brief Account of the

were presented to my friends, and many on ordinary paper were sent to two bookshops in the city and put on sale at a moderate price.[4]

A fortnight had not passed when, after glancing through my work, almost everyone was arrested by the last chapters of the books dealing with the ecclesiastical political system, and from their impression of the work gathered from the index of the chapters it seemed new and not previously attempted. To the plebeians among the literati and lawyers and to the semi-learned, this gave rise to envy, and they began to read it with jealous eyes, alert only for what seemed strange to them in the chapters on the ecclesiastical political system. As they were ignorant of the origin and evolution of the State of Naples, they believed that the world had always been as they had found it. And to hear the work praised by profound and learned men excited their envious slander. The same men who had previously given me the sobriquet of Solitary Peter because of my seclusion, now forgot my solitariness and the space of so many years, and began to say that I could not have been the sole author of such a voluminous and laborious work, and that others had given me help and material, some naming Argento, some Aulisio and some my other friends.[5]

Councils and Departments of the City of Vienna), *Opere postume*, 2 (1821), 181-235.

4 Four ducats, which had increased ten-fold to forty ducats by only 1725 (Letter to Carlo: Vienna, 9 June 1725: *Giannoniana*, p. 224).

5 Nicola Capasso and Vincenzo d'Ippolito were also named. The official report on the publication of the *Civil History* relates how 'Argento was not only aware of this work, but also had lent G. many books from which he could investigate all that he wished to prove and have believed in his work': *Racconto di varie notizie* (Naples 1997), p. 36: Scipione Volpicella, 'Parere del Collaterale', *ASPN*, 1 (1876), 118-122, p. 119. G. possessed some of Aulisio's manuscripts, which Aulisio's nephew, Niccolò Ferrara, had given to him to cover the 300 ducats which would have been G.'s fee for quashing the charge against Ferrara of murdering his uncle (Vienna, 29 January 1734: *Vita,* ed. Nicolini, p. 480). G.'s excited and anxious involvement and finally disillusion over their publication is documented through his correspondence; for example, his unsuccessful efforts to have Aulisio's *History of Medicine* published in Vienna as a task of collaboration between Garelli in Vienna and Cirillo in Naples (Vienna, 16 December 1724: *Epist.,* p. 206). Such involvement gave rise to the slander of G.'s having plagiarized Aulisio's works. See below for Panzini's dismissal of such a charge. G. depended on the observations and help of his friends. On his arrival in Vienna, he thus wrote to Carlo to thank Vincenzo d'Ippolito 'dearly... for going over the *Civil History* with the most purging eye' and asks that he continue 'fishing' when he has time. 'Sig. Riccardi and some of my other friends here (e.g., Pietro Contegna) are doing the same, and the Lord be praised, they rarely catch anything' (Vienna, 11 March 1724: *Epist.,* p. 124). G. asks Carlo to give a copy of Riccardi's list of errors (in the *Civil History*) 'of which some really need emending, in particular

It was truly extraordinary and astonishing that I was given no credit[6] for the light cast on the most obscure centuries of the provinces which now comprise the kingdom of Naples; that they disregarded the clarification

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the citations and minutiae... to dear Sig. Capasso, and ask him, together with Sig. Vincenzo, to think about what really ought to be changed and corrected,... as I am sure that, in friendship, they will do me a favour; they also having noted others which they consider more important... I recommend secrecy to them, because I would be sorry if Sig. Riccardi knew, as he gave me the note with great reluctance and in all confidence, so that the others did not know' (13 January 1725: *Epist*., p. 214). He writes cryptically to Carlo, probably about his manuscripts of the *Apologia*, to ask Mela and Capasso to make a start on checking it (23 June 1725; *Epist*., p. 258). G. was also considering adding to the *Apologia* a list of all the errors in the *Civil History* 'emending them, or better explaining them and placing some addition in their place, so that if the work is republished, one will know what is to be changed and emended. This will take time, and therefore I ask the various friends to favour me with their observations, in order that in the appendix in one go I can deal with everything' (*Epist*., p. 282). On the charge of plagiarism, first, Panzini in his defence of G. against the charge of plagiarism in the *Civil History* points out that G. had always taken pleasure in tracing back to the most obscure records of the dark ages. Second, the *Civil History* was already completed in 1719, the year in which G. was given Aulisio's manuscripts. Before then, until 1717, he had been able to give his history to Aulisio, who had done him the service of reading it over for him. Third, he could never have written any of his later works, all written after Aulisio's death, if he had not been the sole author of the *Civil History*: the 'Profession of Faith' against Sanfelice, the essays from Venice on Alexander III and Barbarossa, or any of his vast works from prison. Fourth, G.'s son Giovanni had some of the notes from which he compiled the *Civil History*, full of his historical and critical observations, which reveal his wide reading and constant industry. Fifth, Argento also could not have had any hand in it, because he was not familiar with the period. Sixth, Panzini quotes (*Vita*, pp. 22-24), moreover, the testimony of G.'s closest friends that it was all his own work.

6 G. wrote that 'even adherents of the court of Rome recognize that what I have written on the abuses perpetrated by it relate to the truth, and they reproach only the tone which, in their view, is too mordacious and rancorous' (Vienna, 22 January 1723: Nicolini, *Scritti inediti*, p. 83). Bertelli observes that, if the *Civil History* had appeared in the midst of the struggle between Vienna and Rome, or at least a few years before Althann's arrival, the author's fate would have been very different. Althann, however, whose task it was to reconcile Vienna and Rome, could only be embarrassed (*Opere di P.G.*, intro., p. xv).G. presented a new interpretation of the roles of Church and State from the end of the Roman Empire to the Austrian vice-regency. Caporetto and Ricuperati state: 'But the work does not fit easily into the category of simple jurisdictionalism, although G.'s adversaries did their best to make it do so, stating that it was a text written to discredit the Church by more than one hand. In this way, they avoided tackling the profound political, moral and religious coherence which permeated a work which contained within it the unique germ of G.'s later ideas' (*Italy in the Age of Reason* (London 1987), p. 109). For an excellent description of the *Civil History* see Andrea Merlotti's article in the *DBI* 54, pp. 511-518.

of the origin and usage in the kingdom of Roman, Lombard, Norman, and Swabian laws and those of other countries, of which they were quite ignorant; that they had no interest in the origins of the papal investitures; the claims of the princes of various nations to the kingdom of Naples, of their exploits, new systems, and governments, the institution of so many new magistracies, officials and law-courts, or the many changes and other investigations and new discoveries made in relation to the civil government of the kingdom. All these matters were of no avail to me. How true it is that men are more inclined to evil than to good, and are also more inclined to censure than to praise. I unfortunately realized the truth of what Pliny the Younger wrote to Capito,[7] that when the historian sets out to write on new matters which have not been treated by others, he earns no more than 'grave insult and meagre reward'. And as though in my work I had dealt only with the ecclesiastical political system, they began to misconstrue some of what I had written which they had not understood, and relate it out of context, often even wrongly, to other statements, with the sole purpose of slandering me and making me the object of everyone's hatred, especially of the priests and monks. And they succeeded. As the priests and monks had not read the work, but were going on what they had been led to believe, or because they had been shown some passages taken out of context which happened to be more suitable for deception, they were immediately convinced that I denied the ordination of bishops, denied miracles, taught that concubinage was licit, and that pilgrimages to shrines were vain and useless, and that I denied Purgatory and the veneration and intercession of the saints. Above all, however, to incite the monks and priests even more, they made them believe that I derided the specific devotions of their orders, thus for the Dominicans that of the rosary, the Franciscans the cord, the Augustinians the leather strap, and the Carmelites their

7 Pliny the Younger, *Ep.* 5.8.12. G. defended his *History* thus:
'As for this Work of mine, whatever it be, I well foresee that it will be censured, but if that shall happen, I take God to Witness, who searches the Hearts of all Man, and from whom nothing is hidden, that I undertook to write neither out of Hatred or Complaisance to any Person, but solely out of Love for Truth, and for the Benefit of such as shall take the Trouble to read it; and I earnestly beg of God that he would be pleased to bless it, and instil into the Minds of others Principles of Justice and Benevolence' (*Civil History*, bk 27, ch.4, sect.2=Ogilvie, 2, p. 399).

robes and scapulas.[8] And in reference to the Neapolitans, they could not have invented a calumny more fitting to their perverse ends than to make them believe that I denied the miracle of the blood of St Januarius (San Gennaro).[9]

The friars and monks, fearful of losing the income derived from their specific devotions, began, like so many bacchantes, to declaim in their churches and confessionals and to preach that I was a corrupt heretic. And one Jesuit[10] could not refrain from doing the same even from the pulpit. It was therefore necessary for the cardinal-viceroy to quell the uproar which was daily increasing by sending orders to the heads of Naples' monasteries forbidding their monks and friars to continue referring to me and my work, and that the Jesuit leave Naples, which was done. And as the city was in such a state of agitation and curiosity that no one spoke of anything else in the squares and streets, not only in private homes and gatherings,[11] the viceroy with the Collateral

8 G. wrote at length of the different Orders in the *Civil History* (bk 5, ch.6=Ogilvie, 1, p. 288; bk 19, ch.4=Ogilvie, 2, p. 65).

9 Patron saint of Naples (Chapter Five: Appendix).

10 It was the priest Francesco Franco or Franchis at the churches of the Gesu Nuovo and Santa Maria di Costantinopoli who 'used to give... spiritual instruction to the lower classes in his church del Mercato'. See Bertelli's exhaustive clarification of the sources relating to the Jesuit in *Giannoniana*, pp. 330-331. Michele dell'Aquila observes that G. must have expected the furore but probably believed himself secure in his successful legal career (*P.G., il pensatore, il perseguitato, l'esule* (Fasano 2002), pp. 49-50; see *Apologia dell'Istoria civile, Parte Seconda*, in *Opere postume*, 1 (1770), pp. 135-156). G. was once forced to leave his carriage, when mobbed by a group of people, and take refuge in a church. On another occasion, he entered a church during the sermon, and the whispering forced the priest to stop the sermon and G. to leave the church. And one day a professor of law who bore a resemblance to G. was set upon by a mob and almost killed (*Racconto di varie notizie* (Naples 1997), p. 36; Volpicella, 'Parere del Collaterale', pp. 119-120). De Brosses wrote of the Neapolitan lowest class (*le bas peuple*) in 1739 as 'the most vicious, corrupt, superstitious, and treacherous, inclined to sedition, and always ready to pillage in the wake of the first Masaniello who would seize any opportunity favourable for creating a riot. It is the most abominable rabble, the most disgusting vermin that ever crawled the earth' (*Lettres familières*, ed. Yvonne Bézard, 2 vols (Paris 1931), 1, p. 421).

11 Contemporary verses reflect some of the hostility directed at G. at that time. A contemporary sonnet ran thus:

De livre- se farrà no gran montone
Co'darce fuoco dinto lo Mercato
E 'ncoppa abbrusciarrà Pietro Giannone

trans.: Of the books will be made a great
pile, to be lit in the piazza del Mercato*
And on top will be burnt Pietro Giannone.

Council decided to quell all the rumours by suspending the sale of the copies sent to the bookshops until, with the recall of the work for a new examination, there were further orders.[12] This ban greatly increased curiosity and the price of the books, so that they were even more avidly sought and read. And as they were more read, the slander spread by the friars and monks who had not read them was slowly dispelled.

I meanwhile remained undaunted by the uproar and went about my duties as before, going to the courts, treating the cases which arose, going to the churches to take part in divine worship and doing whatever had to be done. In the street, however, I used to find people crowding round to meet me, pointing me out to each other, and I observed that among the lowest plebeians some on seeing me seemed to repent of having been so curious, since they found me like any other man, not the dreadful, fearful demon depicted by the friars.[13] The same happened many times in the courts, where I could not move without being hemmed in by a similarly curious crowd. And since, among other deceptions, they were led to believe that I considered concubinage licit, not understanding or not wanting to understand that I was referring to the ancient concubinage of the Romans, some confused this with simple fornication and thought that I did not consider it sinful. Such a theory was most welcome to many who were perhaps contaminated with it. One of them, therefore, came up to me when I was sitting in court and heartily shook my hand, telling me that I had at last discovered this truth. When I did not understand and asked him whom he meant, he answered gaily with a grin that he was glad, having always been of the opinion that simple fornication was not a sin, as I had well shown. I then also laughed and replied that I would willingly have pleased him if I could, and if in my work I had

*The place where executions took place (see Nicolini, *Scritti*, p. 133).

12 The Collateral Council met on 12 April 1723, expelling Fr Franco, but ordering the printer to be imprisoned and all copies withdrawn (Chapter Five: Appendix). The anonymous *Racconto* of events in Naples 1700-1735 records G.'s excommunication on 28 April and the burning of the Civil History on 1 July (Chapter Five: Appendix).

13 G. later wrote to Carlo: 'I am glad that those gentlemen there know that truth, about which perhaps my passion may have carried me away beyond those just limits which a prudent man must observe, and so much more so when it is revealed to the public. I therefore can no longer imagine that I have erred in my books and not written with great exactness, basing myself on authors well deserving of trust, and seen by the world as learned men of great probity' (Vienna, 28 August 1723: *Epist.*, p. 81).

had occasion to discuss it, as in two places I had done[14] when dealing with ancient concubinage, not simple fornication; that it was, however, St Paul's fault, who by condemning it in his *Epistles*[15] had forbidden it to me. I told him that I did not refer there to simple fornication but to the ancient concubinage of the Romans, which was considered licit sexual intercourse, something totally different from what it implied at present. On hearing this his face fell and he turned on his heel and went away most annoyed and depressed.

Because of this mistaken belief and because, among other slander levelled at me, the monks had spread everywhere that I considered present-day concubinage licit, I was forced, in order to disabuse simple minds, to publish a dissertation which was not, however, printed: *Dell'antico concubinato de' Romani ritenuto nell'Impero anche dopo la conversione di Costantino Magno* (The Ancient Concubinage of the Romans Practised in the Empire Even after the Conversion of Constantine the Great).[16]

In the meantime the nuncio[17] who resided in Naples was reprimanded by Rome for having been remiss in detecting and informing the court of Rome about such a voluminous work which was upsetting Naples, that he could have known about it for at least the two years taken to publish it, but had been the last to advise them of it, even though many cases of copies had arrived in Rome and even there had been distributed everywhere. He, then, to make up somewhat for the negligence wrongly imputed to him, complained unceasingly of me to the viceroy and denounced me, accusing me of wronging the Holy See and deserving severe punishment. The viceroy, however, remained unmoved and continued to inform him that he had given the work to learned persons to review and that provision would be made for it following their report.

14 In the *Civil History* G. had written several passages on concubinage (Chapter Five: Appendix).

15 *Letters to the Romans*, 1.26-27; *to the Corinthians*, 1.6, 9-10; *to the Ephesians*, 5, 3-5.; *to the Colossians*, 3.5; *to the Thessalonians* 1.4.3.

16 This essay forms part of the *Apologia dell'Istoria civile* (*Opere postume*, 1 (1770), 157-231).

17 The apostolic nuncio Girolamo Vicentini, archbishop of Thessalonica, informed Rome's secretary of state on 2 and 6 March 1723 (cf. AAV, *Napoli*: Marini, *Mezzogiorno*, p. 196). Innocent XIII had been sent a copy of the *Civil History* before it appeared in Neapolitan bookshops. The secretary of state, Cardinal Giorgio Spinola, sent it immediately to the Holy Office for a careful examination (*ibid.*).

On the other hand, the episcopal court of Naples, incited by the monks and priests and by the members themselves of that court, did not wish to seem idle or slow in the matter. On finding that they had not been asked for permission to print the work, they believed that ecclesiastical jurisdiction had been transgressed by the printer. And although the responsibility of obtaining permission was not his and he had defended himself in that court, his entreaties and reasons were of no avail, and instead of retracting the charge or at least pardoning him, he was excommunicated.[18]

The vicar (*vicario*) then presiding over that Curia was the bishop of Castellaneta, who, having had no scruple about leaving his church and diocese so far away—in the province of Lecce—without a shepherd, had been invited by Archbishop Pignatelli[19] with large stipends, such as could be expected from the rich emoluments of that court, to preside over it as the archbishop's vicar. He had been invited because, before becoming a bishop, he had held many vicarships and become familiar with legal matters and procedure, and thus could more effectively preside over it. He was already an old man and had made up his mind not to return to the widow, his church, as events proved, since, after staying in Naples for many years, he died there of old age and not in his bishopric. This

18 Naso was thus excommunicated and only after considerable penance was this revoked (Panzini, *Vita*, p. 28). Bertelli reports that a copy of the order excommunicating the printer can be found among the Inquisition's acts in the Vatican Library (*Rossiano 1180*; B., p. 75). In the *Apologia dell'Istoria civile,* G. deplores the unjust punishment of the printer (*Opere postume*, 1 (1770), 4). G. interceded from Vienna with Althann on Naso's behalf (letter to Carlo of 3 July 1723; Nicolini, *Scritti inediti*, p. 58) and Althann replied that Naso was released from prison on 20 July 1723 (Vienna, 14 August 1723; *ibid*., p. 64). Naso, however, accompanied by an equally indigent friend, followed G. to Vienna, and G. supported both. He found work for Naso, paid for his stay in hospital and finally for his fare back to Naples, where G. continued to request his friends to find suitable employment for him. (Vienna, in particular the letter of 29 June, 1725: *Epist*., pp. 261-262, but G.'s concern about and involvement in Naso's welfare continued for almost the whole of 1725.)

19 The vicar was Onofrio Montesoro (1647-after 1722?), bishop of Castellaneta in 1696. After moving to Naples, he resigned his bishopric in December 1722. Francesco Pignatelli (1652-1734) had been bishop of Taranto in 1683, nuncio in Poland in 1700, archbishop of Naples from 1703, was made cardinal in 1704, and was living in Rome (B., p. 75). In his *Istoria*, Costantino Grimaldi relates Pignatelli's remark that, in the final analysis, with private printing presses in Naples, it was necessary 'to close one's eyes because of the dust' (*Memorie di un anti-curialista del Settecento*, ed. Comparato (Florence 1964), p. 47). To Pignatelli is also traced the statement: 'If in Naples one held fast merely to the first article of the Apostles Creed [I believe in God...], I would be satisfied' (Marini, *Mezzogiorno*, p. 217).

individual, incited by his colleagues in the Curia and not content with having unjustly excommunicated the printer, had the idea of hurling his senseless thunderbolts also at the author of the work. And although the actual bull of Leo X,[20] which was not recognized in the kingdom, and the regulations of the Index and the edicts of the archbishops of Naples applied only to the printers and never to the authors, he claimed the right to take this further step, and threats were already heard from his colleagues that what had been done to the printer of the *Civil History* would be done also to the author.

Even more serious worries, however, were distressing my mind. It had been maliciously spread among the base plebeians of Naples that I denied the miracle of the blood of St Januarius, so that it would have been no use if, book in hand, I had made them aware of the deception, and that the miracle had not been denied by me. I had referred to the siege with which Lautrech beset the city of Naples, and the consternation of the Neapolitans who thought themselves lost because that year the blood had not dissolved, which they took to be a bad omen. Later events then proved the contrary, since Lautrech's army was overtaken by a cruel plague and it had to withdraw, and the city was liberated not only from the siege but also from hunger and the plague.[21] I had, therefore, shown only that credence should not be given to such calamitous and unfortunate prognostications.

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20 Pope Leo X (1513-1521) issued a bull in 1515, which prohibited the printing of books without the licence of the bishop and Inquisition or, when appropriate, the vicario (B., p. 76). G. described the bull of Leo X in the *Civil History* (bk 27, ch.4=Ogilvie, 2, p. 390). G. wrote in his *Apologia dell'Istoria civile:*
'In that all of my books, not only some part of them, concern jurisdiction and the supreme rights of our Prince and are contrary to [the Church's] jurisdiction, I was not obliged to request permission. Because they deal with matters of jurisdiction, I did not have to submit them to the censure of the hostile party and depend on its judgement. What greater folly could there be for a litigant to address his plea to the opposing side'?...It is precisely this lie and weakness that I do not want in my books. For strong reasons, therefore, I believed... that it was a most prejudicial abuse to request it from anyone but the Prince [via the Collateral]' (*Opere postume*, 1 (1770), 60).

21 Odet de Foix, viscount of Lautrech (1485-1528), marshal of France. He was in command of the Italian army in 1527. After occupying Milan, he advanced on the kingdom of Naples, but was halted by the defection of his ally, Andrea Doria, and the plague, which decimated his army and took also his life (B., pp. 76-77). G. wrote of the terror of those times in the *Civil History*, bk 31, ch.4=Ogilvie, 2, pp. 510-511. See also Argento's account of what happened in Naples in May 1710, when G. was aged thirty-four, when the miracle failed to work (quoted by Nicolini, *Uomini di spada* (Milan 1942), pp. 275-276, 379).

These malicious men interpreted from this that I denied the miracle. They had thus convinced the simple and superstitious lower classes of this, who could not be made to change their mind, since they were influenced more by what they heard than by reason. To all this they added that the saint was offended by my obduracy and blasphemy, and to punish such an outrage he would not in the future perform the miracle, thereby withdrawing his protection and aid from the Neapolitans and leaving them in endless calamity and misery.

Anyone can judge from this my danger and consequently my agitation. These rumours began to circulate towards the middle of April, and on the first Sunday of the following month, May, the placing of the saint's head next to the blood was to occur as usual at a solemn public ceremony. It had at times happened that the dissolving of the blood had not followed, which was a sign to the Neapolitans of imminent disaster. This time the same could happen, and it would certainly be imputed to my disbelief and blamed on me, so that I could be exposed to cruel and barbarous slaughter, torn to pieces and made suffer a thousand tortures. There had been many examples in both ancient and modern history, incontrovertible facts, that nothing was more prone and quick to wickedness and cruelty than depraved and corrupt religion. On the specious claim of promoting greater reverence for the gods, it hid under its cloak greater impiety and evil. Evidence that princes should not let pernicious superstitions take root in their realms which place at others' mercy the security or vacillation of their sceptres and crowns has nowhere been given clearer proof than in the kingdom of Naples.

Finding myself, therefore, in such grave danger, it was decided on the advice of good friends that I should leave for the Imperial court of Vienna, since no human help could save me in Naples from the fierceness of the storm menacing me. As, moreover, I had dedicated my work to His Majesty the emperor, it was proper and more expedient for me to go there in person to present it to him and the principal magistrates of that court. When it was thus submitted to universal examination, they would realize the wrongs done to me in Naples by my envious and evil persecutors, who by seditious uproar had turned the blind and foolish multitude against me. This was all the more important, because day by day I saw grow tepid, even cold and frightened, the very ones who had initially supported me strongly and warmly, and the collapse of the

foremost columns on which I had leaned.[22]

President Argento himself, although delegate of the Royal Jurisdiction, began to grow cold.[23] At first he had promptly requested a copy, so as to be the first to send it to Vienna to the archbishop of Valencia,[24] at that time president of the Council of Spain. I had immediately presented him with a finely bound copy. I realized, however, that he no longer wanted to send it, and refrained, fearing that if the news of the uproar resulting from the work in Naples had reached Vienna, it would not be very welcome there. I had to send another copy, therefore, by a different route, as I was confident that, when read by learned persons in that court, the many incorrect accounts written everywhere about it by the envious would be dispelled. Not even this, however, was of any avail, because the person to whom it was sent kept it locked up as though it were a snake and did not show it to anyone. On my arrival in Vienna, therefore, I was even more aware of the necessity and timeliness of my going to the Court.

Argento had become lukewarm also because he did not enjoy the

22 In a letter to Carlo on his way to Vienna, G. wrote: 'you will be amazed to hear that those we thought friends have been the worst persecutors' (Manfredonia, 30 April 1723: *Epist*., p. 35). Three years later in Vienna, however, G. wrote to Carlo: 'I remember very well the kindness and affection of our parish priest at the height of my persecutions. I remain eternally obliged to him' (11 May 1726: *Epist*., pp. 357-358). See the letters on the *Civil History* of three of G.'s contemporaries: Antonio Valisnieri the Elder to Muratori, 12 April 1723 (Muratori, *Epist*., 4. p. 272, no.178); Enrico Enriquez to Matteo Egizio, 16 April 1723 (Bibl. Naz. Naples: Salvatore Ussia, in *P.G. e il suo tempo*, p. 751); Muratori to Costantino Grimaldi, 19 April, 2 July and 20 August 1723 (*Epist*., 6, p. 2322, no.2169; p. 2331, no.2183; p. 2339, no.2195).

23 When G. went to present him with his own copy, Argento made his famous prophetic comment: 'Dear don Pietro, you have placed a crown on your head, but one of thorns'. Nicolini observes that Argento could have immediately informed Charles VI of Althann's intransigently reactionary stance and been assured of Charles' support, given the emperor's own anti-curialism. On the other hand, he could have resigned as defender of the royal rights; that is, delegate of the Royal Jurisdiction, and remained in his other most prestigious post as president of the Sacro Real Consiglio (*Uomini di spada* (Milan 1942), pp. 333-334). Argento's behaviour can be seen at least in principle as culpable complicity. He, in fact, absented himself from the infamous meeting of the Collateral Council of 12 April 1723 (above, n.12). Althann could thus condemn G.'s defence of royal sovereignty in the *Civil History* as 'not entirely in keeping with good custom in a historian and less in a good Christian' (Volpicella, 'Parere del Collaterale', p. 119).

24 Antonio Folch de Cordona (1657-1724) became bishop of Valencia in 1700, and president of the Council of Spain in 1715 (B., p. 78). He had profound influence with Charles VI, and was an implacable enemy of Prince Eugene (Derek McKay, *Prince Eugene* (London 1977), p., 174).

favour with Cardinal Althann which he had had before with Count Daun, and the cardinal availed himself not of Argento but of other magistrates for advice. And he remained irresolute and vacillating, whether because of his not having studied the ecclesiastical and jurisdictional subjects from the beginning of his career, or because, with the onset of old age, he had become so timid and superstitious that finally he had scruples about keeping at home his own book *De re beneficiaria*, after Clement XI had banned it. To rid his mind of that vain scrupulosity, his confessor and other priests and monks, who had already become the advisers of his conscience, advised him to obtain permission from Rome. This was willingly sent to him in full measure as a sign of his triumph.

I was also aware that he was completely at the mercy of his confessor, one Fr Cillis,[25] who belonged to the same oratory as Fr Torres, who was by then dead. He was unfortunately different from the latter, since he was as ignorant as he was wily, shrewd, and meddlesome. To aid his other penitents, he used to interfere in the disputes and almost all the business which Argento had in hand awaiting settlement, by extorting favours and decisions from him. The episcopal court of Naples, therefore, could not have found a more effective medium than Fr Cillis to beguile Argento when it was attempting some assault on royal jurisdiction. I thus often saw him, when the streets were empty, going to Argento's home, which was attached to mine, and I discovered that Archbishop Pignatelli, incited by his vicario, was sending him to ensure that Argento did not oppose the intention of his court to excommunicate me for not having sought its permission to print the *Civil History*. And I immediately noticed that Argento, instead of repressing the outrage, was proving vacillating and exhausted. When I had spoken strongly to him that it was a new outrage, since there had been no precedent for authors being included and grouped together with printers, I had as much response as though I had spoken to Fr Cillis and tried to persuade him. I then realized the futility of any effort to block their evil plan, and

25 Roberto di Cillis, provost-general of the order of Pii Operari and confessor of Archbishop Pignatelli, Argento's official adversary in all matters relating to jurisdictional conflict. Cillis' machinations were most instrumental in uprooting G. from Naples, and sending him on his wanderings. As Pignatelli's tool, Cillis undermined the courage of Argento, who failed in his official capacity to intervene against Althann's advice that G. flee to Vienna, thus abandoning his student and friend to his fate.

especially after I had gone to inform Cillis of this and he replied gravely and mysteriously that the cardinal-archbishop would be informed of my reasons and that he could do nothing more.[26]

Seeing, therefore, how everything was left to the discretion of the episcopal court, I decided to hasten even more my departure for Vienna, especially because the first Sunday in May was drawing near, which in that year of 1723 was to fall on the first of the month. And in order that my departure for Vienna were kept secret, I availed myself of the great kindness and conscientiousness of the councillor Muzio di Maio,[27] then auditor-general of the army and in great favour with the viceroy, Cardinal Althann. He promptly provided me with a passport from the viceroy. When I had arranged matters at home as best I could, leaving my brother with broad powers of attorney to administer them,[28] and had quickly packed several copies of the work in a chest which I took with me, including the copy prepared for the emperor, I left Naples towards

26 Panzini (*Vita*, p. 29), states, however, that Cillis refused adamantly to see G. and had him driven away as 'an execrable monster of impiety'.

27 Muzio di Maio (died 1733), lawyer for the Gran Corte della Vicaria, auditor-general for the army and councillor of Santa Chiara, and as such appointed president of the Vicaria (Benedikt, *Königreich Neapel*, p. 135). After G.'s loving references to him in correspondence, he wrote of him at his death: 'The loss of our Don Muzio has been mourned by all, and it is certainly a very grave loss, and especially for me who knew from personal experience his great kindness and affection' (Vienna, 20 June 1733: *Epist*., p. 986).

28 Panzini relates that G. turned also to Baron Anselm Franz von Fleischmann, with whom he was on friendly terms, who advised Viceroy Althann on economic matters. He willingly arranged a private audience for G. with Althann. 'The cardinal viceroy advised G. in a friendly way for his own safety and public peace to make his way to Vienna as quickly as possible' (Panzini, *Vita*, p. 29). Before he left Naples on 22 April, G. wrote a valiant letter to Althann, datable to April 1723, in which he accepted Althann's advice (Chapter Five: Appendix). Baron von Fleischmann continued to intercede on G.'s behalf with Althann (Vienna, 6 May 1724: *Epist*., pp. 143-44). G. planned to visit him when Fleischmann returned to Vienna (8 July 1724: p. 167) 'in gratitude for all that he did for me there with that sig. Viceroy' (20 May 1724: p. 150). Anna Casella observes that the *Civil History* was to render G.'s flight a traumatic event in the civic life of the kingdom, and was to become central to the cultural and political spirit of the times (in *P.G. e il suo tempo*, p. 570). It was also a disaster for his family. It seems that G. induced his mistress Angela Elisabetta Castelli, who was helplessly illiterate, to enter the convent of Sant'Antonello outside porta San Gennaro, with their daughter Carmina, aged seventeen months. There they suffered great poverty from the Giannone brothers' neglect, especially that of the brutal Carlo. Elisabetta took the veil after 1736 and became an abbess in 1745 (Nicolini, *Scritti inediti*, p. 50.14). They were at last claimed and may have been rescued by Giovanni, whose sufferings began in equal measure with his father's flight. See his *Memorie* (below).

the end of April for Manfredonia, where I believed I would promptly find passage to Fiume or Trieste.

On this journey from Naples to Manfredonia it was necessary to change my name, because when staying at the inns, all of them had travellers come on business from Naples who spoke only of my affairs. And if some monk or friar happened to be there, the conversations and quarrels were longer and more vehement, and I often heard with my own ears someone taking one side, as often happens, and someone else another. I realized to my astonishment that the monks had filled the provinces and all their monasteries with the matter, and people were eager to see or hear what would happen to me, if, on the day when the blood of St Januarius was placed next to the head, there were no miracle.

As I was meanwhile continuing my journey in a calash with the man[29] whom I had taken with me for company, near the bridge of Bovino we met a calash in which were two Franciscan friars, known as the *Zoccoli* [Franciscans who wore clogs]. As soon as they saw us, thinking that we had come from Naples, they quickly asked us if St Januarius had performed the miracle. And when my companion answered no, without being given time to add: 'Because the day of the confrontation had not yet come and was to be on 1 May', one of them immediately asked more loudly: 'And what has been done with Pietro Giannone?' When they were told 'Nothing', they were annoyed, and muttering and cursing because the calashes would not hold still, they passed on and vanished up ahead.

From then on we tried to proceed more cautiously, and on arriving in Manfredonia[30] I made myself known to a gentleman in that city, a friend whom I had known in Naples, Tommaso Cessa, and to the Imperial consul Fiore,[31] for whom I carried a letter of recommendation. I showed him the passport from the viceroy and asked him to arrange a passage for me without delay to Fiume or Trieste. Fiore told me that there was none ready there, but that I would easily find one at Barletta, and a courier was sent there to the Imperial vice-consul to inform him of the matter. He replied to Fiore that a ship-owner had come there to take on

29 This was Niccolo Castelli, the brother of G.'s mistress Elisabetta.

30 G. arrived in Manfredonia on 27 April, and his first letter to Carlo is dated 30 April from that city (*Epist*., p. 34).

31 Niccolò di Fiori or Fiore (Benedikt, *Königreich Neapel*, p. 367).

salt along those coasts, who was to return to Trieste in a few days. On the following day, therefore, I left for Barletta. When leaving, Cessa told me, not without laughing, that a canon related to him, who described himself as a delegate or public prosecutor of the Inquisition, wanted to have me arrested on hearing that I was there, but as he had been jeered at by everyone and made blush for both his temerity and ignorance, he had said no more.[32]

When I arrived at Barletta, the vice-consul had me speak to the owner of the ship, and on his agreeing to be hired, I waited for him to finish loading and for favourable weather to depart. Day after day, however, his business so delayed departure that I was detained there for eight days. In the meantime, as it was already May, news came from Naples that on the day fixed for the confrontation, the blood of St Januarius had dissolved and to universal jubilation had wrought the usual miracle.

I was much relieved by the news, having been oppressed by dark and melancholy visions and tragic events which could have befallen my poor family if the miracle had not taken place. And from the letters which I found from my brother on my arrival in Vienna, I realized that my fears were not unfounded. He wrote that on the day before, having taken away the best things from the house, he retreated to a secret place far from the city; and that the viceroy, fearing some riot, had stationed troops around the quarter of Pontecorvo, where my house was and where Argento lived, to avert any disorder which could have arisen if the miracle had not been performed. As fortunately it had occurred, all was calm and quiet.

Although in Barletta I endeavoured to remain unnoticed and unrecognized, when on departure I had to certify my good health,[33] the official in charge registering my name was informed by a priest near him who I was and revealed my identity to others. I then began to be pointed

32 Panzini (*Vita*, p. 34) writes of the kindness of the archbishop of Manfredonia. He was Monsignor di Lerma, and he protected G. from his assistant, Canon Perucci, who, in the absence of the archbishop, wanted to arrest G. G. wrote to Carlo: 'On that day I did not dare let myself be seen on the streets' (Lubbiana, 29 May 1723: Nicolini, *Scritti inediti*, p. 45). The absent archbishop, to whom G. had already written from Naples, on the contrary, sent to offer G. accommodation in his palace and arranged for G. to be given an honoured reception and every favour during his brief stay in Manfredonia (Vienna, 26 May: *Epist*., pp. 37-38).

33 Proof of good health had to be given by anyone undertaking a journey, a measure aimed at preventing the spread of epidemics (B., p. 82).

out, and the judge of that city, who was a Neapolitan, came to visit me, and others had already begun doing the same. And I was told later by the regent Alvarez,[34] who arrived in Vienna a few years later to hold the post of fiscal advocate in the Council of Spain, that on an official visit for judicial purposes during those days he had passed through Barletta, and some zealots came immediately to tell him that there was a stranger in the city who was lying low. As there had been ructions at that time over the duel between the count of Conversano and the marquis di Oira,[35] other men had been suspected of being the count of Conversano, but later when enquiring more closely, he discovered who it was. And he told me that he had sent to my inn to speak to me, knowing that I was travelling to Vienna, but was told that I had already left, which was true. This was because, on finding my identity revealed,[36] and having been told by the owner that his ship was already at the salt-works loading the salt and that I might prepare to depart, I left Barletta and went to the salt-works which were almost two miles from the city. And I waited there until loading was finished for two days in a country house kindly offered to me by the brother of my friend the councillor Fraggianni,[37] who also did me the

34 Fernandez Manuel Alvarez once taught law at the University of Pavia ; from 1727 he was regent in the Collateral Council and later was regent of Milan in Vienna's Council of Spain (B., p. 82).

35 Old rancour provoked a duel between the two enemies, and the prince of Francavilla Michele Imperiali, marquis d'Oira, produced a pistol, and his adversary, the count of Conversano, stabbed the marquis three times in the shoulder. Charles VI ordered that the count be imprisoned for a year. A public reconciliation was then arranged in the Collateral Council, but it appeared that the reconciliation was only superficial. (*Racconto di varie notizie* (Naples 1997), pp. 41-44). In the Turin Archives, among *Mss. Giannone*, are preserved documents relating to this case: *Giannoniana*, 420; B., p. 82). Giulio Antonio Aquaviva d'Aragona, count of Conversano (1691-1746), became a friend and admirer of G. and 'a great panegyrist of my work, and perhaps rightly so because his family was distinguished by me above all others' (letter to Carlo: Vienna, 19 January 1726: *Epist.*, p. 324). G. seems to have acted as his lawyer in Vienna. In later years, Barletta became the centre for a strong party of Giannonian jurisdictionalists (Aquila, *P.G. il pensatore, il perseguitato, l'esule* (Fasano 2002), p. 58).

36 G.'s stoicism and courage are evident in all his letters, but in particular that from Lubiana, 28 May 1723. G. wrote to Carlo: 'Even at Barletta some good souls felt obliged to exhort the owner of the ship to give a thought to the danger to which he was exposing himself by taking on board an excommunicated heretic like me' (*Epist.*, p. 38).

37 This was the brother of Marquis Nicolo Fraggianni (1686-1763), councillor of Santa Chiara, state consultant in Sicily, secretary of the Collateral Council from 1725, head of the Sacro Real Consiglio and delegate of the Royal Jurisdiction. Ten volumes of his *Consulte* are preserved in the library of the Società Napoletana per la Storia

kindness of staying with me for company until I left.

We finally left those shores and in the first days had a fair wind but later it dropped leaving the ship becalmed, so that for ten days we struggled to come into port at Trieste.[38] I took the consul Fiore's letter of recommendation to the judges of that city, who courteously welcomed me and provided me with horses to continue the journey to Lubiana. At that time the comfortable road traversable by calash, which I found eleven years later on my return, had not been constructed, so that it was necessary to cross the wild mountains of Istria on horseback.

On arriving at Lubiana, the capital of Carniola,[39] I had the good fortune to meet in the inn a gentleman from Fiume, named Stefano Bensoni, who had heard of me from the preceding rumours. Having learnt that I was there, he came to visit me, and as he was going on the same road offered to keep me company. This was no small comfort, because he was familiar with those parts, having travelled through them many times on trips to the city of Vienna, where he had taken a wife,

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Patria (B., p. 83). Giustiniani described him as one of the kingdom's 'greatest minds, who brought to Naples and the Kingdom all benefit and glory.... He was the model of the true magistrate' (*Memorie storiche degli scrittori legali del Regno di Napoli*, 3 vols (Bologna 1787), 2, pp. 31-32). His enduring compassion for, and loyalty to, G. reveal also his magnanimity. Fraggianni defended G. passionately from the slander that the *Civil History* was the work of Aulisio and Argento (Nicolini, *Vita*, p. 92) and was a steadfast champion who had 'known and admired' G.'s ideas 'since the years of my youth' (*Consulta* sent to Vienna, 30 March 1729; quoted by Francesco Di Donato, 'La segretaria del Regno e Niccolò Fraggianni', *ASPN*, 107 (1989), 247-310, p. 265). Before and after G. died, he effectively befriended Giovanni (see Giovanni's *Memorie*, below). In his last years in 1761 he championed the request of the publisher to republish in Naples the *Civil History*, which, he wrote: 'it is impossible to commend and recommend sufficiently to the reader.' Fraggianni's *Consulta* was then published in various reprintings of G.'s works (Biblioteca della storia di Napoli ms.2, B.18; quoted by Elia del Curatolo: 'Per una biografia di Niccolò Fraggianni', *Clio* (1971), 253-302, p. 286). Nicolini wrote of him that 'among Naples' foremost magistrates of the eighteenth century he soon became the most intelligent, the most learned, the most enlightened, the most courageous and the most just' (*Scritti inediti*, p. 44).

38 G. arrived in Trieste on 25 May and wrote to his brother the following day (Trieste, 26 May 1723: *Epist.*, p. 36). G. related in the following letter of 28 May, that on board ship 'I passed the time with my faithful companion *Don Quixote*' (*ibid.*, p. 39). He was reading Cervantes. G. refers here also to a diary of his trip which he had sent to Carlo, but no trace of it remains. As Michele dell'Aquila observes, G.'s letters to Carlo from Trieste, recounting the vicissitudes of his journey, belie the impression given in retrospect in the *Vita* of his having calmly left friends and possessions to seek justice in the Imperial court (*P.G. il pensatore* (above), p. 54).

39 Carniola or Krain was an old province of the Empire (B., p. 84).

from whom he was recently bereaved, and was going there to see to his affairs with his brothers-in-law. He thus relieved me of many worries on the journey which I could not have hoped for from the companion whom I had brought from Naples. Having taken a calash together, therefore, we continued on to Gratz, capital of Stiria, and thence to Vienna.

I arrived at Vienna at the beginning of June[40] and stayed for a few days at an inn in a village near the monastery of the friars of San Francesco di Paula, who are called in Vienna the Paulani, until my man found me lodgings within the city, to which I moved on 8 June. And after contacting the person to whom I had been recommended, and to whom my letters from Naples had been forwarded to be given to me on arrival, he brought them to me. He told me that I was impatiently awaited by many whose curiosity had been excited not only by private news from Naples of my departure but also by the many public gazettes referring to it, which he brought me to read. I read in them not only of my departure but also of the excommunication fulminated against me afterwards by the episcopal court of Naples. Thinking it a typical story invented by the journalists, I quickly opened the packet sent by my brother from Naples and found that what they said was true. He

40 G. arrived in Vienna in the first days of June. He wrote that for the last three and a half days they travelled in 'a comfortable carriage provided by the kind Sig. Stefano Benzoni of Fiumi. Castelli immediately found two rooms in the house of a friend, one of the musicians at Court... and it is no small advantage that the servant knows how to cook Italian style. I shall therefore not miss my favourite chicory'. G. ends his first letter to his brother Carlo from Vienna, after a reminder to look after his family, with a very special embrace and a poignant message to Francesco Mela: 'whom I ask not to forget our villa at Due Porte, and to give me news of his enjoyment there. Although absent, I also shall enjoy them, because I shall remember in that way other happy times had with him in that most pleasant place' (Vienna, 10 June 1723: Nicolini, *Scritti inediti*, pp. 48-50; see also the letter of 12 June 1723: *Epist.*, pp. 41-47). Almost a month before, the secretary of state, Giorgio Spinola, had written to the nuncio in Vienna, Girolamo Grimaldi: 'When the revision and qualification of the book (the *Civil History*) is finished, Your Eminence will be given more precise instructions on the matter. In the meantime, however, from now on do not delay in redressing an evil which could become very great and baneful' (Rome, 8 May 1723: AAV, *Germania*: Marini, *Mezzogiorno*, p. 267). Girolamo Grimaldi (1674-1733) was internuncio at Brussels in 1705, nuncio in Poland 1712, assistant to the throne 1713, Imperial nuncio in 1720, and appointed cardinal in 1730 (B., p. 107); archbishop of Edessa. For an account of his labours as nuncio against G. from the moment of his arrival, see Chapter Five: Appendix. It is strange that G. does not mention him until p. 190. G. was, of course, unaware of Grimaldi's intense surveillance of him, which was mild, however, in comparison with that of his successor as nuncio, the Jesuit Passionei.

informed me that, as the vicario believed I was in hiding, not that I had left, he had sent a messenger from his court (the Vicaria) to my house with the subpoena in order to serve it on me. On being told by my brother that I was not there, he replied that he had orders to leave it with whoever was at home, and that by thus leaving it he could be sure of having done his duty, even though he had not served it on me personally because I was absent. My brother was nevertheless aware of the animosity of that court and, to prevent some fraud or trick, appeared there the next morning as my apologist to plead my absence. To prove this, he presented a genuine copy (which I had left there) of the passport sent me by the viceroy, so that they might be even more certain that I was on my way to the Imperial court of Vienna.[41] The vicario, however, was fully resolved to excommunicate me, and stated that in my case there was no need for a summons to appear, given that my offence of not having sought permission from his court to print the work was common knowledge. As he had been assured by Father Cillis, moreover, that the delegate of the Royal Jurisdiction [Argento] would not oppose it, he did not hesitate, while I was travelling, to pronounce his excommunication against an absent person and put up notices of it on all corners of the city.[42] It was moreover observed that they were put up also in the city's most forsaken, destitute areas,[43] where the lower classes were most numerous, in order also in this way to make me more hated by the blind multitude. Since a few days later, however, the miracle of St Januarius took place and my departure for Vienna was increasingly acknowledged as true, so that the excommunication was considered null and void, it

41 G. based his defence against excommunication on the fact that he was absent when it was presented (B., p. 85). *Giannoniana*, intro., pp. 3-4; see letters to Carlo of 12 and 19 June 1723: Nicolini, *Scritti*, pp. 46, 50).

42 The text of G.'s excommunication (dated 20 April) is included by G. in the *Apologia dell'Istoria civile* in *Opere postume*, 1 (1770), 5-6. G.'s excommunication is noted in the *Racconto di varie notizie* (Naples 1997), pp. 35-36. G. wrote to Carlo: 'it is what I foresaw the moment I saw that cunning hypocrite Fr Roberto de Cillis, who knows so well how to profit from the secrets of the confessional... Some people believed that my excommunication had been determined by some heretical propositions in the *History*; so that there is much laughter when it is understood that the sole motive for such a grave ecclesiastical punishment was my not have requested the *imprimatur* also from the archepiscopal Curia' (Vienna, 10 June 1723: Nicolini, *Scritti inediti*, p. 49; see also G.'s letter of 12 June 1723: *Epist.*, p. 46).

43 '.. in the piazza del Mercato and della Conciaria, where, in the memory of the old, never before had there been seen notices of excommunication' (*Opere postume*, 1 (1770), 37; quoted by Nicolini, ed. *Vita*, p. 96.2).

had no effect and was as though it had not been issued. In a few weeks, therefore, the notices disappeared from where they had been put up and all was calm and profoundly quiet.

On my arrival in Vienna I found that the emperor and his court were at Laxenburg, a village twelve miles from the city where every year he used to go to hunt herons. From there, moreover, he was to go in a few days with the empress[44] to Prague to be crowned king of Bohemia and stay there for four months. The highest magistrates, who had to follow him, were therefore all busy with the departure. In the meantime, as I had been warmly recommended by Cirillo to Cavaliere Pio Niccolò Garelli (see Fig. 12),[45] physician to the emperor and Cirillo's great friend, who was also librarian of Vienna's Imperial library, I went to see him to present him with a copy of my book. And as I had the richly ornamented copy to be presented to His Majesty the Emperor, to whom the work was dedicated, I asked how I could do this before he left for Prague. He replied that as librarian it was his task to do this, and he would present it to him in my name at Laxenburg. He told me that rumours very prejudicial to me about the work had already reached the court, and I must clear my name of the many accusations made there. I replied that for this reason I was presenting it to anyone's examination

44 Elizabeth Christina of Brunswick-Wolfenbüttel (1691-1750), who converted to Roman Catholicism (Neville Williams, *Penguin Dictionary of English and European History 1485-1789* (Harmondsworth 1980), p. 81). G. always writes Laxemberg; the reading is corrected throughout.

45 Pio Niccolò Garelli (1670-1739), born and educated in Bologna, where he graduated in philosophy and medicine. Contemporaries praised his learning in literature, Hebrew, Greek, and Latin. Garelli's father, Giovanni Battista G. (1649-1732), was personal physician to the emperor Leopold I. His son became physician to the archduke Charles, who took him to Spain, where he became Charles' trusted adviser. On Charles' return as emperor, Garelli was appointed also councillor of the Imperial Chamber. In 1724 he was made chief librarian and archivist of the Palatine Library to replace Giovanni Benedetto Gentilotti von Engelsbrunn. He made the library of his father available for public use and provided 10,000 florins for its administration. He assisted Muratori in his *Rerum Italicarum Scriptores*, and was pre-eminent in the intelligentsia of Vienna, in particular in the group composed not only of Italians, which gathered around Prince Eugene (see also *DBI* 52, pp. 281-282: B. Maschietti). G.'s life in Vienna revolved around the Palatine Library (Chapter Five: Appendix). From its books evolved the *magnum opus* of G.'s scholarship, the *Triregno.* Its books inspired his remarkable memory for his works from prison. In the library, moreover, G. found his closest friends and colleagues, who became his family. Pietro Contegna, Nicolo Forlosia, and Alessandro Riccardi came from Naples, and from their position as high officials, they attempted to assist G. to obtain employment.

and was ready to account for everything wrongly imputed to me, and that it had been my misfortune to be preceded by evil rumours but not by my work, of which I had not seen any copy in the city of Vienna. The one which I had succeeded in sending had not been let see the light of day by the person to whom it had been sent, who had kept it hidden as though it were a snake. Now, however, I said, the truth would be revealed, because I had brought many copies with me to present to the highest magistrates that they might examine it for possible emendation if it happened to contain anything contrary to our religion and good customs. I stated that I certainly had not written it to please the priests and monks and the court of Rome, whence proceeded all the uproar, but solely to elucidate obscure and unknown matters in the kingdom of Naples and to uphold the supreme prerogatives and ancient pre-eminences of the kings of Naples, by making known that these were not to be thought inferior to those exercised by the kings of France in their realms. I told him that I might completely disregard the resentment of the court of Rome if, by fulfilling the part of a loyal and faithful vassal towards my prince, I might be worthy of the favour and protection of His Imperial Majesty, to whom I had dedicated the work.[46]

46 The prisoner of Miolans again stresses his motives in writing the *Civil History*. Michele dell'Aquila observes how 'impolitic' it was, in the changed situation, to be offering his services as an advocate of jurisdictional reform to the emperor. Althann had been given the task of calming such tension after the struggle of Charles VI to obtain the investiture of the kingdom of Naples from Rome, which considered it its ancient fief; the emperor, however, was seeking support for the Pragmatic Sanction (in the wake of the terrible war of the Spanish Succession) in the courts of Europe including Rome (dell'Aquila, *Giannone, De Sanctis, Scotellaro* (Naples 1981), p. 40). Cardinal Giorgio Spinola, the Vatican's secretary of state, advised the nuncio Girolamo Grimaldi of G.'s imminent arrival, and that he was to be blocked and not receive any assistance: 'He should on the contrary be arrested, so that he might receive an exemplary punishment for the impiety of his propositions and also the temerity... of placing at the front of a work so scandalous the most august name of the Emperor' (Rome, 8 May 1723: AAV, *Germania*: Marini, *Mezzogiorno*, pp. 197, 266-267 (doc.2)). The Viennese nuncio replied that the Marquis of Rialp and the archbishop of Valencia had heard of the *Civil History's* tumultuous reception in Naples 'and have shown me that they certainly do not wish to favour its author. I shall continue to do my part... to avert in any possible form the evil feared' (AAV, *Germania*; see also 3 July: L Bertelli, 'Appunti e osservazioni', p. 185). The 'secret' copy was sent to G.'s false friend the Neapolitan Abate Francesco Tosquez, a long standing, high-ranking civil servant at the Imperial court, secretary to the Spanish ambassador at Charles' court in Barcelona (1700), whence he was transferred to Vienna, 'who has kept it under lock and key and a complete secret with everyone (except, as I learnt, the archbishop of Valencia to whom he had even lent the first

Fig. 12 Nicolo Garelli (1670-1739), plaster cast of medal, public domain, https://www.lookandlearn.com/history-images/YNK1038318/Plaster-cast-medal-Pius-Nicolaus-Garelli-Court-physician-of-Emperor-Charles-VI1735-ob

Garelli promised to try to help me in this, and came to my house to collect the copy meant for the emperor, and took it with him to Laxenburg and presented it to him. The emperor accepted it with pleasure and expressed his curiosity to read it. He therefore told Garelli that, as it was bound in fine crimson velvet and all edged with embroidery and gold ornamentation, to have the binding replaced with a plain one of red hide to make it more suitable to handle and read. Garelli quickly had this done and put it back in the emperor's study; when Garelli told me this, it relieved me somewhat. And because that copy remained for the emperor's use, another had to be provided for the library, which I did provide, placing it there for the use of those who frequented that place.

And the emperor then showed that he was grateful for the work, since, as Garelli reported to me, among the books which each year he had to prepare for him on his summer holidays at Laxenburg, the emperor wanted also the four volumes of the *Civil History of Naples*. And if I remember correctly, in 1729, when I was in Perchtoldsdorf,[47] the count of Cifuentes,[48] who used to replace the lord high chamberlain

volume)' (G. to Carlo, 10 June 1723: Nicolini, *Scritti inediti*, p. 49).

47 A village still frequented by the Viennese for the summer holidays.

48 Fernando de Silva y Menezes (Meneses: Benedikt, *Königreich Neapel*, p. 85), count of Cifuentes, marquis of Alcanchel (1663-1749), came from one of the foremost Spanish families, supported Charles in 1704, was imprisoned but escaped. Because of the people's hatred, he had to be recalled from his post as viceroy of Sardinia in 1710. He was the brother of Joseph Villasor, the count of Montesanto, who from 1724 was president of the Council of Spain (*ibid*., pp. 85-89, 97). He was an arch

when the latter was engaged, told me that at Laxenburg he had seen my books on the writing-desk in the emperor's study, and expressed his delight to me about it. I thanked him profusely for telling me, as though I had not known that the books were taken there every year.

I began, afterwards, to present copies to him and the Imperial magistrates. As the fiscal advocate in the Council of Spain at that time was Alessandro Riccardi,[49] our Neapolitan, a man of profound scholarship and most expert in jurisdictional and ecclesiastical matters—the same who had written in defence of the royal edict that benefices in the kingdom were to be conferred on nationals—I went to present him with a copy and to ask him to examine it and report to the others in the Council on his impressions. And I did the same with the regent Positano,[50] provincial magistrate for Naples, and Bolaños[51] and Pertusati,[52] who were regents for Milan, and then Almarza[53] and

politician, whose name appears constantly in the intrigues of the papal conclaves in Pastor's *History of the Popes*.

49 Francesco Alessandro Riccardi (1660-1726) was one of nine men originally proposed to Philip V as worthy of high office, along with Argento, Aulisio, Contegna, and Giannone (Nicolini, *Uomini di spade* (Milan 1942), p. 232). and reproposed in 1702. Both in Naples and Vienna he was 'one of the major exponents of Neapolitan jurisdictionalism' (B., p. xii), an illustrious scholar, an enemy of the court of Rome, and a steadfast supporter and protector of G. G. wrote of him: 'there is a very great jealousy between the factions of Garelli and Positano, so that when I went to see the latter, I behaved with much artlessness, showing that I wanted to depend totally on him' (Vienna, 12 June 1723: *Epist.*, p. 43).

50 Duke Giuseppe Positano (brother of the archbishop of Salerno, Giuseppe Maria), entered the Council of Spain in 1715-1716 to replace the deceased Count Giovan Battista Ravaschiero (B., p. 88). He was the only Neapolitan to hold his post from the Spaniards, simply because he outlived the Austrian regime (Michelangelo Schipa, *Regno di Napoli al tempo di Carlo di Borbone* (Milan 1922), p. 7). See G.'s letter of 12 June 1723: *Epist.*, p. 43).

51 Count Joseph Bolaños (d.1732), senator of Milan and from 1710 lieutenant of the Camera of Naples; in 1714 he became regent for Naples in the Council of Spain, and therefore from 1717 also for Milan; ambassador to Venice from 1727 (B., p. 88).

52 Count Carlo Pertusati of Castelferro (1674-1755), president of the senate in Milan, politician and bibliophile; he left a library of 24,000 books, now part of the collection of the Jesuit college of Brera (*La Piccola Treccani*, 9, p. 29).

53 Count Domingo de Almarz (d.1731), born in Naples of Spanish descent (Nicolini, *Uomini di spada* (Milan 1942), pp. 138f.). He left the tribunal of Santa Chiara in 1723 to become a regent of the Council of Spain in Vienna (B., p. 88). Before his arrival in Vienna he wrote constantly to Vienna recommending G., which 'did much to disperse all the gossip'. On his way to Vienna in Rome, when in company, he turned the conversation round to the *Civil History*, and, as he told G., he found

Perlongo[54] who were regents for Sicily.

I presented another copy to the archbishop of Valencia,[55] the president of the Council, before he left for Prague. He told me that he had been impatiently waiting for it, that being also a lover of books and having a magnificent and extensive library, he desired to be one of the first to have published works. I replied that he certainly would have been the first to have it, if President Argento, who had at first been so eager to send it to him, had not then grown cold, fearing that with so much uproar it would not have been well received there.

I presented a copy also to the marquis of Rialp (see Fig. 13),[56] secretary of state and of Spain's general dispatches, before he left for Prague, but as he was busy with the emperor's imminent departure and had to leave with him, unlike the archbishop who left later, I could speak to him only when he returned.[57]

'much humanity and a much greater number of praisers than politicians' (Vienna, 10 July 1723; *Epist*., p. 63).

54 Count Perlongo, regent for Sicily in the Council of Spain in Vienna. He interceded constantly on G.'s behalf with the archbishop of Valencia, Antonio Folch de Cardona (5 February 1724: *Epist*., p. 113). G. refers to him with affection, including him among the 'good friends', throughout the *Epistolario*. Perlongo's son, Gaetano, was a judge in Palermo in 1726.

55 Antonio Folch de Cordona (see above, n. 24). G. had sent sets of the *Civil History* to Vienna at the beginning of June, but the archbishop of Valencia received his copy only in the following month (Vienna, 12 June 1723: *Epist*., p. 45; B., p. 88).

56 Ramon Perlas de Vilhena, marquis de Rialp (1663-1741), son of a Catalonian notary; he practised law with little success in Barcelona; was involved in the struggle to overthrow Philip, and in 1704 was imprisoned, but was freed in October of the following year by Charles. This 'martyr's crown' earned him Charles' eternal affection and loyalty; he also won over the empress. He was called to Vienna in 1713 and made secretary of state for the Spanish states and possessions. In 1724, he received the title of marquis (Alfred von Arneth, *Prinz Eugen von Savoyen*, 3 vols (Vienna 1858-1564), 3, p. 37). He was immensely wealthy with his own salary as secretary of state of 9,000 ducats, plus the annual grant of 8,000 ducats from Naples, as well as the great sums he received from the sale of offices (Benedikt, *Königreich Neapel*, pp. 230-233). Because his two relatives had embarked on a career in the Church, he collaborated with the Church and usurped the royal prerogative. He dominated the Council of Spain, all appointments for Italy were made by him, and he took bribes (Derek McKay, *Prince Eugene* (London 1977), p. 153).

57 On the reception of his *History* in Vienna, see G. to Carlo, 12 June 1723, and Girolamo Grimaldi to Giorgio Spinola, secretary of state, 18 August 1723 (Chapter Five: Appendix).

Fig. 13 Roman Frederic de Vilana-Perles i Camerara, the marquis of Rialp (1663-1741), by Francesco Solimena. Wikimedia Commons, public domain.

A few days later, in fact, the emperor on his return to Vienna from Laxenburg left immediately and I had no opportunity to bow at his feet. I chanced, however, to see him on the evening before his departure, since he was dining that night with the dowager empress Amalia,[58] and Count Ildaris[59] let me know, and had the courtesy to take me with him to the emperor's apartment. And in a great hall where the table

58 Wilhelmina Amalia of Brunswick-Lüneburg (1673-1742), widow of Joseph I (reigned 1705-1711), whom she had married in 1699.

59 Count Cesare Ildaris (B., p. 89). The count also placed his carriage at G.'s disposal, so that he could tour the city (Vienna, 19 June 1723: *Epist.*, p. 53). 'He seems to have been Tuscan and one of the order of knights of St Stephen of Pisa' (Nicolini, *Scritti*, p. 48).

was prepared, and there was a great gathering of the highest nobility and many gentlemen and princes, I saw the whole Imperial family, as the archduchess[60] also was dining with the emperor and the reigning empress. For the duration of the meal, I had the pleasure not only of gazing at them, but also of meeting other illustrious personages who were part of the inner circle. Among them was Abate Sintzendorf,[61] son of the grand chancellor of the Court and then a cardinal, who was very kind and courteous to me and generously attentive.

I became increasingly aware of how necessary had been my coming to Vienna, because in the evenings spent at Riccardi's home, an excellent gathering of literary men[62] was to be found, among whom were also some of our Neapolitans. They told me that letters had come from Naples which were so poisonous and malicious that, in their capricious

60 Maria Theresia (1724-1786), who through her father's remorseless diplomacy and plotting with the Pragmatic Sanction became empress on his death in 1740.

61 Philipp Joseph Ludwig von Sintzendorf (1699-1747), bishop of Györ in 1726, then Breslavia in 1732; appointed titular cardinal of Santa Maria sopra Minerva (B., p. 89). Nicolini establishes that the correct spelling of the Chancellor's name is *Sintzendorf*, with which the cardinal signed a letter of 20 December 1727, thanking Celestino Galiani for his letter of congratulation on Sintzendorf's being made a cardinal (*Vita,* ed. Nicolini, p. 100.1). He was one of the cardinals who elected Clement XII. The prisoner of Miolans chooses to remember only that happy occasion and the cardinal's kindness. He does not refer to the fact that he had received his cardinalate for his support of the Church in the most stormy anti-curialist battle of the century, that over the transfer of Commachio to the Church, which, through such famous names as Argento, Riccardi, Costantino Grimaldi, and most of all, Muratori, was indirectly the inspiration behind the *Civil History* (Gaetano Moroni, *Dizionario di erudizione storicoecclesiastica* (Venice 1840-1861), 5, p. 11).

62 Among them were the Neapolitans: the priests Pietro Contegna, fiscal advocate in the Council of Spain, and Carlo Barone; Abate Francesco Tosquez; also Giuseppe Proccurante, of whom G. wrote to Carlo that he was 'one of my passionate defenders' (Vienna, 19 June 1723: Nicolini, *Scritti,* p. 53); Francesco Porcinari, and the physician Gabriele Longobardi, the emperor's favourite doctor (Benedikt, *Königreich Neapel*, p. 552). Among the Italians were Apostolo Zeno; Marquis Clemente Doria, ambassador of the republic of Genoa at Vienna 1717-1731; Marquis Giuseppe Roberto Solaro di Breglio, representative of the duke of Savoy; Prince Tiberio di Chiusano; and the duke of Maddaloni, Marzio Carafa. This list was reconstructed from Panzini's biography and G.'s *Epistolario* (B., p. 89). There was also Marquis Sanfelice, the Neapolitan agent at Court, who was well regarded by the archbishop of Valencia, to whom the marquis recommended G. Of him, G. wrote: 'He is completely and utterly of our party' (Vienna, 12 June 1723: *Epist*., p. 46). G.'s relief is well depicted in the letter to Carlo a week later: 'the climate has restored me to perfect health, and more than the climate the civil meetings which I enjoy have benefited me. I wish to God I were held in as much esteem in Naples as I am in this city so far away and so different' (20 June 1723: Nicolini, *Scritti inediti*, p. 55).

inventions of the heresies and blasphemies which they accused me of having written, their impudence went as far as actually to quote the pages of my work, which could not be checked since not a single copy had arrived in Vienna. Everyone therefore remained at least in a state of uncertainty, and some even gave credence to them, but now after Riccardi had reviewed it for everyone, they were made to realize the slander and deceptions.[63] And it is undeniable that Riccardi was the first to dispel them, since he had taken the trouble, and that most industriously, of reading my books from cover to cover. Being frank and outspoken in expressing his mind, moreover, he neither refrained from alerting me to some mistakes,[64] nor did he fail to undeceive others

63 G. wrote to Carlo of 'Sig. Alessandro's kindness'; he had undertaken an exhaustive reading of the *Civil History*, noting in particular G.'s errors in reference to the usurpations of the popes. G. notes with delight that both he and Pietro Contegna called G. a flatterer of the court of Rome. Riccardi and Contegna considered that G. had made too many concessions to the pontifical curia, 'thus becoming its "adulator"! 'And to think that in Naples I am considered a heretic!'. They told G. also 'that there had been no lack of evil creatures who had gone to the extent of sending falsified passages of my *History* to make it seem dreadful' (12 June 1723: *Epist*., pp. 44-45). Contegna also gave G. great assistance as proof-reader and remained a steadfast friend (Vienna, 12 June 1723: *Epist*., pp. 43-45). His friends, in particular Alessandro Riccardi, Vincenzo d'Ippolito and Nicola Capasso, suggested G. compose a defence to correct the errors in the *Civil History* (Panzini, *Vita*, p. 48). Riccardi himself was to find a publisher, and the edition would come out at the publisher's expense (Vienna, 3 July 1723: Nicolini, *Scritti inediti*, p. 55). The courage of perhaps G.'s closest friend, Capasso, however, fluctuated for a time under the strain. See G.'s letter to Carlo from Vienna, in particular that of 1 January 1724 (*ibid*., p. 80). On hearing of Capasso's apprehension, G. sent him a message through Carlo: 'Tell Capasso to have faith in me, and that my work and his recommendation [to the Collateral] have had an excellent reception here' (17 July 1723: *ibid*., 61). A month later G. writes: 'You cannot imagine how glad I am to learn that the *Civil History* has not caused dear Capasso to disown me' (28 August 1723*: ibid*., p. 80). Some six months later, however, G. wrote to Carlo to be 'very reserved with Capasso. From several letters written to Riccardi we have learnt that he has gone round saying to half the world that he did not read a line of my work: he who revised and emended page after page as I handed them to him on the ecclesiastical political system. It has naturally earned him more censure here than praise, given that now he also is seen as an ignoramus who lets himself be carried away by the chatter of the common people and does not know how to distinguish heresy from a series of propositions perfectly consonant with Catholicism' (Vienna, 1 January 1724: *ibid*.). As Nicolini observes, however, Capasso was soon able to shake off the fear and loss of courage caused by the raging of the populace of Naples at that time (*ibid*., p. 80).

64 Panzini (*Vita*, pp. 44-45) reproduces a letter by Riccardi to Marquis Annibale Gentiluomo of 13 May 1723. Riccardi wrote an extraordinary and virtually identical letter to his and G.'s mutual friend Muzio di Maio on 1 June 1723 appraising the *Civil History* (Chapter Five: Appendix).

of the false accusations and imputations, and described my *History* as learned, sincere and innocent. And not only did he describe it thus to the regents of the Council and especially the regent Bolaños and all the friends whom he met in Vienna, but he also wrote to his friends in Naples, marvelling that the envious slander of compatriots could have gone to such an extent as falsifying passages and words and inventing so many calumnies and lies.

He also had Monsignor Gentilotti[65] informed of this, who, having been promoted at that time by the emperor from the post of librarian, to which Garelli succeeded, to that of judge of the Roman *Ruota*, had had to leave for Rome. To reassure himself with his own eyes of all Riccardi was saying, he wished to be presented with a copy of the work, which I did, asking him to take the trouble to look at it, and in that way verify Riccardi's testimony. And by thus asking others to read it and reflect on it, the deceptions were eventually dispelled. I could not, however, escape the slander of some,[66] and especially Neapolitans who were in Vienna in the employ of the court of Rome, from which they hoped for offices and benefices. These considered me harmful and irreverent to the Apostolic See, and censured even the friendship which I had formed with Riccardi who was hateful to the court of Rome;[67] some, kinder to me, excused me by saying that, like a shipwrecked man, I had grasped the first plank come to hand. And yet none of them, when I arrived in Vienna, came to

65 Count Johann Benedikt Gentilotti von Engelsbrunn (c.1672-1725), prefect of the Palatine Library, auditor of the *Ruota* at Rome in 1724, bishop of Trente in 1725 (B., p. 90). Gentilotti had studied ecclesiastical law and antiquity in Rome, and mixed in Protestant circles. As prefect he had organized for the Palatine Library the library of Georg Wilhelm, baron von Hohendorf, which concentrated on Protestantism and free-thinking. Gentilotti's short treatise, 'Tractatus de methodo addiscendae historiae' (Vienna National Library: Ricuperati, *L'esperienza*, pp. 233-234), reveals his profound and wide-ranging erudition, and the panoply of authors represented there reads like G.'s own bibliography from the *Vita*. G. presented him with a copy of the *Civil History* on his departure for Rome, also in thanks for his praising G. to the emperor (Panzini, *Vita*, pp. 42-43). G. wrote of how much he owed to Monsignor Gentilotti, who, although a prelate and pontifical official in Rome, 'cannot keep his mouth closed about it (the *Civil History*), and commended it to the nuncio himself here' (Vienna, 26 June and 3 July 1723: *Epist.*, pp. 55, 60).

66 Bertelli identifies them as part of the circle of the nuncio Girolamo Grimaldi, by reference to Grimaldi's dispatch of 29 May 1723, Rome (AAV, *Germania*: B., p. 90).

67 This was due to Riccardi's essay 'de re beneficiaria' on the edict of Charles VI (B., p. 91), in which he and his two colleagues Gaetano Argento and Costantino Grimaldi disputed the papal occupation of the Comacchio.

offer me his hand to help me, waiting perhaps for the shipwrecked man to drown. And it was one of them who, although he had my work with which he could have refuted the many slanderous reports, had kept silent and hid it, waiting simply to see how things would turn out, and regulating himself according to whether the outcome were favourable or unfavourable, calling this chameleon-like and ambiguous attitude the clever art of understanding the ways of the world.

The emperor had left for Prague, therefore, followed by the most eminent courtiers but not by the Council of Spain, which remained in Vienna, although later also the president set out. I decided to remain there, both to avoid the expense and trouble of a new trip and also because going to Prague and living there would have turned out to be as expensive as it was useless, since the court was engrossed in other matters. It was important, moreover, to undeceive the regents of the Council who had remained behind about the slander directed at me, and above all to convince them to examine my work in order to report on it to His Majesty the emperor, so that I might be rewarded or punished as Imperial clemency or justice might see fit. And as the regents for Sicily, Almarza, and Perlongo, had arrived in Vienna, I did the same to them as I had to the others. And it was a great pleasure to see Almarza, with whom I had been somewhat close and friendly in Naples, because he was a man of much probity and he liked me and had some respect and consideration for me. He told me that, although in Naples the great uproar had ceased, he had left Argento still agitated for fear that I had not been well received at Court, and this anxiety caused him at one moment to blame me and at the next to pity me. And a friend of mine, not knowing Argento's nature, also alerted me to this with astonishment, and someone replied that Argento would change his style once he were assured that I and my work had been welcomed and accepted in Vienna. When, in fact, he was sure of this, he began to write some letters to the archbishop of Valencia praising and recommending me, and censuring the unreasonable step taken by the vicario of excommunicating me, and saying that it was necessary to revoke it.

The regent Almarza was also a great comfort to me in a foreign country, because many Neapolitans as well as Sicilians and other Italians used to gather in the evenings at his home, and happy hours were spent there. Sometimes at Riccardi's and sometimes at Almarza's, therefore, I found relief from my past troubles. In the home of their own national magistrate, the regent Positano, the Neapolitans found more solitude,

gloom, and discouragement than advice, help and comfort, because of his being of a restless, difficult, and implacable nature, seeking only to advance his own family.

In the meantime, because of the uproar in Naples after my work was published, when many copies of it arrived in Rome, it began to make a stir there also, owing to the constant clamour of the monks' and friars' preaching that it was impious, heretical and injurious to the Holy See.[68] The pope at that time was Innocent XIII from the both illustrious and ancient family of the Conti,[69] who through long experience well understood the friars' audacity, impudence and provocativeness. After he had been advised by wise and learned men who had read it, that it was not as execrable as the friars claimed, but on the contrary most commendable, rumour had it that, at his own wish he spent a few hours each day reading it, and that it did not displease him. Often, in fact, when with his closest friends, he would burst out saying that, please God, things were not as I had written. Since he was unable to remain aloof, however, to that Court's implacable way of examining any book and banning it if it were not in complete conformity with the Court's maxims, my work was given to be examined by the assessors of the Holy Office, among whom there was no lack of friars and monks. And notwithstanding their animosity and the spur given them by others of their ilk, they were only able to advance their spiteful censure by qualifying a few propositions in it as heretical.[70] Clement XI [1700-

68 In the official account of how the *Civil History* was placed on the Index, it is stated that G. 'was called to Vienna to remove him from Naples, for fear that his evil intentions might spread to others, thereby forming a new sect' (*Racconto di varie notizie* (Naples 1997), p. 36; Volpicella, 'Parere del Collaterale', *ASPN*, 1 (1876), 118-212, p. 122). For reactions to the *Istoria civile*, see Chapter Seven: Appendix [63].

69 Michelangelo Conti (1655-1724), reigned from 8 May 1721. Innocent was known as the enemy of the Jesuits (Hans Kühner, *Lexikon der Päpste* (Frankfurt am Main 1960), p. 158; quoted by Hans Daus in *Selbstverständnis und Menschenbild* (Cologne 1962), p. 103). Pastor writes of his having reformed the distribution of grain, thus greatly improving the lot of Rome's poor. He also enriched the Vatican Library with precious Oriental manuscripts and the collection of coins of Cardinal Alessandro Albani. The memory of him, therefore, was long cherished by the people (Pastor, 34, pp. 74, 96). Through him, Charles VI was at last granted in 1722 the investiture of Naples and Sicily, denied to him for more than twenty years. A copy of the *Civil History* had been sent to Rome by a prelate in late March 1723 before it appeared in Neapolitan bookshops. Before that, the court of Rome knew nothing about it (Marini, *Mezzogiorno*, pp. 196, 199).

70 The assessor of the *Civil History* for the Holy Office, Marco Antonio Ansidei, bishop of Perugia, did not consider it heretical. He proposed: 'Sanctae Sedi Apostolicae

1721] in his brief condemning the submissions of Argento, Riccardi, and Grimaldi did not confine himself to the usual and customary condemnations, that their books contained propositions which were erroneous, scandalous, impious, schismatic, et cetera, but added 'even heretical' (*imo etiam haereticas*). My assessors, however, confined themselves to the ordinary formulae and added only ('redolent of heresy at least to wise men'(*et haeresim ut minimum sapientes*). Clement, moreover, had condemned them with his two special briefs, whereas my work was banned by a decree of the Congregation of the Holy Office at Rome [better known as the Inquisition], imposed on 1 July 1723, which certainly did not apply in the kingdom of Naples or other countries not recognizing any court of the Holy Office. What is more, Clement had ordered in his briefs that the bishops and inquisitors were to seek out the books and throw them into the flames to be burnt. Anyone keeping, reading, or reprinting them would be excommunicated and could obtain absolution and pardon only from him or his successors, the Roman pontiffs. In the decree banning my work, on the contrary, there was no mention of fire and flames, or that the excommunication was at the discretion solely of the Roman pontiff, but merely that transgressors were subject to the penalties contained in the Index of banned books.

My work, therefore, was banned, not because the Congregation of Rome and its assessors had been able to find any heretical clauses in it, but because, according to their rules, they believed it to contain propositions which were erroneous, impious, offensive to pious ears, slanderous, and schismatic, which were upsetting the ecclesiastical

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erroneas, haeresim, schisma, atque impietatem ut minimum sapientes'. It was, however, Innocent XIII who intervened to change the order of the words, so that 'haeresim' (heretical) was stressed, and the *Civil History* was condemned as being 'erroneas, schismaticas atque impies, et haeresim, ut minimum, sapientes' (erroneous, schismatic and impious, and heretical at least to wise men) (the decree is in the Modena State Archives: Marini, *Mezzogiorno*, pp. 199-200). G. seems, therefore, to have been somewhat mistaken in his idea that Innocent was impressed by the *History.* Antonio Bianchi was to call G.'s statement that the Church cannot destroy civil laws or set up others contrary to them 'sheer blasphemy' (*Della potestà e della politia della Chiesa, trattati due contro le nuove opinion di P.G.*, 7 vols (Rome 1745-1751), 3, p. 415, quoted by Ajello, *Il problema della riforma giudiziana e legislativa nel Regno di Napoli* (Naples 1961), p. 65). The secretary of state, Cardinal Giorgio Spinola, then informed the nuncio Girolamo Grimaldi in Vienna that G. was not to be employed in the Palatine Library or receive a pension, and was to be 'kept low' by the emperor (1 January 1724; Grimaldi to Paulucci, 10 March 1725: Marini, *Mezzogiorno,* p. 201). The document banning G.'s *Civil History* was published by Ogilvie in the second volume of the *Civil History* (Chapter Five: Appendix).

hierarchy, and were injurious to the Holy See, and redolent of heresy. Everyone knows that in Rome a formula on these prohibitions has been introduced and any book not conforming with its rules is subjected to them. This costs the assessors much less work, because they do not declare their censure to the authors so that the latter might defend themselves, but take great care to keep it secret and hidden. And because they are also not obliged to identify the clauses which are schismatic, impious, injurious, and erroneous et cetera, they can save themselves the trouble with a single word, *respective*, and thus leave the authors and readers in even greater confusion and obscurity than before. Rome acts wisely in this, and it is a shrewd stratagem of its subtle political system. By such frequent and incessant prohibitions Rome controls the blind and simple multitude which is its sole care, knowing that it forms the world, and takes advantage of it, caring little for the wise, learned and expert, who in comparison with the multitude are rare and few. In addition, to ban every book not in conformity with its ideas means that, if ever one wishes to quote this book as evidence in some dispute, even if it were written by some wise, learned and authoritative Catholic and contained sound learning, it is dismissed forthwith without anything else being taken into account, simply by declaring its erudition to be that of a banned, condemned book, so that it has no authority and carries no weight.

Rome's manner of banning books is very appropriate for its purposes. If one wanted to force its assessors to publish their censures and stipulate one by one the clauses qualified as impious, erroneous, schismatic, et cetera, they would be exposed to great risk and be shamed for their ignorance and animosity. And in our times we had an illustrious example of this in the banning of the *Historia ecclesiastica* of Fr Noël Alexandre,[71] who, by means of a cardinal, had the good fortune of acquiring the censures made by the assessors by which his work was banned. He found them so fatuous, nonsensical and malicious that, when a new and magnificent edition in folio was made of the work in Paris, Fr Noël decided to insert them in the relevant places with his

71 Noël Alexandre (1639-1724), Dominican, lecturer at the Sorbonne, banished as a Jansenist in 1709, and deprived of his pension for having opposed the bull against Jansenism, *Unigenitus* (1713). He went blind towards the end of his life. Benedict XIII used to refer to him as his master (see below). His main work, *Histoire ecclésiastique*, 24 vols (Paris 1676) to 1686, was placed on the Index for its Gallicanism. It was one of the texts studied by G. when writing the *Triregno* (B., p. 94). *NBG* 1, pp. 933-934.

replies, thereby revealing their prodigious ignorance, and also solving the mystery of why these censures were so carefully kept secret and hidden. From then on the censures were made more impenetrable and recondite, and as a result no one, even of the highest rank, could boast of having seen or read them.

After the banning of my *History*, done in Rome, Cardinal Althann, the viceroy, had the ardent wish to acquire the assessors' censures which had led the Congregation of the Holy Office to ban it. The councillor Maio, who was urging him to obtain them, was writing to Vienna that they would definitely obtain them because of the viceroy's undertaking to do so through his friends in Rome.[72] I nevertheless told Riccardi, who was impatient to have them, that they would never be obtained. This turned out to be so, because after flattering him for a long time, the viceroy's friends finally wrote to him that it was impossible to have them.

In assessing the propositions, they have invented a special vocabulary and give words a sense different from their real meaning. They call the

72 Given Althann's former post in Rome (predecessor of Cardinal Cienfuegos) as plenipotentiary minister of the emperor, and his active role in the conclaves to elect Innocent XIII, he could have confidently expected to obtain the reports of the qualificators, who were his former associates. Pierantoni published what was mistakenly thought to be the report of the qualificators in his edition of the *Vita* (pp. 406-416): 'Proposizioni e dottrine ricavate dai 4 tomi della *Storia Civile del Regno di Napoli* di P.G., le quali possono censurarsi di eretiche o prossime all'eresia, oppure di temeraria e scandalose' (Propositions and Doctrines from the Four Volumes of the *Civil History of Naples* of P.G., Which Can Be Censured as Heretical or Close to Heresy, or Arrogant and Scandalous) (TAS, *Mss. Giannone*: Ricuperati, *Carte torinesi di P.G.* (Turin 1962), p. 80). It is, in fact, thought to be the notes made by Abate Palazzi di Selve. The mild and non-condemnatory listing of controversial passages in the *Civil History* leads Nicolini to discredit Pierantoni's claim. Pierantoni, as usual, does not state where the manuscript can be found, and, for G.'s own reasons, it is unlikely to be that of the qualificators. Nicolini suggests that, as the manuscript is in Turin, it may have been prepared by Palazzi di Selve for his own use (*Scritti* (Bari 1913), pp. 107-108). A qualificator of the Holy Office, the Dominican Fr Domenico Perez, stated that the *Istoria civile* was not so much a history of the kingdom of Naples 'as an impious denigration of the Apostolic See, the popes, and the whole hierarchy'. He concluded that 'in it there were many things false, scandalous and in themselves impious, offensive to pious ears, seditious, and by their extreme calumny injurious to the whole ecclesiastical hierarchy, erroneous and heretical, at least, to wise men'. He proposed, therefore, that it should be totally banned. (BAV, *Vat.Lat.*: Marini, *Mezzogiorno*, p. 199). Another qualificator, Fr Matteo Pareta, procurator general of the Minori Osservanti, was much more severe, and judged the *Civil History* as *quasi quaedam cloaca* (almost a sewer) of all the schismatic and heretical attacks up until that time on the Church, the ecclesiastical orders, and in particular the popes, and as such meriting a condemnation of the first class (cc.338-343). The Holy Office, however, did not consider the *Civil History* '*ipso facto* heretical'.

court of Rome the 'Apostolic See', which is something very different from that court. As a result, everything written against the abuses, corruption, and initiatives which that court attempts against the power of princes is described as injurious to the Holy See, destructive of ecclesiastical immunity, scandalous and arrogant. Everything not in conformity with its principles and the extravagant, indecent and ambitious opinions of its theologians and canonists, who adulate it, is termed erroneous and wrong. Everything opposed to their claimed monarchy over the temporal monarchy of princes is qualified as schismatic and ruinous to the ecclesiastical hierarchy. The many religious orders of friars and monks they regard as Orders of the Church, so that whoever writes against them, warning the simple and ignorant of their cunning and shrewd ways of deceiving them, is called slanderous, irreverent, and—to use their parlance—offends pious ears and smacks of heresy and irreligion. In accordance with these and other similar rules, therefore, they qualify and ban books.

When it became known in Vienna that the *Civil History* had been banned in Rome and the decree issued, some of my friends advised me to show my irritation and reveal the injustice and invalidity of the decree.[73] I nevertheless replied first, that it would have been useless and unnecessary, since whoever read the *History*, especially the third volume which deals with such bans,[74] would certainly be undeceived about the importance given them. I had foreseen this blow, as it was the usual thing done by Rome, and in fact I was expecting something worse than what had happened to the submissions of Argento, Riccardi, and Grimaldi. They dealt only with the defence of a royal edict in conformity with the sacred canons and the actual constitutions of the Roman pontiffs. Rome was doing what it had to do, and the courts of the princes thus would know what to do and learn from its example; that as Rome does not fail to support its initiatives as best it can, and defend them rightly or wrongly, so we might know what to do. I was not claiming to obstruct Rome, but on the contrary desired only that the princes take appropriate action to defend their old pre-eminences and sovereign rights, which alone would be enough to repress the Roman pontiffs. I concluded that often abuses and outrages

73 Of the inexorable condemnation of G. by the ecclesiastical world, Bertelli observes that it amounted to 'a pitiless persecution charged with a hatred which, for a crime of opinion, leaves one astounded even today' ('L'incartamento originale', p. 19).

74 G. condemned outright Rome's usurpation of temporal power by banning books and placing them on the Index (*Civil History*, bk 27, ch.4= Ogilvie, 2, pp. 389-393).

came about not because of their strength but our own weakness. And on that occasion I wrote a particular treatise: *De' rimedi contro le proibizioni de' libri che si decretano in Roma e della potestà de' principi in non farle valere ne' loro Stati* (On Remedies Against the Banning of Books Decreed in Rome, and Concerning the Power of Princes Not to Enforce the Bans in their States). It was intended not for publication, but for the instruction of the fearful and timid conscience of anyone not well informed on this subject.[75]

More urgent to me was the redress of the unjust step taken by the vicario of invalidly excommunicating, on such a vain and slight pretext, someone who was absent. In the meantime, so as not to let the time pass uselessly while waiting for the emperor's return to Vienna, since the regents who comprised the Council of Spain remained there, I tried, as my work was being read, to make it more evident that I was not obliged to ask permission to print the work from those who would certainly have refused it, but that it was enough to be given—as I was—permission

75 This is part of the *Apologia dell'Istoria Civile* (ch.7-9 in *Opere postume*, 1 (1770), 42-76; part 2, 245-270). Panzini (*Vita*, p. 49) relates that G. had intended to publish it for the regents of the Council of Spain in Vienna and for the Neapolitan magistrates. He yielded, however, to the advice of Riccardi and Garelli, who considered that it would simply infuriate his enemies and further damage his position. It nevertheless circulated widely in manuscript in both Naples and Vienna (see G.'s letters of 17 July and 28 August 1723: *Epist.*, pp. 67, 77-78; 14 August 1723: Nicolini, *Scritti inediti*, pp. 67-68). G. wrote that it had turned into a book, 'and if the matter is not to be successful, they should not complain if, throughout the whole of Europe, they see this other new work in circulation, in which every veil is lifted from present excommunications. Excommunication, therefore, will certainly not frighten anyone, when it is shown to have no place in the publication of books and that everything rests with the princes' (Vienna, 28 August 1723: *Epist.*, pp. 77-78). Bertelli (*Giannoniana*, intro., pp. 6-7) observes that much of the *Apologia* is intended to clear G.'s name from the accusations made from the pulpits and judicial circles when the *Civil History* was published. See the letter of the Viennese nuncio Girolamo Grimaldi of 25 March 1724 to Rome (BAV *Rossiano 1180*: Marini, *Mezzogiorno*, pp. 208, 272 (doc.9)) and that of 22 July 1724:

Grimaldi to Paulucci di Calboli, 22 July 1724:

'The marquis of Rialp had informed me that Cardinal Cienfuegos [Imperial ambassador at the Papal Court] has written to the Court [of Vienna] that Our Lord [Benedict XIII, who succeeded Innocent XIII on 29 May 1724] spoke to him very seriously about Pietro Giannone, and the rumour that he was planning to publish another book probably not different from the first; and the marquis asked me if I had any news of it. I told him that after having been written about it from Rome last April, I had tried without success to discover the truth of it. And he added that he also had made various inquiries with persons intimate with G., who seemed to know nothing about it, and concluded that it was a false rumour. He however assured me that, if that man made such an attempt, the Emperor would not distance himself from the will of Our Lord' (AAV *Germania*: Marini, *Mezzogiorn*o, pp. 208, 272-273 (doc.10)).

by the viceroy and his Collateral Council. I argued this by reference to various jurisdictional conflicts treated in my work which were decided against ecclesiastical jurisdiction in accordance with the high concept which the ecclesiastics had of that council. Since the printer had been already absolved, the author, who was not included in their same edicts, had obviously been even more invalidly excommunicated.

As the regents had been fully informed by me, they understood the groundlessness of the censure. And because it was incumbent on the Collateral Council of Naples to take the usual steps to have it abolished, some of them wrote to their friends in Naples of their astonishment that the delegate of the Royal Jurisdiction and the Collateral had not opposed the vicario. And others told me to try and have the matter raised in that council, which, if it had not made provision for it, would at least become aware of it. I arranged the matter, therefore, by writing to my brother and other lawyers who were my friends in Naples to have the Collateral Council and the delegate of the Royal Jurisdiction obtain the amendment.

When the delegate President Argento became aware of such sentiments and my favourable reception at the Court, he was transformed and showed great eagerness in devoting himself to the matter, even taking the leading role. And when the days had been fixed to deal with it in the Collateral Council in the presence of the heads of the court and the *Ruote* of the Council of Santa Chiara,[76] the cardinal-archbishop Pignatelli (who had taken part in the censure more at the request of the vicario and the members of his court and because of the friars' clamour than on his own instinct), on hearing of the preparations being made to deal with it in such a full assembly of the highest royal magistrates, began to negotiate for its annulment with Argento, through Father Cillis, in such a way that he retained his dignity without fuss and so much uproar.[77]

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76 The meeting of the Giunta di Giurisdizione was held on 26 October 1723. See the *Notamenti del Collaterali*, which is the account of the actual sitting: *Giannoniana*, pp. 43-48; Chapter Five: Appendix). A copy of the submission given to each participant was sent to Rome from the nunciature of Naples on 13 November (AAV *Napoli*, p. 166; *Giannoniana*, pp. 149-156). Bertelli states that 'it was almost certainly drafted by G.'. The meeting was therefore inconclusive, because the regents were waiting for the outcome of negotiations conducted by Archbishop Pignatelli with Argento and G.'s brother Carlo (B., p. 97; for a full account see Bertelli's 'Appunti e osservazioni', p. 187).

77 G. had written to Carlo on 20 August 1723: 'Make every effort so that the archiepiscopal curia does not give me a public absolution. A public absolution is irrelevant when the censure is null. So much more *pro bono pacis* (for the sake of peace) could I have myself absolved secretly here by any confessor whatsoever... At any rate everyone here, myself included, is leaving things to the tact and prudence

Believing the matter was to be examined before such grave magistrates and with such scrutiny, I was induced to write another essay on *Rimedi contro le scommuniche invalide e della potestà de' principi intorno a' modi di farle cassare ed abolire* (Measures against Invalid Excommunications, and on the Power of Princes and Ways to Annul and Abolish Such Excommunications).[78] In this, after proving the nullity and injustice of the censure, I dealt with the proper and legitimate ways to be adopted to revoke it. The tract was not intended for publication, but only to serve my interests on that occasion. There was no need, however, for so much preparation, because Cardinal Pignatelli, who had, for this end, reserved for himself in the censure the power of absolution, showed that he was ready to give it. Having arranged with Argento how I was to request it by letter, therefore, he withdrew the excommunication with his decree of October of that same year 1723 and annulled it. When Pignatelli had given Argento documentary proof of this, signed by him and with his own seal, Argento gave it to my brother who immediately sent it to me in Vienna, telling me that all the notices still affixed to the doors of some churches had been removed, the matter closed, the committee of magistrates dissolved, and everything relegated to oblivion and peaceful quiet. On receiving this I showed it to the regents of the supreme Council of Spain, who expressed their satisfaction, and agreed that nothing else needed to be done. They were glad both for my peace and the consequent resolution of possible trouble with the court of Rome; had the archbishop not annulled it, the customary economic expedients would have had to be taken to have it withdrawn.[79]

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of Argento' (Nicolini, *Scritti inediti*, p. 67).

78 This essay was written in autumn 1723 in preparation for the meeting of the Collateral Council on 26 October, but was not then used and was incorporated into the *Apologia dell'Istoria Civile* (*Opere postume*, 1 (1770), ch.4-7). Bertelli observes that it is much influenced by Louis Ellies Dupin, *Traité historique des excommunications*, 2 vols (Paris 1716-19) (B., p. 98).

79 Panzini (*Vita*, pp. 51-58) throws light on the compromise worked out by Cillis and Argento to avoid any civil action taken against the Curia. As it was too late to communicate directly with G. before the Collateral was to meet on 26 October, a letter of apology was drafted for Carlo Giannone to sign on his brother's behalf, which was dated 2 October and bore the false address of Vienna.

G. to Archbishop Francesco Pignatelli, Vienna, 2 October 1723:

'Most eminent Signore,

I have received letters from Naples that Your Excellency's Curia has imposed a censure against me for having had my work *The Civil History of the Kingdom of Naples* published without the permission of the aforementioned Archiepiscopal Court. Should this work, which I submit to Holy Mother Church, happen to

I was meanwhile in Vienna awaiting the emperor's return, which was already approaching, and was so much more dearly longed for by everyone because he was returning with the empress pregnant, and on her confinement rested the hopes for peace in Europe.[80] And foreseeing that my stay there would be a long one, I discharged the companion[81] whom I had brought with me, so that he might return to Naples and his wife. I went to live in the home of Baroness Linzwal[82] who, following the frequent and almost common custom of other houses, used willingly to

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contain any errors involuntarily overlooked, I declare that this has resulted from ignorance, from assuming that the said permission was the responsibility of the printer or the owner of the press. I am therefore sorry and ask forgiveness for it, humbly entreating you to give orders for my absolution. And I place my trust in your great beneficence and clemency. In reverence,
I remain,
Your most humble and devoted servant,
Pietro Giannone' (Panzini, *Vita*, p. 52).

Panzini's account reveals that G. did not escape sharp criticism over the letter, as is evident in his correspondence with Carlo of 22 January, 5 and 12 February 1724 (*Epist.,* pp. 104-108, 112-115, 117), in the last of which he refers also to 'Capasso's very strange interpretation of my absolution'. The archbishop of Valencia and the regents of the Council of Spain considered the case 'a scandalous usurpation of the rights of princes' (Panzini, *Vita*, p. 53). G.'s letter was presented on 22 October, and the secret absolution was drafted and signed by Pignatelli on the same day (*Apologia*: *Opere postume* (1770), 1, 134). At the meeting of the Collateral Council, Argento made his report, followed by the fiscal lawyer for criminal matters and the fiscal lawyer for the royal patrimony, who proposed that Archbishop Pignatelli withdraw the censures under pain of confiscation of property and imprisonment of his relatives. It was by then, however, late and the session was adjourned without the vote having been taken. Althann did not call for a further session, and the efforts in Vienna of Prince Eugene, Riccardi and Garelli could not prevail against Rialp's bland assurances to Charles that the matter would be further investigated (Nicolini, ed. *Vita*, p. 110). The letter of the Giannone brothers was of profound significance, as it undid all which had been set in train hitherto in Vienna and Naples 'to remove the publication of books from ecclesiastic control'. See Panzini's account of Vienna's reaction (p. 53), and also the attempt of the Neapolitan nunciature to exculpate itself in its report to Rome (Chapter Five: Appendix). See G.'s letters to Carlo of 22 January, 5 February1724: *Epist.,* pp. 104-105, 112, 117 for G.'s references to the 'strong reproof' (p. 112) expressed by some in Vienna over his absolution.

80 The birth of a male child would have simplified the succession in the traditional male line and discouraged terrible wars such as that fought over the Spanish Succession (1702-1713/4). Because a daughter was born (Maria Theresia), Charles spent the rest of his life seeking diplomatic acceptance for her accession, in the Pragmatic Sanction. Maria Theresia succeeded her father in 1745.

81 He was the brother of G.'s mistress, Elisabetta Castelli. Apart from that bond, they had nothing in common, and G was anxious about what he would tell his sister (Vienna, 20 and 27 May 1724: *Epist*., pp. 150, 152).

82 Theresia Leichsenhoffen. G. refers in a letter to some negotiation conducted on her behalf, which he undertakes simply 'to serve those innocent and most loving daughters, who deserve every assistance' (Vienna, 4 December 1723: *Epist*., p. 86).

take in people of some note, providing them with the convenience of both rooms and board. I was especially persuaded to go there because she had as boarders or 'in Kost', as the expression there goes, two small sons of the baron Darmon, who was castellan of Barletta and my friend.[83]

She was a widow advanced in years and the daughter of the referendary Ernst Ploikner,[84] with whom, therefore, I became friends. He was an old man and, of all the Viennese whom I then knew, the most proficient in law, who knew and spoke Italian, and was familiar with matters at the Court, having for many years in the times of the emperors Leopold and Joseph, presided over the chancellery of the Court as referendary. At that time all matters of importance passed through his hands. In 1703, for the departure from Vienna of the archduke Charles as king of Spain and in order to send him to Spain against his rival, it was necessary for the emperors Leopold and Joseph, then kings of the Roman empire, to renounce in favour of the archduke all claims to the Spanish monarchy. The finer points of the deed of this cession were dictated by Ploikner. He showed me the original documents on which the deeds were drawn up, which can now be read printed in the collection made by Lünig[85] of his *Codice diplomatico d'Italia*.

Among the other gifts of his mind was the strength with which he patiently endured the straitened circumstances which, after a splendid and wealthy life, had befallen his house. To the same degree by which he was sought after and had flourished under the emperors Leopold and Joseph, he was left wretched and poor under the emperor Charles. As usually happens, the new court of that prince drove out the old, and Ploikner's rivals and those envious of him exerted themselves by slandering him to the new emperor. The result was that Ploikner, after having been forced to resign his post, was left with a small stipend of

83 Johann Alexander Darmon: known by G. perhaps at the outset of Austrian rule in Naples, when he was second in command by seniority at Castel Nuovo. He was captain of the grenadiers in Hungary, and had served as lieutenant-colonel in Catalonia (Benedikt, *Königreich Neapel*, p. 52), or more probably at Barletta on G.'s journey to Vienna (B., p. 99).

84 Jakob Ernst Edler von Ploikner, referendary of the Imperial Chancellery (Reichskanzlereihofrat) under the emperors Leopold I and Joseph I (Benedikt, *Königreich Neapel*, pp. 544-545).

85 Johann Christian Lünig (1662-1740), German jurist and publicist. After studying law he travelled with his pupils as a tutor in Italy, England, Holland and France, then widely through Europe. He published vast codices; e.g. *Teutsches Reichsarchiv* (Archives of the German Empire), 24 vols (Leipzig 1710-1712); *Codex Italiae Diplomaticus*, 4 vols (Leipzig 1725-1735) (*NBG* 32, pp. 257-258).

2,000 florins per annum to support himself, and the apartment where he lived until the end of his life. With this he had to support the necessary servants and his family, as he kept in his home a poor widow who was his step-daughter, named Theresia von Leichsenhoffen, whom, on the death of her husband, a councillor of the Camera of Gratz, he had to take in with her five children, four girls and a boy.

Of his ample wealth there remained only a magnificent palace and delightful garden with some vineyards around it, which was in the village of Perchtoldsdorf, twelve miles from Vienna. He used to go there for the summer and stay until the vintage, after which he would return to the city. And I often used to go there to visit him, and to his great pleasure stay a few weeks with him. With much courtesy and kindness he would want me to stay longer, but I did not like to leave the friends in Vienna, who were able to help me in my needs at Court by preparing and influencing people to intercede in my favour when the emperor returned. And, in fact, since my work was being read and many, even the Germans, were eager to have it, I had many requests from booksellers and others[86] to send for more copies, as those brought with me were already sold. I therefore wrote to Naples for more cases of them from time to time to be transported to Manfredonia or Barletta and sent to me via Fiume and Trieste. And when they arrived, it was not necessary to wait long to part with them, since, apart from the copies which stayed in Vienna, they were sent to other cities in Germany, and to Flanders, Holland, Sweden, and Denmark.[87] And General Marulli,[88] our Neapolitan, whom I had the good fortune of knowing in Vienna, who was then in command of Belgrade under the commander-in-chief, the duke of Würtemburg,[89] provided his many friends in Hungary with them. They were also sent to Bohemia during the Court's stay in Prague. I even received a letter from there to the effect that in Prague, at

86 Apostolo Zeno (1668-1750), Venetian man of letters, who assisted G. by suggesting that he send copies of the *Civil History* to Venice to the famous bookseller Niccolò Pezzana (Vienna, 9 September 1724: *Epist.*, p. 180).

87 See letters to Carlo, Vienna, 20 and 27 May, 3 June, 22 July 1723: *Epist.*, pp. 149, 152, 155, 168.

88 Francesco Saverio Marulli (1673-1751). G. wrote to Carlo that, thanks to Marulli, the *Civil History* was introduced to those Greek and Latin provinces on the frontier of Hungary (Vienna, 17 March 1731: *Epist.*, p. 785). Giovanni Giannone maintained close contacts with the family (see his *Memorie*, below).

89 Prince Eberhard Ludwig Herzog von Würtemberg (1676-1733) (*NDB* 4, pp. 237-238).

a magnificent lunch to which Prince Eugene of Savoy (see Fig. 14)[90] had been invited, there had been talk of the work, and Prince Eugene was so eager to have a copy that he wrote to his agent in Vienna to send him one without delay. On learning this, I arranged to have a copy sent straight away, and informed His Highness that for his return I had prepared a copy on the best paper and richly ornamented, which I would have the honour of presenting to him in person. And when his agent had carried out on my behalf that reverent task, Prince Eugene let me know with great humanity through the agent that he would be more grateful if the work were left unbound, in order to have it bound like the other books which made up his magnificent library.[91] This I did, and later saw it occupy there an honoured place among the historians.

90 Eugene de Savoie-Soissons (1663-1736). His father died when Eugene was nine years of age. When he was fifteen, his mother was banished from the French court on charges of astrology and poisoning. He entered the service of the Austrians (in the post of his brother, who was killed in action) in the war against the Turks and became a brilliant strategist and general. He was also a renowned collector, bibliophile and patron of intellectuals. In the night of the 20 April 1736 (the most fateful year of both his and G.'s lives) he died peacefully in his sleep (Derek McKay, *Prince Eugene of Savoy* (London 1977)).

91 Prince Eugene had always been a reader, and was said actually to read the books in his library! His great-uncle founded the Bibliothèque Mazzarin in Paris. Eugene had brought its binder, whose father had been book-binder to Louis XIV, to Vienna to bind his books (see Nicholas Henderson's excellent appraisal in *Prince Eugen of Savoy* (London 1964), pp. 259-60). Prince Eugene had strong links to G. and his group, which included Riccardi, Garelli and Forlosia, all anti-curialist and all librarians of the Palatine Library, who were then significant personages (Ricuperati, 'In margine alla biografia di Eugenio', in *L'Europa del XVIII secolo*, ed. V. Comparato et al. (Naples 1991), 445-60, p.458). One of the last happy memories of the sorrowful prisoner is recalling his delight in working in Prince Eugene's magnificent library: 'another magnificent library installed in his palace by the Mars of our century; that is, by Prince Eugene of Savoy, no less commendable for this than was the Ligurian Alcide Colombo. He gathered from everywhere the most precious books, the rarest and best editions, not sparing any expenses; and having had come from the Levant the finest leather in various colours, had the pleasure of having them bound in this way, and all of them covered with the leather and gilding, so that on entering his library one seemed to be entering different rooms ornamented with golden tapestries of many colours... This library had a prize which that of the Emperor could not have. It had one of the two machines (since no more than two were made in London by most skilled astronomers) of the physical universe [see G.'s letter to Carlo of 24 June 1724: *Opere di P.G.*, pp. 1134-1139], according to the system of Copernicus and Descartes. In the centre of it glowed a face within a globe of glass, representing the sun, which was revolving with admirable skill, showing the course of the planets and how they were illuminated. It showed the seasons, months, the year, days and nights, the eclipses of the sun and moon and other astronomical observations' (*L'ape ingegnosa*, ed. Merlotti, pp. 441-442).

Fig. 14 Prince Eugene of Savoy (1663-1746), by Jacob von Schuppen. Wikimedia Commons, public domain.

The emperor at last returned to Vienna towards the end of October with the empress pregnant and with all who followed him. I let several weeks pass after their arrival, and when the time seemed opportune to have an audience,[92] had my name put down as was customary with the

92 Pierantoni in his edition of the *Vita* states that Garelli, Count Sintzendorf and Prince Eugene helped G. obtain the audience. Bertelli notes that it took place after 11 December, on which day G. wrote to Carlo that he had requested the intervention of Prince Eugene, and was waiting to be summoned (Vienna, 11 December 1723: *Epist*., p. 94). G. relates how the petition was checked by his main patrons. For the petition to Charles VI, see Chapter Five: Appendix. It is instructive to reflect on G.'s labours June-October on the defence of the *Civil History* during the period in which

others requesting one. At the time set for the audiences I waited with the others in the room outside where it was to be held, and was called by the gentleman of the chamber, who introduced me. I came forward and after the three customary bows before the Imperial person who was standing, I was reassured by the clemency in his face and his gesture motioning me, since I was kneeling, to rise. I began to explain briefly the sad story of my adventures after the work's publication, which had set in train so many persecutions. Because in it I had, as his devoted and faithful vassal, upheld the noble pre-eminences and sovereign rights of the kings of Naples, which they may exercise in the kingdom of Naples as legitimately as the kings of France may exercise in their realm, I had thus incurred the malevolence of the friars and monks and the court of Rome. Trusting in the Imperial clemency of His Majesty, however, to whom the work was dedicated, and in the fact that nothing in the work conflicted with our Holy Faith, I had made it available to everyone to render this more obvious. I earnestly begged His Majesty's protection for both the work and its author, who, prostrate at his feet, implored the pity and clemency hereditary in his most august family, which made anyone having recourse to it safe from all outrage and oppression.

The emperor replied briefly to my humble requests. I heard what he said first when expressing his pleasure at the work and that I was in his care, but not what he said last in a low, subdued voice.[93] When I presented to him my petition, he stretched out his hand and took it, and I had the honour of kissing his hand. I then withdrew and went out, and

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Charles VI and his court were away. In the *Apologia dell'Istoria civile* he defended himself and the *Civil History* from the accusations of the monks and friars, of having discredited the miracle of St Januarius, the ordination of bishops, pilgrimages, customs and respect for the dead. It was completed one month after his arrival in Vienna. In itself, the *Apologia* was a major work, unpublished at the time, but copies are present in all the major libraries of Europe. By mid-June 1723, G. could announce the completion of his essay, 'Concubinato de' Romani', defending himself from the accusation that he approved of the practice of concubinage. He had then begun work wholeheartedly on the *Apologia*, encouraged by Riccardi and Garelli, to prove the invalidity of the ecclesiastical censures and excommunication, imposed because he had not obtained the Church's *imprimatur*. The work was finished at the end of August, so that it could circulate among the regents of the Collateral before the vital session of 26 October 1723 (*Giannoniana*, intro., pp. 6-8).

93 Charles VI was said always to mumble or gabble, so that even 'the most skilful magician would not understand him' (H. Mercier, *Une vie d'Ambassadeur du Roi-Soleil... Comte du Lac* (Paris 1939), p. 191; quoted in McKay, *Prince Eugene*, p. 148).

on relating to my friends what had taken place, they conceived great hopes for me.

I went to pay my respects to Prince Eugene of Savoy, who welcomed me with great humanity and courtesy, and kept me with him for more than a quarter of an hour to discuss various matters, showing that he had read part of my work. He expressed his pleasure in its conception and arrangement, and asked much about Naples and especially the miraculous liquefaction of the blood of St Januarius and all that had happened to me because of the false charge spread against me that I denied it. I asked him for his patronage with His Majesty the emperor, which he willingly promised and I truly experienced, as he was kind and courteous to me on all occasions. Reassured, therefore, by such humanity, I later did not fail almost every Sunday, in the morning, which was the most suitable time, to go and pay my respects to him in his palace, when he was in the city, or in summer in his delightful and magnificent garden, where I was always graciously welcomed and shown much courtesy.[94]

I did not omit to do the same with the marquis of Rialp, who on first meeting me began to tell me that my *History* had caused a stir such as had not been heard of before with the publication of other books, and that the court of Rome was showing its displeasure, on the assumption that the *Civil History* was injurious to it and arrogant. I replied that the reasons for such a stir were known to His Excellency, as he had been informed of them by Cardinal Althann, the viceroy. As for the court of Rome, I certainly had not written the work to please it, since in doing so I would have been remiss in my honour and in the loyalty incumbent on each faithful vassal to his prince. This was the usual misfortune of anyone who set about writing on the pre-eminences and royal rights of their sovereign, and these had inspired me to begin the work, not the wish to offend others. The advantage of writers attached to the court of

94 Bertelli (B., p. 103) observes how quickly G. was accepted into the circle of Prince Eugene. G. relates to Carlo how he went to Prince Eugene's villa to observe a 'marvellous machine depicting the universe according to Copernicus' (Vienna, 24 June 1724: *Epist.*, p. 161) (above, n.91). In that circle he met Count Claude-Alexandre de Bonneval (1675-1747), one of his few steadfast protectors in Vienna, who then moved to Constantinople in the service of the Porte. On learning of G.'s tragedy in Turin, he vowed every possible assistance, but died shortly after returning to Italy (24 March 1747) and G. shortly thereafter (Panzini, *Vita*, p. 47).

Rome, was that they could write whatever they wished to demean the royal pre-eminences and exalt ecclesiastical jurisdiction, and that no one took offence and they were rewarded by that court, whereas those who wrote in support of royal authority were persecuted. I stated that it was wrong to accuse my work of arrogance, because if in Rome the sermons of Father Casini[95] did not seem arrogant or injurious, which were not only preached within the apostolic palace but also printed in Rome and reprinted later in Milan, so much less should my *History* be thought arrogant. I willingly offered it for comparison, and the test would show which of the two works were more injurious to the court of Rome and more arrogant. For that reason, I continued, I was asking His Excellency to tell those who had either written to him from Rome or informed him in Vienna of this, that I was ready to submit to this test and that one of them might come forward and prove it. I asked him also, should his onerous labours ever permit it, to spend a few hours reading my work, whereby he would be assured of what I was humbly explaining, and it would make me worthy of having his patronage with His Majesty, and that he suspend all belief before ascertaining the truth of what was suggested to him by those wishing me ill.[96]

The marquis replied with an ironic smile that, until then, he had not had time to read it, but would look into it and report my defence and whatever was necessary to His Majesty. I was well aware of the double knot binding him to the court of Rome. He had one son in Rome embarked on a career in the prelacy, and there were hopes of higher rank. One of his brothers[97] was an archbishop, who having

95 *Delle prediche dette nel palazzo apostolico da fra' Francesco Maria d'Arezzo cappuccino, oggi cardinale di S. Prisca, dedicate alla Santità di N.S. Papa Clemente XI* (Rome 1713, Milan 1714-1715) (B., p. 103).

96 G. probably had to produce the document proving that the *Civil History* had the *imprimatur* of the Collateral Council even for Rialp, and writes incredulously that 'the slander had reached even the ear of the emperor' (Vienna, 19 June, 1723: Nicolini, *Scritti inediti*, p. 52). G. asks Carlo to arrange that Argento refer to the *imprimatur* of the Collateral Council for the *Civil History* in dispatches to Rialp and the archbishop of Valencia (9 June: *Epist.*, p. 53). Among the copies of the *Civil History* requested from Carlo is one to be given to Rialp's wife, who in her circle has shown favour to G. (Vienna, 26 June 1723: *Epist.*, p. 54). Prefacing his account to Carlo of the interview with Rialp, G. however wrote: 'I do not know how many times Garelli has said and re-said to me that one should not place any reliance on the Spaniards' (Vienna, 4 December 1723: Nicolini, *Scritti inediti*, p. 74).

97 His son: Juan Perlas de Vilhena; his brother: Paul Perlas de Vilhena (1669-1730), appointed bishop of Brindisi in 1700, he became assistant to the throne in 1716;

gone from the archbishopric of Brindisi to the very rich one of Salerno, was aspiring to the rank of cardinal. He later sent to Rome two of his grandsons, sons of the countess Figheroa, his daughter, and other sons of his sister, the countess Vernera, who, after being made ecclesiastics, were aspiring to the prelacy, rich stipends and wealthy benefices. I nevertheless did not despair, because, having been informed of his nature and his ways, I was not discouraged. And I knew later that there was no need to despair.

The marquis of Rialp, apart from his eminent rank as secretary of state and being completely in the emperor's favour, which placed him above feelings of reverence and deference for Rome, was kindly by nature and averse to harming or displeasing anyone. And if others often found his administration severe, unpleasant and damaging, it was only because he was too indulgent to his relatives and favoured those recommended to him; it thus happened that other claimants with perhaps greater merit were left excluded and forlorn. For these reasons, I did not fail to present myself on the days of the audiences, and to seek out other intercessors who were his friends to speak to him on my behalf. Among these my good fortune brought the marquis Clemente Doria, who was then in Vienna, having been sent by the republic of Genoa. It was conducting a weighty lawsuit in Genoa, a dispute over a certain trust, in which it was claimed that others included in the trust but more remote in line and degree were excluded.[98] The marquis let me know that he would be extremely grateful if I would write a plea in his favour on the controversial clause, which would certainly be well received in Genoa and be considered of great weight and authority.

Although I was without any legal books, the regent Almarza had brought some with him which were enough for my purposes, and I asked to borrow them. And when I had written the plea as best I could, it was so pleasing not only to Marquis Doria, but also to his lawyers in Genoa to whom he sent it, that he generously wished to remunerate me. When I told him, however, that I claimed nothing more than his kind favour and intercession on my behalf with the marquis of Rialp, who

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he was translated to the archbishopric of Salerno in 1723, but died too soon to obtain the cardinalate, to which he would certainly have been appointed (Benedikt, *Königreich Neapel*, p. 231; B., p. 104).

98 For relevant material on his case: TAS, *Mss. Giannone*: *Giannoniana*, pp. 423-424.

was his close friend, he willingly offered to speak to him for me in the most fervent and efficacious way imaginable. And he effectively did so, either by taking me with him or by interceding for me independently by himself, so much so that I found later the marquis of Rialp to be not only sympathetic about my misfortunes but also considering giving me some relief and comfort in them.

II

[1724]

We had already entered the new year of 1724, and as I had had to abandon my profession as a lawyer practised in Naples, I lived in Vienna on the little money brought with me, and on the proceeds from the sale of the copies (of the History) sent to me, which were eventually, however, to come to an end. I therefore petitioned His Majesty either to let me return to Naples with some post commensurate with my profession as a lawyer, since by employing me in his royal service I would have had a way to support myself and be protected and safe from the traps of those wishing me ill; or if he wished to retain me at his Imperial court, that he give me the means of supporting myself. I directed myself to this end, making petitions and recommending myself not only to the magistrates who formed the Council of Spain, but also to those whose employment brought them closer to the person of the emperor.

I did not fail to be seen often at the home of the president, the archbishop of Valencia, who regarded me more kindly after he began to receive letters recommending me from President Argento.[99] Once

99 Argento's support was due also to the fact that from 1724 the opposition of the magistracy to Althann grew, and Argento guided it from the Collateral Council (Ricuperati, *Storia di Napoli*, 10 vols (Naples 1967-1972), 7, p. 400). G. wrote in 1724 of his position at court:

'... the same adherents of the court of Rome are reduced to praising my work, and impute to me only that I refer to that court with words which are too mordacious and full of resentment and hatred, although at the same time they cannot deny that I have written the truth. I am assured by channels both recondite and reliable, that the Emperor favours me. In private conversations with those closest to him he expresses feelings akin to those of the wise and unprejudiced, and, like them also, he laughs and scoffs within at the hypocrisy and superstition which that Court

when he asked me how long it had taken me to write my *History*, and I told him 'not less then twenty years', he replied that from the recondite and new matters which he had found in it, it was clearly evident that my labours must have been long, and he would have thought it the work of thirty years, not merely twenty. And given how often he referred to it with other magistrates of the Council, I certainly could have hoped for every favour. He was, however, overtaken later by a serious illness which in the summer of that same year, 1724, took his life.[100] All the deference which I had paid him and the recommendations made to him on my behalf by Argento and other friends were therefore lost.

I did not fail to recommend myself also to the grand chancellor of the court, Count von Sintzendorf (see Fig. 15)[101] to whom I was taken by the cavaliere Garelli. When I presented him with a well-bound copy of my work, he accepted it with pleasure and showed himself most generous, engaging me in a long conversation on various matters so courteously and kindly that I could not have wished for more. Having been well received on all sides, therefore, I began to hope for favourable results from my coming to Vienna.

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nurtures on purpose. At the same time, however, he does not want to be ahead of it, and he also feigns respect and reverence... With the many infamous reports which came from Naples, I found compassion in some… There is no other remedy to defeat them but simulation and suffering, and concealing from them everything to do with us, and with time we shall conquer their wickedness...' (Vienna, 22 January 1724: *Epist.*, pp. 105-106).

100 G. generously omits to mention that the good name of the archbishop of Valencia did not survive his death (Vienna, 12 August 1724: *Epist.*, p. 173). On G.'s arrival, the nuncio Grimaldi had tried, in fact, to convince the archbishop to use his influence to have G. arrested: Chapter Five: Appendix [40].

101 Philipp Ludwig von Sintzendorf (1671-1742), after serving in the army, was from 1695 entrusted with diplomatic missions and was made under-secretary in 1701; he accompanied Joseph I in the war of the Spanish Succession, and was made court chancellor in 1705. He became a member of the Privy Council in 1714 and was deputy Imperial chancellor in 1720 (*DBE* 2, p. 34). The expenses of his table were some 70,000 florins per annum. He was at first friendly to the party of Prince Eugene and then cultivated the Spaniards (McKay, *Prince*, p. 154).

Io. Burchardus Menckenius.
J.V.D. Potent. Reg. Pol. et El. Sax. Consiliarius aulicus
et Historiographus, Histor. in Acad. Lips. Prof. Publ.
Societatis Regiæ Britannicæ et Borus. Socius.
Rosbach sculpsit Lipsiæ

Fig. 15 Johann Burchardt Mencke (1674-1732), by Elias Haussmann. Wikimedia Commons, public domain.

FRIDERICVS OTTO MENKENIVS. D.
REGIS POL. ET ELECTORIS SAX.
A CONSILIIS AVLICIS
CIVITATIS LIPSI- ENSIS SENATOR.
ET SOCIETATI SCI- ENTIARVM BEROLIN.
ITEMQVE ARCADI- CAE ROM. SODALIS.
NAT. LIPSIAE D. III. AVG. A.C. CIↃIↃCCVIII. DENAT. D. XIV. MART. A.C. CIↃIↃCCLIIII.

Fig. 16 Otto Friedrich Mencke (1708-1754), by Johann Martin Bernigeroth. Wikimedia Commons, public domain.

In addition to all this, throughout the entire pontificate of Innocent XIII[102] no complaints came from Rome, and this pope did not concern himself with it and left the friars, of whom he was not very fond, cawing on their post. I then experienced quite the contrary from his successor, Benedict XIII,[103] as I shall relate below. And the nuncio Grimaldi, who

102 8 May 1721-7 March 1724.

103 Benedict XIII (Pietro Francesco Orsini, 1649-1730), reigned from 1724; he entered

was then in Vienna, wanted to have even less to do with them, and no word passed his lips against me to the emperor. This could have been damaging to me, since Innocent and the nuncio were very highly regarded by the emperor and in his greatest favour.

The imminence of the happy event also had a favourable effect, since the empress's confinement was at hand and everyone was under the delusion that it would be a boy. The false hopes were reinforced by a prediction, the work of a friar[104] which spread throughout Vienna, and, because people readily believe what they hope for, it was given complete credence.

The prediction was based on a letter written by a friar, which stated that, through the intercession of St Vincent Ferrer,[105] the empress was to

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the Dominican Order in 1667, was cardinal in 1672, and archbishop of Benevento in 1686. In 1725, he presided over the provincial Lateran Council, which attempted to reform the clergy. Although well-meaning, he allowed his policy to be guided by his notorious favourite Cardinal Coscia. In 1725, he also confirmed the bull *Unigenitus*, but still corresponded with the Dominican Jansenist theologian Fr Noël Alexandre and allowed the Dominicans to preach on the Jansenist idea of grace. Montesquieu wrote of Benedict XIII: 'He is much hated by the people: even his devotion is scorned, because it makes them die of hunger. Besides he has shown too much favour for Benevento—all the money of Rome goes there... His world is the kingdom of Naples and the ecclesiastical state' (*Oeuvres complètes*, ed. Roger Caillois, 2 vols (Paris 1949), 1, pp. 665, 667, 674-75, 739, 702). Baron Karl Pöllnitz, who visited Rome during Benedict's reign, observed that in the hands of the Beneventans, Benedict was like the Holy Sepulchre in the hands of the Turks (*Letters*, 3 vols (London 1747), 2, pp. 182f.). There was also the story that, during a plague of grasshoppers, Benedict cursed them and banished them into the sea! (*ibid.*, p. 205). Fr Jean François Cloche, General of the Dominicans, who was on close terms with Benedict, likened him to a hunting horn:' hard, twisted and empty' (Charles De Brosses, *Lettres familières sur l'Italie*, ed. Yvonne Bézard, 2 vols (Paris 1931), 2, p. 144). Pastor, 34, p. 298 writes: 'Nor was he free from great obstinacy in spite of all his piety, and there was a tinge of pettiness and narrowness in his character'.

104 Fra Giuseppe Domenico de Nigris. G. wrote of the matter to Carlo (Vienna, 8 and 15 April 1734: *Epist.*, pp. 134-136). See Panzini's account (*Vita*, pp. 102-106) taken from G.'s letters, criminally destroyed by the retreating Germans in the SWW, to Cirillo for 1729 and 1730. The friar Giuseppe Domenico de Nigris was famous for curing sterility in women. G. wrote every week for two years about the matter to Cirillo, in reference to the Jesuits' plots and intrigues to have de Nigris' work approved by the Viennese court. They failed, and he was left an object of scorn, especially to the emperor and empress. He went mad, but recovered his sanity enough to spurn the Jesuits and make his own way back to Naples.

105 Vincent Ferrer (1350-1419), born in Valencia, a Dominican missionary preacher. For a time he supported the Avignon papacy. He travelled widely as a missionary, and attracted a large number of followers, who were stirred to self-flagellation and other severe forms of penance. He was believed to have performed many miracles, and in later life he strove to end the papal schism. He was canonized in 1455.

give birth to a male child. And to prevent the miracle being attributed to another saint, it was added that the birth would take place

on St. Vincenzo's feast day, which fell on 5 April. The Catalans at court and all the Spaniards regarded it as an infallible prediction, because the saint belonged to their nation. And as well as having had many of his images printed on silk and paper, which they distributed everywhere, they went as far as having the saint's particular office printed, even translated into German, so that all might become devoted to him and make him their special patron, since through his intercession peace was to be given to Europe. This caused some rivalry and conflict with the Bohemians, who considered it should be attributed more to the mediation of St John of Nepomuk,[106] patron saint of Bohemia, since the empress had conceived in Prague, and it was there that first the signs, and then the certainty, of her pregnancy had been discovered. Their saint was, therefore, not to be slighted and supplanted by a Catalan foreigner. The Spaniards' faction at court and in the city, however, was stronger and more numerous, and was strengthened even more by the prince of Cardona,[107] a Spaniard, who was at that time the empress's majordomo, and by the princess of Cardona, his wife.

With everyone in this state of expectation, the fifth day of April arrived, the day on which, while the feast of St Vincenzo Ferreri was being celebrated, according to the prediction the birth was to take place. The empress had given no signs of imminent confinement, either on the morning of that day and much less on the preceding day, so that the prediction was beginning to lose ground. I remember that after lunch on that day, the regent Almarza had come to take me in his carriage for our customary promenade around the esplanade outside the city. On our way back to his home, towards evening, we were talking about the friar's hoax which had kept so many vainly in suspense, and were recalling, not without laughter, the many contrivances and illusions of the Spanish visionaries. On alighting from the carriage and going into

106 John of Nepomuk (c.1340-1393), Bohemian martyr. As vicar-general of the archdiocese of Prague, he opposed the attempts of Wenceslas IV (1378-1419) to make an abbey into a see for one of his favourites. He also refused to break the seal of the confessional and betray the queen to the king, and the king had him drowned in the Moldau. He was canonized in 1729.

107 Joseph Folch de Cardona, majordomo to the empress and president of the Council of Flanders (B., p. 108.1).

his house, however, we found many friends waiting for us with the news that the empress was already in the pains of childbirth, and in a few moments it would be known whether she had given birth to a girl or a boy. As the prediction had been proved true in reference to the exact day, we should now have been sure that, not having tricked us with the time, it would also not err with the sex.

At that very time, as I heard later from the cavaliere Garelli, who as doctor was present with the midwife and other matrons at the birth, the Spaniards who were at court were without any hesitation anticipating the archduke, whom they were calling the prince of Asturia, as he would be the emperor's first son and at the same time king of Spain. And the prince of Cardona did not restrain himself, when the empress was at the height of her pain, from knocking at the door of the chamber and having Garelli called, to whom he gave many images on silk of St Vincent and charged him to place them on the empress's shoulders, because the saint would immediately facilitate the birth. And Princess Cardona, meanwhile, did not cease to implore him in a small oratory nearby to ease the entrance into the world of the prince of Asturia. Garelli did what Cardona had ordered, and shortly afterwards the empress gave birth, not to a prince but to a princess.[108]

Garelli told me that, although the others remained cold and mute and could not disguise their displeasure at the previous false hopes, the Spaniards were undaunted and openly and boldly replied that the saint would hear their prayers another time. And when Princess Cardona heard that a princess had been born, not in the least lost for words, she replied that it was of no matter, since in the following year, on the very same day, a prince would be born.

No one then took the trouble to learn who was or was not the friar-soothsayer or to continue seeking him out, and no more was said about it. This is because the soothsayer's art is safe and never damaging to the one practising it if the predictions are not fulfilled. If, however, the case or the sequence and concatenation of events are fulfilled, the soothsayer

108 She was Maria Amalia (1724-1730). Charles VI nevertheless wrote in his diary: 'God be thanked, *fiat voluntas Dei*; werdt durch sein Gnad Bub folgen' (may God's will be done; by His grace a boy will follow): 5 April 1724: Oswald Redlich, *Die Tagebücher Kaiser Karls V* (Munich 1938), I, p. 145. See the letter to Cirillo, referred to by Panzini, *Vita*, p. 106.

is raised to sublime heights, both in terms of extraordinary rewards and of fame, sanctity, great honours, and veneration.

As the expectations of a male offspring from the empress had therefore been in vain, and the emperor had gone to Laxenburg at the end of April, as was customary, my sojourn in Vienna was becoming more inconvenient and expensive. This was because the magistrates were scattered throughout the various villages nearby. I was obliged to follow them and refresh their memory of my demands, which were either to return to Naples with some post or, if it pleased His Majesty for me to be in Vienna, to give me the means to support myself. The president of the council, the archbishop of Valencia, had died, as has been related, in that summer in his garden, and no one had been appointed in his place. The count of Montesanto,[109] who was the councillor for Naples in the Council, presided over it as the senior member. Absolute power in all matters was relegated to the person of the marquis of Rialp. As a result I personally and through the intervention of Marquis Clemente Doria repeated my petitions, and in addition the cavaliere Garelli often interceded with him on my behalf, as he knew better than the others that I could no longer support myself at my own expense at court. The whole summer passed in this way, and my only relief in the meantime was going to Perchtoldsdorf to stay a few weeks with the referendary Ploikner, or also in spending the evenings at Almarza's home, and more frequently in that of the fiscal advocate Riccardi. To the many friends gathered there Riccardi used to expound Dante's *Commedia* and reveal the beauties of that poet. Later he began to expound Descartes' *Meditations* and *Principia philosophiae*,[110] to which I listened with much pleasure and satisfaction. At the beginning of October, I fell ill with tertian fever, but Gabriele Longobardi,[111] our Neapolitan, who was also

109 Joseph marquis Villasor, the count of Montesanto (dates unknown), regent for Sardinia in the Council of Spain in Vienna in 1714, and from 1724 (until his death) president of the Council 'to the applause of all' (Vienna, 13 April 1726: *Epist.*, p. 347). G. was on good terms with him. He bestirred himself to recommend, through G., Pietro Contegna, and G. wrote that he should 'thank God and President Montesanto that the matter was successful' (Vienna, 5 July 1732: *Epist.*, p. 890).

110 *Meditationes de prima philosophia, in qua Dei existentia et animae immortalitas demonstrantur* (Paris 1641); *Principia philosophiae* (Paris 1644).

111 One of G.'s happiest memories must have been his immediate admission into a circle of friends, all associated with the Imperial library. Of his attack at that time of tertian fever he wrote to Carlo: 'I remain truly overwhelmed by the kindness with which I

physician to the emperor and my very dear friend, cured me in a few days with quinine.

When the emperor returned towards the middle of October from the Favorita[112] to the palace in Vienna, efforts were intensified on my behalf with the marquis of Rialp. After he had explained my requests and extreme need to His Majesty, he finally obtained his royal decree ordering that I be detained in his Imperial court of Vienna, and, until I were employed in some post in his royal service, I was to be given for my support twenty gold *hungarias* per month from the royal taxes of the dispatches of the Secretariat of Sicily, which amounted to the sum of approximately 1000 German florins per annum.[113] The amount was

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was treated... by Sig. Gabriele, who day and night, with continuous assistance, more than if I had been his own brother, has, with his own hands, prepared the quinine and, at the prescribed time, come to give it to me with extraordinary affection' (Vienna, 7 October 1724: *Epist.*, p. 186). See G.'s account of his wonderful friend Gabriele Longobardi:

G. to Carlo, 11 March 1724:

'What a man Gabriele Longobardi is! He has given me permission to eat meat all this Lent; has given me some *copeta* [*sic*] *di Bologna* (Bolgna sausage) and some most delicious fruit. And what is worth more than all this, a few days ago at the home of the regent Almarza, he made us laugh the whole afternoon, recounting to us a most amusing scene which took place at the palace at the interviews for the post of wet nurse for the future Imperial confinement. There were forty applicants all naked to the waist, and I cannot tell you how Longobardi, who, with Garelli, was the judge of the field, lingered in describing the beauty and whiteness of that flesh. Of each one he would have wanted to make a very precise examination and especially touch what you can well imagine. At that point, however, the empress intervened with her most absolute veto. It finished with four chosen from the forty, who will remain at court for now, and when the time comes, be reduced to two. I cannot tell you of the satirical portraits which Longobardi draws for us of common friends on the peculiarities of this country, which in certain cases is truly curious. We enjoy what is good in it and leave to the natives their barbarous and insipid amusements' (Nicolini, *Scritti inediti*, p. 97).

This extract is memorable as the only humour in the whole of G.'s work.

112 The Favorita was an Imperial palace on the outskirts of Vienna.

113 The archbishop of Valencia, as president of the Council of Spain, had been paid 20,000 florins per annum. Each councillor was paid 10,000 florins per annum (Nicolini, *Uomini di spada* (Milan 1942), p. 247). G.'s friend Alessandro Riccardi received 3,000 florins per annum as prefect of the Imperial Library, and 6,000 florins per annum as fiscal lawyer (*ibid*., p. 381). Prince Eugene told G. that with the pension 'the ice was now broken', and that henceforth he should be in a safer position in reference to the court of Rome, and that it was a good beginning (Vienna, 18 November 1724: *Epist.*, p. 198).

Girolamo Grimaldi, papal nuncio in Vienna, to the secretary of state, Fabrizio Paulucci Di Calboli, 25 November 1724:

'It is said that in the last few days the Emperor, with his diploma, has assigned a

thought paltry and slight by many and especially the Spaniards, who were used to receiving lavish pensions, and even the most thrifty believed that I should at least have been assigned 100 florins per month. And Marquis Clemente Doria told me to be satisfied for the moment with this sum, which he would contrive to have increased for me and the florins changed into thalers. Although the marquis of Rialp had not shown me the liberality usually practised with the Spaniards, its slenderness was at least compensated for by the security of the payment, because he had it paid to me on the royal taxes of the Secretariat of Sicily, not at that time incorporated and confused with the taxes of the dispatches of Naples and Milan, which came under the administration and free disposition of the Council of Spain. The archbishop of Valencia, however, had decided to keep those from Sicily separate, so that His Majesty might dispose of them to a well-deserving subject without in any way involving the Council. And, in fact, until they were incorporated in, and confused with, the other taxes, they were paid punctually to me each month. I was, moreover, patient, because although unable to maintain a carriage in Vienna as I had in Naples when practising law, I deluded myself that there would be an increase, and even that I might be employed in the royal service, as was promised in the Imperial decree, and I managed as best I could without further disturbing my poor family in Naples.

This decree was published with other benefactions conferred by His Majesty on 4 November, the feast day of St Charles, when in court there were public festivities for the emperor's name-day. I did not fail to seek an audience with His Majesty towards the end of the month, which was

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pension to Pietro Giannone, and in that diploma has declared that he had shown such beneficence to him for having published a work very useful to the Imperial service. I have had a serious talk about it with the marquis of Rialp, knowing that the dispatch would have had to pass through him. He replied that, as Giannone was reduced to great indigence, His Majesty had ordered that he be paid eighty florins a month to enable him to keep himself and not let himself be induced by poverty to make some hasty decision, and also to give him a reason to resign himself to the will of His Majesty, whose intention is that with all moderation he be content and not write another book, as it was said that he was intending. He then assured me that for the said pension no diploma has been, or will be, issued, and that His Majesty is most averse to doing anything which may displease His Holiness or give occasion for evil gossip. Although Giannone does not lack effective patrons, who wanted him to be made councillor or be provided with some honourable post in Naples, they have not been heard...'(AAV, *Germania*: Marini, *Mezzogiorno,* pp. 270-271 (doc.7)).

granted me.[114] At the audience, after humbly thanking the emperor for his clemency in giving me a means of support until I was employed in his royal service, I warmly requested him not to leave me idle and useless for long, in order that His Majesty might realize more fully the intensity of my wish to employ the remainder of my life serving him, and that perhaps he would find in me no less loyalty, enthusiasm and vigilance than in all those who had the honour of being numbered among his humble, faithful servants and vassals. The emperor graciously heard my reverent entreaties and on giving me his hand I humbly kissed it and withdrew, and went out into the antechamber. There I found some friends who congratulated me on His Majesty's benefaction and the gracious audience granted me. I did not omit to pay my respects also to the marquis of Rialp and the others who had contributed towards helping me, and thus to inform the magistrates of the Council of Spain, who expressed their pleasure and satisfaction. I could not, however, escape the envy and discontent of some of our Neapolitans, who could ill-conceal in the strained words with which they congratulated me their upset and depressed thoughts.

And thus ended 1724.[115]

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114 For an account of the audience (late November) and the reactions of G.'s friends, see letters to Carlo (Vienna, 11 November, 2 and 23 December 1724: *Epist.*, pp. 195, 201, 208); for example:

'On Monday in the evening, which was the first audience given by him for many days, he graciously had me called. And when I had rendered him due thanks and expressed my wish that he would not keep me idle in his royal service, since I had perhaps given enough instance of not being incapable or undeserving of his favours, he replied with such humanity and with well articulated words, that he was convinced of it, and would not fail, when the occasion arose, to remember my person. He then held out his hand to me which I, with a humble bow, kissed. And on telling me to rise he said twice: "Stand up", and very cheerfully and pleasantly dismissed me. Only seven or eight of us were admitted to the audience, which was very brief, and the others were all dismissed, even though among them there were personages of note. The gentleman-in-waiting, the duke of Laurino, who was in attendance that week, called me in a loud voice: "Enter Signor Giannone", and, as he is my good friend, was so pleased with this favour, because as it was late and there were so many people, he feared that I could not have spoken to him that night' (Vienna, 2 December 1724: *Epist.*, p. 201).

115 A final image of 1724 is G.'s letter relating the enthusiastic change of heart, in reference to the *Civil History*, of Francesco, duke of Castelluccio, one of Naples' most powerful families. Among the aristocrats resident in Vienna there had at last been notable praise for the *Civil History*:

'I was edified in the last few weeks by the duke della Castelluccio, who in the last year, swept away by the tide, used to talk with the others maltreating these books.

Appendix (Chapter Five)

[1]

Dedicatory epistle in the *Civil History:*

> I dare to consider *The Civil History of the Kingdom of Naples* both auspicious and fortunate for these provinces. I most humbly and with all possible reverence and devotion present it to Your Imperial and Catholic Majesty, not only because it has the good fortune to be published under a Prince both noble and mighty, magnanimous and gracious, and of such rare and wondrous goodness that, since your greatness surpasses all fame, you will not disdain to consider the lowest and most humble matters, when they are presented to you as a gift with a respectful hand. One does so also because the History was completed amid the numerous and remarkable blessings with which you have crowned this Kingdom, and amid your sublime and glorious deeds, with the report of which you have filled the whole world... The major excellence, however, for which we must give praise in your most happy Kingdom, is that you uphold with the decorum of Imperial Majesty and make prized among us and in our favour your royal rights and noble and supreme royal rights (*Regalie*), in order that the borders between the Priesthood and the Empire can no longer be confused as they were. Under your auspices these two powers were reduced to one perfect harmony and agreement, and by your laudable attention to the external Ecclesiastical political system (*politia*), you reveal that you are completely disposed to restoring discipline in the Church, of which by Divine Institution you are the protector and advocate. Today, therefore, one may admire Ecclesiastical Justice and Jurisdiction in its correct place, whereby to the Priesthood is left what is God's and to the Empire what is Caesar's... Upheld in this work, noble Prince, when the occasion demands, are your royal rights and privileges, and the reasons for them are clarified with sincere and pure truth, not with any intention of reducing in others what is due directly to them, which would not become your holy mind. They are upheld to reform by legitimate means those abuses to which human nature has abandoned itself in the course of time, and because of the affection and ardour which

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Given time, however, because he leads a retired life, he had the opportunity and leisure to read them through from beginning to end. I have never been to see him, but he nevertheless sent someone especially to give me an actual message that, in order to disburden his conscience, he asked my pardon, if, following malignant reports, he had gone about castigating them; but that now he could give an account of them to everyone and prove them impostors; and against every one he would defend them as veracious and holy' (Vienna, 12 August 1724: *Epist.*, p. 172).

> each of your faithful vassals holds dear, both for love of truth and the obligation due to one's Lord, and because it is in our own interest to uphold them. And therefore, if I am not mistaken, may others not only not seem displeased if I am seen to have defended your rights with Christian sincerity, but also may this *History* be rendered worthy of the noble protection of your powerful hand.[116]

[9]

St Januarius.

Legend has it that Januarius was the bishop of Benevento (where statues of him abound). Under the persecutions of Diocletian and Maximian, he was thrust into a fiery furnace and walked out completely unharmed. He was then thrown into a pit with wild beasts, which lay down at his feet and he could be killed only by being beheaded. The relics allegedly produced many miracles, including calming the eruptions of Vesuvius. The 'miracle of St. Januarius' did not occur until the 15th century. Charles De Brosses wrote during his visit to Naples in 1739: 'This miracle is a rather pretty piece of chemistry... The operation does not always come off as well as one might wish, a saint sometimes has fantasies, and then there is great grief among the people, who believe that earthquakes are not then far off'.[117] G. wrote himself on the pernicious effect of the 'miracle': 'These are the effects born of the negligence and heedlessness in not repressing at the outset and preventing taking root in the minds of men such superstitions which can turn the State upside down' (Vienna, 10 January 1733: *Epist.*, p. 944).

In 2005, Professor Margherita Hack and scientists at the Italian Association for the Study of the Paranormal stated that the phial contained 'an iron-based chemical compound dating from medieval times'. The dark brown gel was solid until shaken, when it liquefied.

Professor Hack said the compound was hydrated iron oxide or FeO (OH), which had the characteristics of blood....

> Disasters reputed to have struck when the blood failed to liquefy include the plague of 1527, in which tens of thousands died, and the earthquake in southern Italy in 1980 that killed 3000.[118]

116 The English translation used throughout is that of James Ogilvie (London 1729-1731).
117 *Lettres familières*, ed. Bézard, 2 vols (Paris 1931), 1, pp. 419-420.
118 *The Australian*, 21 September 2005.

[12]

Meeting of the Collateral Council 12 April 1723:

His Excellency then began to discuss the scandal given to plebeians by the *Civil History of the Kingdom of Naples*, written by Doctor Pietro Giannone, for having in his volumes of the said *History* given voice to certain matters of which it would have been better to have remained silent, or to have referred to them with due reverence and modesty: that the major part of those matters which he had strained to bring out in his *History* displays an erudition not entirely corresponding to the good customs of a historian, and less to that of a good Christian. It is also said that the Regent of the Vicaria has reported the discovery in the Piazza di Nido of a picture in which G. is depicted being whipped on a donkey, and that the common people have acquired such a hatred for him that he, Giannone, had done well not to appear. In reference to that, it is also said that the Jesuit Fr Franco had twice in his sermons inveighed against Giannone from the pulpit, once in the Church del Gesù Nuovo, and once in that of Costantinople, and that, carried away in an indiscretion of zeal, he had said that Giannone and his books had referred to the Pontiffs with little veneration, and that the Pontiffs had appointed the Emperors. It is said that the Viceroy therefore had summoned the Provincial of the Jesuits and ordered him to forbid the said Fr Franco to preach, reproving him for his scandalous licence in referring so shamelessly to the matter. And he asked the Regents their opinion both of the Jesuit Fr Franco and what was to be done about the said books, adding that he had also learnt of the City's decision to remunerate Giannone for writing the said history, and that in this, he felt, it has not done well, having acted too quickly, before the books had received the usual approval by the superiors.

Sig. Mauleon said that to his mind Fr Franco should be expelled from the Province by informing the Provincial that it had been thus ordered; that all the books be withdrawn, both those at the Printers as well as those already published without the due permission of the Government, contrary to the form of the Royal Regulation; and that therefore the printer should be imprisoned, so that later, moreover, more discussion at greater leisure be given to what remained to be done with the said book.

The Regent Mazzacchera stated that the printer should be imprisoned; that the books should be withdrawn into the keeping of the Secretary of the Kingdom; that the decision of His Excellency relating to Fr Franco had been an excellent one, and that also the Provincial be ordered to have him expelled; and finally that the City be told that His Excellency disapproved of the steps taken without his knowledge for Giannone.

The Duke di Lauria, Sig. Giovene and Sig. Pisacane agreed with the

preceding votes.[119]

In the *Racconto di varie notizie* (Naples 1997), p. 35, it is stated:

> When in 1723 Pietro Giannone had furtively published four volumes entitled *Civil History of Naples*, written and composed in elegant style, he alluded to the abuses of the Religious who profit from engaging in trade and industry to make money, a thing which is forbidden them, and many other curious matters. And because he rashly made some improper propositions, by deriding many devout practices, showing the indulgences related to the Scapular of the Carmine and the Belt granted by the Pontiffs to be untrue; and because it contained other folly, he made people believe that he gave little credence to the Catholic Religion. On 28 April there was published against the said Giannone the Archbishop's excommunication for having published (the History) without his licence, since it contained illicit and heretical propositions. And when acquainted with the said Volumes, the Roman Court rigorously banned them with the following declaration:
>
> This Congregation of the General Inquisition was held before the Sanctity of Our Lord on 1 July of the current year (1723). After the votes and opinions were expressed by its renowned Masters and Professors of Sacred Theology, and the Qualificators and Most Excellent Cardinal-General Inquisitors, they damned and banned the four Volumes published in the current year 1723 in Naples by the printer Nicolò Naso, entitled: *Civil History of the Kingdom of Naples*, written by Pietro Giannone, Neapolitan, JuristConsult and Lawyer…
>
> And when the Sacra Congregazione grants permission to read banned books, at the end of the licence it expressly orders: '*Provided they are not the Works of Giannone*'. After a short time, the said Giannone was called [sic] to Vienna to remove him from Naples, for fear that his bad intentions would be passed on to others, thus forming a new sect, since he ran the risk one morning of being stoned by the People, and was saved from the furore by retreating into the Church of San Nicolò de' Pij Operaj.

G. wrote to Carlo from Vienna: 'And everyone [here] is astounded both at all the slanders invented against me in that diabolical and ignorant country, and the cowardice of those who, by virtue of office, were obliged to defend me, and let themselves be guided by the gossip of the vulgar herd and by excessive scruples'.[120]

119 AS Naples, Cod. XI, A.20; *Materie di Collaterale*: Volpicella, 'Parere del Collaterale', *ASPN*, 1 (1876), 118-122, pp. 119-121.

120 Vienna, 3 July 1723: Nicolini, *Scritti inediti*, p. 56.

As shown above, G. had fulfilled all the provisions legally necessary to publish the *Civil History*. The viceroy Cardinal Althann and the Collateral Council acted illegally, therefore, in ordering the confiscation of all copies of the work and the imprisonment of the printer. Panzini refers also to the ominous allusion in the minutes of that meeting of the Collateral Council: 'There were some regents in that Council who were of the view that to quieten the people, G. should be placed under arrest and held in custody for some time, but, although this view was accepted by many of those regents, it was not implemented'.[121] Even though Anna Cassella firmly rejects this threat,[122] the reference reflects the cowardice of G.'s own professional colleagues. The next viceroy, Count Alois Thomas Raimund von Harrach (1728-1733), condemned the immorality of that Collateral, which called for, and obtained, the arrest of the innocent printer Niccolò Naso and the confiscation of the entire edition of the *Civil History*. As was reported to G. in a letter from his friend Biagio Garofalo: 'At that time fault, fear and cowardice characterized the Collateral, which showed no courage, and the positive failure of Cardinal Althann'.[123] At this crucial meeting the delegate of the Royal Jurisdiction, Argento, absented himself, thus failing to intervene in the attack on the Royal Prerogative and the rights of the prince, which it was his duty as delegate to safeguard, and to protect the rights of G., his student and friend. G. was thus left without any official support whatsoever. The Gran Corte della Vicaria immediately implemented the order to confiscate all copies of the *Civil History*. The leading magistrate of the Vicaria, who was G.'s friend and Argento's nephew, Francesco Ventura (1680-1759), nevertheless straightaway warned G., so that, in fact, all copies could be hidden and saved, with only a few left on purpose in the bookshops.[124]

[14]

G. on Roman concubinage:

> ... Among the Romans Concubinage was lawful, and not only tolerated, but allowed... and the Man might lawfully have as his companion either

121 *Vita*, p. 26.
122 In *P.G. e il suo tempo*, p. 568.
123 Garofalo to G., November, 1730: *Epist.*, p. 1129.
124 Panzini, *Vita*, p. 29.

a Wife or a Concubine, but not at the same time both a Wife and a Concubine, because that was reckoned Polygamy as much as the having of two Wives. The custom was likewise continued afterwards, when by the Means of Constantine the Great, the Empire had embraced our Religion, who tho' he put a restraint on Concubinage, yet did not abolish it, and it was retained for many Ages by the Christians of many Nations of Europe.[125]

In Aftertimes, Concubinage was prohibited by the Civil Law, and by many Councils afterwards it was declared unlawful; so that, it is not now, as formerly, a lawful Conjunction but scandalous and opprobrious; and to keep a Concubine is looked upon at Present to be as great a crime, as to commit Adultery, Incest or any other wicked Lust. Thus Time changes Things, and what was formerly honest and lawful becomes shameful and blameworthy.[126]

[28]

G. to Althann, Naples, 22 April 1723, in defence of the publication of the Istoria civile:

Most eminent Sir, Pietro Giannone, Lawyer of the supreme Tribunals of this City of Naples, humbly expounds to Your Excellency how, on publishing the *Civil History of the Kingdom of Naples*, he dedicated it and placed it under the protection of our Most August Emperor, of whom it was worthy, to champion and clarify his noble prerogatives and supreme rights in this Kingdom, of which he is absolute monarch. Because that has not pleased the advocates of ecclesiastical jurisdiction, they incited much persecution, of which Your Excellency is well aware, to the point of accusing him of being a misbeliever in order to bring down on him the hatred of the plebeians. The suppliant has been relieved from such oppression by your noble providence in having taken due measures to silence the instigators of such evil rumours. And when the suppliant believed, thanks to your clemency, that he had regained his peace of mind, he learned that, on the pretext that his said work was printed without the licence of the Collateral Council, the imprisonment of the printer was ordered, and that the copies be withdrawn and no longer sold. This is completely contrary to the truth, because the printing of the said work fulfilled all that our Regulations prescribed on the publication of books. On the report of the Reviewer to whom the Collateral Council submitted the said task, permission was given in writing to the suppliant

125 Bk 5, ch.5=Ogilvie, 1, p. 274.
126 Bk 11, chg.7=Ogilvie, 1, p. 563.

to publish it, as is clear from the copy of the said licence, which the suppliant presents to Your Excellency. And it was also not necessary that the said permission be printed on the frontispiece of the book, because that was not required by the said Regulations. It was enough that it be granted in writing, as is clear from the terms of the Regulation, 2 and 3, *Concerning the Printing of Books*. And since the suppliant, moreover, carried out what the said Regulations ordered, by giving copies to all the Regents and to the Circumspect Secretary of the Kingdom, he believed that he had not in the slightest way offended Royal Jurisdiction. He specially championed that very point of the licence to publish, which, however, the ecclesiastics claim as uniquely their prerogative and not that of the prince. The suppliant, however, has wanted to report to Your Excellency the truth of this fact, so as not to be blamed for what has been imputed to him. Provided that the suppression of the copies of his work was ordered for other just ends able to stir the noble mind of Your Excellency, the suppliant remains well content. Since it is the view of Your Excellency that, for reasons of calm, the suppliant betake himself to Vienna to the feet of our most August Emperor, to defend himself against all the wrong imputed to him, he will very willingly do so. He implores, therefore, the protection of Your Excellency in respect to the most August Patron, that, in his great clemency and benevolence, he will grant it. This the suppliant will consider a very singular favour, *ut deus etc*.[127]

[40]

Girolamo Grimaldi, Papal Nuncio in Vienna, to Cardinal Giorgio Spinola, secretary of state, 5 June 1723, on attempts to undermine support for G.:

As I have discovered that some are beginning to form a party in this court in favour of Pietro Giannone, author of the well-known work, and are endeavouring to interest men of letters to support him, I have also for my part set about exerting myself with due diligence with the same men of letters, and shall studiously continue to produce the impression of him which he merits, and prevent any wrong idea. Monsignor Archbishop of lo, with whom I discussed this matter yesterday, revealed an excellent attitude, and told me that on the strength of our first talk it was proposed on the day before yesterday to go to Laxenburg to discuss it with the emperor, and he would have gone had it not been necessary to come back for the waters which all of a sudden markedly increased. I asked him to make a petition at his first audience. And on the reflection that it was not possible to prevent Giannone's coming here, I nevertheless asked

127 Naples, datable to April 1723: TAS, *Mss. Giannone*: *Giannoniana*, pp. 420-421.

the same prelate on his part studiously to endeavour to distance himself from that man, if it were not his wish to have him arrested and punished as he deserves. And although he did not make himself clear, he gave me reason to hope that he will act. I shall return tomorrow to talk about it to the marquis of Rialp, when I go to the court, as he can certainly cooperate in having some good action taken. And I shall not omit to fulfil my duties with the other magistrates, as I have already done with some of them on the Council of Spain, to repair, if possible, the evil, and render useless the pernicious plans which are being formulated.[128]

Same, 3 July:

Pietro Giannone, author of the well-known work, arrived here recently and has distributed various copies of it to the magistrates and other persons of note. He has also produced the original permission obtained from the Collateral Council to publish his work, and excuses himself for not having placed it in the front of it in order not to offend the clergy. He did not request similar permission from them, because he knew that he would not have obtained it. He speaks, from what I hear, with moderation and modesty, and is willing to correct or remove from his volumes what may deserve reproof, endeavouring in this and other ways to acquire favour among those who will defend him. I have not failed, until now, to protest with the great indignation and resentment which the impudence and impiety of the man deserve, and await with impatience the qualification of his work, for which Your Eminence lets me hope, in order to be able to speak of it from a more secure foundation. I shall not fail, on my arrival in Prague, to continue even more effectively appropriate efforts with the chief magistrates, so that instead of favour the author receives a worthy punishment...

The emperor initially expressed some indignation at Giannone, considering that, among other things, he had the temerity to place the most august name of His Majesty at the front of the work which he published. Then, however, I feel that he lent an ear to the deceiving representations of Giannone's friends, and a little before his departure for Prague he expressed himself differently, so that I am greatly anxious about it. The marquis of Rialp advised me not to make much fuss, saying that it would be, on the contrary, prejudicial, and for his own part anyway appeared well disposed. When I arrive in Prague, I shall be ruled by what I shall find there.[129]

[45]

128 AAV *Germania*: Marini, *Mezzogiorno*, p. 198, doc.3.

129 AAV, *Germania*; Marini, *Mezzogiorno*, pp. 198, 268 (doc. 4).

The Palatine Library:

> The Imperial Library of the august Austrian emperors, after the restoration of their seat in Vienna from Prague, was enlarged by Emperor Leopold with rare manuscripts and most prized books. And it was fortunate in having as librarian Peter Lambeck; it was he who rearranged and enriched it with precious writings, and above all made it illustrious through his learned and very erudite *Commentarii*, published in Vienna in 1677 in eight folio volumes.[130] When I arrived in Vienna in 1723 to present my *Istoria civile del Regno di Napoli* to His Majesty the emperor Charles VI, to whom it was dedicated, I found the Imperial Library in some rooms of a house near the Imperial Palace. Its librarian was Gentilotti,[131] who, when appointed by the emperor auditor of the Ruota for Germany, went immediately to Rome, leaving as his successor Garelli, first physician to the person of the emperor, as well as Riccardi, our Neapolitan. The last, however, did not wish to be involved, so that its administration devolved solely on Garelli and two custodians who ran it [Nicolà Forlosia and Gottfried Spannagel].[132] In the meantime to prepare for it, a superb building was erected next to the Imperial Palace. Its books, however, were doubled by the new purchase of the library in Flanders [the library of Georg Wilhelm von Hohendorf (1670-1719), adjutant to Prince Eugene, which, when purchased for the Palatine Library by Gentilotti, was catalogued and arranged by Forlosia.[133] Hohendorf was a friend of G. and had intended to assist him, but was prevented by death]. The library of Hohendorf cost the emperor 100,000 florins, and required a more magnificent and large building. In my time it was completed and proved to be most superb with splendid furnishings, painting and gilding, and rich and resplendent marble. I thus had the pleasure of seeing housed in it the old library and the new one from Flanders. When the archbishop of Valencia [Antonio Folch de Cortona (c.1658-1724)], president of the Council of Spain, died [in 1724], he left a magnificent library, of numerous codex manuscripts and rare books of all kinds, since he did not spare money in acquiring them, whether from Holland, England, France and other more remote countries. The emperor purchased it also to combine it with the other two. The Imperial Library was thus marvellously enlarged, both numerically and in the quality and richness of the books, and could rival the Royal Library of Paris and any other renowned and celebrated library in Europe.

130 *Commentariorum de augustissima Bibliotheca Caesarea* (Vienna 1663-1673); P.G., *L'ape ingegnosa*, ed. Merlotti, p. 438.56.

131 See n.65.

132 *Ibid.*, p. 438.59.

133 See *L'ape ingegnosa*, p. 439.61; Ricuperati, *L'esperienza*, pp. 395-437.

> The magnificence of the building, the number and value of the books, and above all the precious and rare manuscripts which it housed, would have deserved another Lambeck as librarian. It would have been made more resplendent if at least, following the example of Abbé Bignon [Jerome Bignon (1589-1656), royal librarian from 1642], one could have consulted a well arranged catalogue of its manuscripts and books. When I arrived in Vienna, I found in the old library the custodian [G. probably refers to Gentilotti][134] with his scribes, who was engaged in this. And he told me that he was working to publish a well arranged and exact catalogue, of which there was a greater need for the new acquisitions and additions than for the two other extensive libraries. Gentilotti, in the whole time that he was librarian, had concentrated solely on those old manuscripts to find old antiphons, of which he had compiled many volumes.[135] On leaving for Rome, Gentilotti warmly recommended to his successor Garelli not to abandon his labours and defraud the republic of letters of such a useful and profitable work. Little attention, however, was properly given to his records, and nothing was done, nor was there any need to weary readers and cause them to lose time reading useless and insipid antiphons, compiled in times of ignorance and barbarism.
>
> The longed for and promised catalogue did not ever eventuate in all the years of my sojourn in Vienna, which were almost twelve, and after leaving I did not hear that it had then been finished and published. And one lost hope of it much more when in this fort [Ceva] I heard the unhappy news of the Emperor's death on 20 October 1740, and that in the next year, when Vienna was threatened by the siege, the books and manuscripts had been hurriedly transferred to Hungary...[136]

G. spent entire days in Garelli's magnificent library. The prisoner of Ceva, where he wrote *L'ape,* remembers that in a city where 'libraries were the ornament of the home, that gathered by Garelli, first physician and librarian, greatly surpassed such private libraries. He had the opportunity to enlarge it, but hardly at his own expense, because, as he enjoyed the Emperor's favour, with the acquisition of the new libraries to augment the holdings of the Palatine, the Emperor used to give him as a gift the duplicate copies'.[137] Garelli's influence with the emperor

134 *L'ape ingegnosa*, p. 440.63.
135 Gentilotti's catalogue is in Vienna's National Library, cod.ser.no. 2207-2221; on the failure to publish these catalogues, the publication of which was announced in the *Acta Eruditarum Lipsiensium*, 1727, p. 288, see Ricuperati, *L'esperienza*, p. 245; P.G., *L'ape ingegnosa*, p. 440.64.
136 *L'ape ingegnosa*, pp. 438-440.
137 *Ibid.*, p. 442.

Charles VI is reflected in the fact that, on the request of the senate of Bologna, he was able to induce Charles to withdraw the Imperial troops from Bolognese territory three months before arranged, because of their ravages of the region. The senate of Bologna then had a medal coined of Garelli's bust inscribed with his name.[138]

[57]

The reception of the *Civil History* in Vienna.

G. to Carlo, 12 June 1723:

> ... I must admit to being most obliged to Sig. Cirillo and the auditor-general [his Neapolitan friend, Muzio di Maio] for the endless favours which I receive from Cav. Garelli and Sig. Riccardi... The first visit which I made was to Sig. Garelli, to whom I took the books, and I cannot tell you how cordially I was received. He wanted to be informed about everything, and I verified to him the fraudulence of the gossip written from there, which he much enjoyed...
>
> The next day after lunch I took him the books... The very next morning he did me the honour of coming himself to my place and, delighted perhaps with the dedicatory letter and the little which he had been able to read, he embraced me and said that he had to go to the Laxenburg to the Emperor, and wanted therefore to take the books and present them to him, and ask him if, before leaving for Prague, he would admit me to kiss his hand. I then opened the chest in which they were kept, and he unwrapped them, but disapproved of the velvet binding edged with gold, and told me that the Emperor preferred rose leather. He took the books and arranged for me on the following day to be at Sig. Riccardi's to bring me his reply. With great punctuality, at the set time, I went to Riccardi's, and this is what he told me happened with the Emperor.
>
> When the Emperor saw four such striking volumes, his curiosity was aroused and he asked him what they were. He then told him of my having come to bow down before him, and that I had come expressly, since the books were dedicated to His Majesty, to present them to him, and that I was hoping for the honour of placing myself at his feet. It was evident, as Sig. Garelli said, that the Emperor had not been informed at all about the books, either for better or worse, which much pleased him. He began, therefore, with more spirit to praise the work to him, so that the Emperor told him to have the border and the velvet removed, and have them put in another cover, because he wanted to read them. Sig.

138 Suttner, *Die Garelli*.

Garelli replied that he would do so as soon as possible, and that one day he would bring me into his presence, and the Emperor showed that he would be glad. Sig. Garelli, as prefect of the Imperial Library, together with Sig. Riccardi, then had it done, and being in a quite light-hearted mood, he told me that what he earned from the velvet and the edging he put towards the cost of the new binding. What is more, with much affection he took the trouble to speak about them to Prince Eugene and to take him an unbound copy, since that was what he wished, and gave me the address, separating the others which I had brought with me for those to whom I had to give them. He said that I might take the set for the archbishop of Valencia to him immediately, as he said that, although it was difficult to have an audience at once, since he was expecting to introduce me more quickly to the Emperor than to the archbishop, it would be right at least to show him the courtesy of taking them to him. This morning then, even though it was the day of the post, since Sig. Riccardi had favoured me with his carriage, and the archbishop was in his garden outside the city, I went to see him. And if it had not been the day of the post, I would certainly have spoken to him, but the page who took the message, having gone in with my books, brought back the reply that His Excellency had been most eagerly waiting for the books and thanked me profusely; that he regretted, as it was the day for the post, that he could not speak to me, but that he was expecting me another day, since he had a great desire to meet me.... Sig. Garelli thinks it necessary to take a set also to Sintzendorf, and I have put one aside for him... I cannot express to you the warmth and diligence of Sig. Garelli in favouring me... Go therefore to Sig. Cirillo and let him know everything, paying him my respects. And ask him to write to Sig. Garelli, thanking him for all the favours which he does me.... With Sig. Riccardi and Sig. Contegna we have quite different disputes here, because they believe I have written very little, on the contrary with much adulation, of the court of Rome, by giving it more than was necessary. I have no more time to write in detail about other matters, because this week I am very busy finishing the *Apologia* [the first draft, to be amplified later], which Garelli wants so much, in order to be able to defend me with more force when the need arises...[139]

Girolamo Grimaldi to Giorgio Spinola, cardinal secretary of state, 18 August 1723:

As for G.'s books, I presented the Emperor with the decree banning them by the Sacred Congregation of the Holy Office, and with the strongest

139 *Epist.*, pp. 41-43.

remonstrances aroused the piety and justice of His Majesty to express the resentment which the work's impiety and the author's temerity deserve. His Majesty replied that he would willingly read the decree, that he had already heard of the work, but would be informed in more detail to guide his action, as he desired to cooperate in anything for the good of religion and to gratify pontifical zeal. Prince Eugene, when I informed him of the decree, told me that he had heard of the publication of the books, which were making a stir, but did not know anything more. They were new also to the prince of Trantson [Leopoldo Donato, chief majordomo to Charles VI],[140] who, however, when informed by me of the author's audacity and impiety, replied that it would be necessary to treat him as he truly deserved and not let him go about Vienna, and added that it was a matter principally for the Spanish magistrate and that, moreover, Monsignor the archbishop of Valencia has always shown much zeal in matters of religion. The count of Sintzendorf wondered at seeing the words 'not least heretical to learned men', in the decree, and said that he had heard of it, but not read it. From the marquis of Rialp I did not obtain any positive reply, because, being then very busy, he was waiting to see the condemnation before discussing the subject with me, which has not yet happened, both because of my indisposition and his impediments. Yesterday evening I informed also the archbishop of Valencia, whom I found in an excellent frame of mind, but time did not allow me to discuss the matter at length with him or discover which parts he would consider the best to induce His Majesty later to take appropriate steps.[141]

[64]

Alessandro Riccardi to Muzio di Maio, 1 June 1723, on the Civil History:

Of Giannone's book I have read so far all of the first volume and part of the second. I have come across several faults in history and other matters; for example, when he writes that Italy was divided into provinces by Hadrian; that at the time of Constantine the state of the Empire was as it was represented in the *Notitia* [*Dignitatum*]; that Theodoric, king of Italy, ruled the lands which he inherited from Gaul as lord, not as the guardian of the boy-king of Spain; that Gregory the Great deposed the bishops of Naples; that Charlemagne acquired only a title with the imperial crown, and many such trifles. As for errors, however, I came across none against Religion or good customs or modesty and discretion, if we do not wish to call an error attributing too much authority to the Roman Pontiff, as he often does. And I did not come across any arrogant words

140 Marini, *Mezzogiorno,* p. 270.
141 AAV *Germania*: Marini, *Mezzogiorno,* pp. 207, 269-270 (doc.6).

or reflections against the clergy or the monks, about which it would have been good to have remained silent. On page 316 only, there are words which, when I read them, did not worry me, but on second thoughts I felt could be subject to slander, as they virtually call praying for the dead superstition. For everything else, it is clearly understood that he damns only the abuse and the avaricious aim of the monks in such works, without damning elsewhere the error of the Greeks against Purgatory (although perhaps such an error is wrongly attributed to the Greeks) and that of Luther against praying for the dead. In general, however, the work is in itself, good and very useful, and I go around here wishing that these gentlemen in my Council would study it thoroughly, in order to understand the material on which they often have to decide without having any knowledge of it, and I have already besought one of them to read it carefully and with pleasure.

I cannot therefore begin to understand the folly and cowardice universally demonstrated there of abandoning such a useful and holy book to the rage of those scoundrels.[142]

[70]

The notice of the condemnation of the Civil History in Valetta:

The following Bull, whereby this History is confuted and condemned, having been sent to the Translator by his worthy and learned friend Doctor Richard Rawlinson, who took down the Copy of it from the West Door of the St. John the Baptist's Conventual Church, in the Island of Malta, where it had been affix'd at the Nuncio's Order, and a Reward was soon after offer'd for discovering the Person who had dar'd to take it down: It is hop'd the inserting of it here, as a curious Piece, will be acceptable to the Readers.

Decree 1 July, 1723:

In the general congregation of the Holy Roman and Universal Inquisition held in the Apostolic Palace in the presence of the Most Holy Lord, our Pope, Innocent XIII, by Divine Providence, and of the most Eminent and Reverend Cardinals-general inquisitors of the Holy Roman Church in the whole of Christendom against heretical depravity, Special Deputies of the Holy Apostolic Faith:

The most Holy Lord, our Pope, Innocent XIII, after previously

142 Copy of the excerpt of a letter written by Alessandro Riccardi from Vienna, June 1723 to Muzio di Maio, auditor of the Army of the Kingdom of Naples, in defence of G.'s book: *Giannoniana*, pp. 84-85.

holding consultations with many outstanding masters in Sacred Theology and Professors of the mentioned congregation of the Holy Roman and Universal Inquisition, and after bearing the Opinions of the said most Eminent and Reverend Cardinals of the Holy Roman Church, Inquisitors General in the whole of Christendom, has decided that the books published and divided in four volumes, entitled Historia Civile del Regno di Napoli, in 40 books, written by Pietro Giannone, Neapolitan Lawyer and Jurisconsult, by the present Decree and Apostolic authority should be utterly prohibited and damned as containing very many doctrines and propositions which are false, rash, scandalous and seditious, attacking by the highest calumny all Church Orders, and the whole hierarchy of the Church, especially the Apostolic Faith, and are erroneous, schismatic, impious, and at least heretical.

His Sanctity in reference to these banned and damned books thus forbids anyone of any status whatsoever or condition, in any way, under any pretext to reprint them or cause them to be printed, or possess them if already printed in any place in any language, or to dare to read them; that one is required immediately to hand them over to the local authorities or the Inquisitors of heretical wickedness, under the penalties of the Index of prohibited books, or any other penalties to be inflicted by the judgement of His Holiness. Antonio Lanciani, notary to the Holy Roman and Universal Inquisition.[143]

[76]

Notamenti del Collaterale, vindicating G.'s publication without ecclesiastical approval:

26 October 1723. Extraordinary Session of the Giunta di Giurisdizione (Council of Jurisdiction).

First came the President of the Sacro Consiglio and then the regent Pisacane, next the regents Alvarez and Giovene, and also the regent the duke of Lauria and the regent Mazzaccara, and finally the deputy regent. His Excellency did the honours and the Junta was summoned; that is, the four heads of the *ruota* of the Sacro Consiglio: Francesco Solanes, Benedetto Valdetano, Aniello Cappellani and Carlo Carmignano; the Adviser of the Cappellano Maggiore, councillor Bartolomeo Positano, and the two fiscal lawyers of the Camera and Vicaria, Ludovico Paternò and Cesare Buonvicino. The dean of the Camera the regent Giordano sent his apologies as he was unwell.

The President of the Sacro Consiglio proposed that, although the

143 *Civil History*, trans. Ogilvie, 2, p. 851, from the autograph in the possession of Richard Rawlinson, LLD, FRS.

matter to be treated was very vast, he intended to limit himself. He said that when the work, the *Civil History* of the lawyer Pietro Giannone, had been published, he had not requested permission from ecclesiastic authorities, which was arrogated by the Court of Rome beyond the mountains and especially in the Kingdom of Naples. And because of that, the ecclesiastics decided to have revenge, and excommunicated the publisher Nicolò Naso, who was then absolved publicly by doing also the prescribed penance. The Archiepiscopal Court then went on to summon the author, and when it notified his brother, he replied that the said Pietro had left for the Imperial Court to justify the statements made in the work to His Majesty, to whom it was dedicated. And although he had stated this also in a petition, he had nevertheless been excommunicated, on the grounds of not having obtained the licence, contrary to the bull of Leo X [1544], approved by the tenth session of the Lateran Council, contrary to Rule Ten of the Council of Trent [1545-1563], and contrary to the synods of Cardinal (Jacopo) Cantelmo and the present Cardinal Pignatelli. This had urged His Excellency to summon the Junta to see what measures could be taken to rectify the damage done to Royal Jurisdiction. He added that for every sentence in the censures, there were prejudicial statements against that jurisdiction. He said that the Bull of Leo had not received the royal *exequatur* and had never been accepted in the Kingdom. And although the ecclesiastics said that it was enough to have been published in Rome, on every count this proposition was wrong, and was considered as such by the Spaniards, Germans, French and Italians. He stated that this was inferred from the Novel Sixty-Six of Justinian, by which it is established, that the publication of civil laws in the city of Rome was not sufficient. He said also that what was established by the civil laws should apply to canon law, as stated by the archbishop of Paris. Although the Novels were not accepted by the ecclesiastics, as Cardinal [Arrigo] Noris and others attested, he confirmed it with the chapter *novit de sent. excom.* (On the sentence of excommunication). He went on to say, that in general also the ecclesiastical laws have to be published and accepted by the people as useful and necessary, and that one learns this from Demosthenes' and Aristotle's definitions of law. He added that this should apply even more to ecclesiastical laws which *nituntur voluntati, non necessitati* (rely on will, not necessity), as are the civil laws. It is therefore necessary, in order to implement them, to have the will of the people, as Gerson Navarro, Pietro de Marca and Cardinal [Nicholas] de Cusa state, and publication is necessary as Nicolò Serario affirms in *disputio de legibus* [argument on the laws]. And although Cardinal [Roberto] Bellarmino states that in the bulls the *exequatur* is not required, on every count this judgement is not accepted, as Fra' Paoli the Servite [Paolo Sarpi] states in his book on the interdict. And, in fact, the

same custom applies in Spain and Flanders, as can be read in [James] Salgado and [Zeger] Van Espen. And for the Kingdom of Naples, there are the regulations entitled *de officio* and mention is made of them by Berrel, *de praer*(*ogativis*) *Reg*(*um*) *Cath*(*olicorum* [On the prerogatives of Catholic kings] and by [Nicholas] Freret and others. From this was inferred the damage done by the excommunication pronounced by virtue of the Bull of Leo X, promulgated in 1544, when in the same year Pietro de Toledo made a provision totally contrary to it, by ordering that the books written twenty-five years previously and printed matter be reviewed by the Cappellano Maggiore. In 1550 he then published another regulation, that to print books without the permission of His Excellency, would incur a penalty of 1,000 scudi on the printers. And in 1586 the duke di Ossuna imposed another penalty. The count d'Olivares imposed yet another penalty, and previously in 1561 the duke of Alcalà had published another regulation, whereby he deputized a person to review the books, and in 1603 finally the count di Benevento and in 1648 the count di Villamediana made another provision. The Bull of Leo, therefore, could not be permitted, and was not to be applied where it was not accepted, as Giacomo Gressero [Jacob Gretser S.J.], states: *de antiquo iure et modo prohibendi expurgandi et abolendi libros malos* (On the ancient law and method of banning, cleansing and abolishing evil books) [Ingolstadt 1603]. The other very great prejudice is that in Leo's Bull expression is made of the fine, which can in no way be permitted to ecclesiastical courts; that he does not begin to see who was to have the authority to have the books reviewed, but well knew that in all the councils it was declared to be the concern of the secular power, on which see [Cesare] Baronio volume II [of his *Annales,* 12 vols (Lucca 1588-1607)], the *Monarchia di Sicilia*. He added again that secular penalties could be imposed only by secular princes, and that has been set down numerous times. And although some adduce the chapter *quia fraternitatis causa* [for the sake of fraternity], Giacomo Gressero makes an excellent reply to that.

As for the examples, a printer had printed the work of Fr. Paolo Foscarini [1565-1610], and was imprisoned by the Holy Office, on the grounds that there was no licence for the work, which dealt with the movement of the earth.[144] He was therefore imprisoned and condemned to pay the penalty by virtue of Leo's Bull. When the councillor Riccio wanted to print the third part of the *decisiones*, its review was submitted to the Royal Reviewer. And because they contained the case of the above printer, the Royal Reviewer stated that it could not be published because Leo's Bull was not accepted in the kingdom, and in fact this decision was annulled.

144 *Epistola... circa Pythagoricorum et Copernici opinionem* (Naples 1641).

Domenico Maccarone printed the book by Pietro Urries, *Otium aestivum* [Summer ease, 1627], which dealt with the rite of the Gran Corte della Vicaria [High Court of the Vicariate] on the cognizance of the clergy. The messengers of Mons. Petronio, commissioner of the Holy Office, imprisoned him, and when interrogating him, he stated that on this point he could not be interrogated. When it was investigated by the Collateral with the Junta, it sent them a message that the said bull was not accepted; the message was sent by the councillor Ferrante Brancia, and he was imprisoned under the warrant *per palatium archiepiscopalem* [through the archiepiscopal palace]. The Collateral ordered that it be disobeyed, as can be found written in the jurisdictional books. Today, however, one sees that in Volume III *de Riccio* this decision was printed very unwisely, although the said decision seems like a badly written novel, and it is necessary, therefore, to remain attentive, as Fra' Paolo the Servite states in his history.[145]

He writes that Leo's bull was promulgated at a time when Luther's heresy held sway, and it could be seen from the context of the Bull that it referred solely to heretical books or those containing heresy. [Francìsco] Suare [S.J.], [Antonio] Pallavicino, and Henri de Spond therefore admit that, before the Index of Paul IV in 1559, there was no banning (of books). This was confirmed by the observation that the penalty of burning in the said Bull was imposed only on the books of heretics, which can also be read in the Acts of the Apostles Chapter Eighteen, apart from the Law 5C *de haereticis* [On heretics] and Gonzales in Chapter Four *de haereticis*.

He states, moreover, that Leo's bull referred only to the printers, not the authors. It was interpreted in this way by the Council of Trent in its fourth session [1546], and thus it was attested by all the authors, and this was the other reason why it was never put into practice.

Apart from the fact that it could not be put into use, the ecclesiastics also agree that all the censures imposed in the Lateran Council in which this Bull was approved had never been accepted, or were abolished as contrary to use, as is asserted by Gaetano, Bartolomeo Carampa and Fr [Francisco] Suarez. And it is consequently totally prejudicial that the said censure has been pronounced by virtue of the said Bull. He added that the work [the *Civil History*] was for the most part directed at supporting the royal rights and royal jurisdiction, and, therefore, according to what is laid down in the books of jurisdiction entitled *de typographis et de impressione librorum* [On printers and the printing of books], the licence should not be sought for this type of book when the ecclesiastical Court would not give it.

He stated that in the censure it was said to be against Rule Ten of the

145 *Istoria del Concilio Tridentino* (London 1619).

Council of Trent; wherein it was revealed to be a very great error, because [Zeger] Van Espen and the others state that the Index and the rules cannot be said to be those of the Council of Trent. It would, moreover, be a very fine thing if the ecclesiastics wanted to establish in the Kingdom of Naples Rule Ten, whereby other matters are established which were never accepted or practised.

He stated that Session Four of the Council of Trent referred only to books relating to the Holy Scriptures. And in the time of Cardinal Alessandrino [Carlo Bonelli], the duke of Alcalà wrote to the Court of Madrid, that the ecclesiastical Court wanted to arrogate to itself that authority which it did not have. At that time, however, began the abuse of having the licence sought for other types of books, on the grounds that they might contain material from the Holy Scriptures.

He stated that in the censures the synod of Cardinal [Giacomo] Cantelmo was being quoted. This, however, was published in Rome, there was no royal *exequatur*, and it referred only to the printer, so that it was in no way to be observed, because the synods had also to be reviewed by the delegate of Jurisdiction, as was determined by the Collateral Council in 1580.

He concluded that this subject, although slight, ought, nevertheless, be examined, because it could cause much inconvenience. He had no doubt that in itself it inevitably prejudiced jurisdiction, especially since the banning was not done for some error, but out of respect for the defence of royal rights, as observe, among others, [Francisco] Suarez and [Francisco] Salgado, in (*Tractatus*) *de... bullis apostolicis et de earum retentione* (*in senatu*) [On the Retention of Bulls in the Senate; That Is, their Not Being Published (Lyon 1639)] and also Mons. Tallon, lawyer of the Parliament of Paris. And a submission was presented on it also by the Council of Brabant to Emperor Leopold [HRE 1657-1705]. The strongest measures, therefore, should be taken to restore royal jurisdiction.

He added, however, that he understood that the cardinal had written to have Giannone's absolution made *a quolibet confessorio* [by any confessor], and had had the censures removed, but while that had served Giannone personally, the injury done to Royal Jurisdiction was not healed and needed strong measures. A precise decision, therefore should be reached on what measures are to be taken for the decorum of the government and the said Royal Jurisdiction.

The fiscal lawyer of the Vicaria stated that other information was required to describe the damage done to Royal Jurisdiction, after agreeing with the President's erudite vote; that the said President had already referred to the damage inflicted by the censures. He summed up the considerations made by the said President, especially on the fact that the Bull had not been published, and there had been no royal *exequatur*. And

to the theory of Cardinal [Roberto] Bellarmino, he replied that also for the Bull *In Coena domini* [On the Lord's Supper, 1363 and later] the royal *exequatur* had been required, and the duke of Alcalà had imprisoned the printers, because they had printed them without permission. And there was no doubt for the manuscripts of Royal Jurisdiction that also in the jubilees and other spiritual matters one implemented the *exequatur*. He went on to say that the *exequatur* could not be applied to the said Bull of Leo, because it contained such penalties as cannot be prescribed by the ecclesiastics. He added that it referred to the books of heretics, and that in manuscripts of them it was discovered that the nuncio wrote to King Philip II that the royal *exequatur* was not involved, as the *Reg. de Pont.* reported, so that it was incontrovertible that the said royal *exequatur* was indispensable, and was thus in practice also in Flanders. He stated that the ecclesiastical authors are divided into three classes: one, that the Bull refers to the books of heretics; the second, that it refers to the printers, as Cardinal Gaetano affirms; and the third, that it has never come to excommunication. He added, moreover, that it was necessary to show fortitude in this matter, in order that the priests do not acquire any reason to allege control, especially during the government of a prince of the quality of His Excellency. He said that in the courts of priests, when some prejudice to Royal Jurisdiction is inferred, notes are made to take advantage of it when the opportunity arises. He stated that Giannone's work is directed at supporting the royal rights of His Majesty, and given, therefore, that the ecclesiastic Court had excommunicated the author, if strong steps are not taken, it will be most prejudicial and with time will be irreparable. As it is the first time this has happened, he requested that a message be sent to the cardinal declaring the censures void; and if the matter is opposed, one should resort to the confiscation of secular property, the imprisonment of his relatives, and the other usual economic expedients taken in similar matters of royal jurisdiction.

The fiscal lawyer Paterno stated that the President had clarified everything, and so as not to repeat things already said, he was limiting himself solely to the petition. He considered the censures unjust and void; unjust because promulgated without the judicial order, since the principle was not indicated; unjust because neither the Bull of Leo, nor the rule of the Index, nor the Lateran Council refer to the author; unjust because these excommunications of the Lateran Council were not in use, and had, in fact, been expressly annulled by Rule Ten of the Index and the instruction of Clement VIII. In these terms alone the secular prince was to defend Giannone, but, moreover, the said censures were void, because the licence was to be granted solely by the Collateral, as can be seen from the Chapter *de haereticis quicumque*, and from Novel Forty-two, and other examples referred to by Mons. Ricciuli *de personis*. He added

> that Caevallos stated that the said Bull was not accepted, as in other places overseas, and that in our kingdom there were many regulations. It was therefore certain that the ecclesiastics had no jurisdiction, and when they did make some attempt, the royal magistrates were always strongly opposed to it; that this time they were claiming an innovation not ever directed against an author. He concluded, therefore, by requesting that the Archiepiscopal Court be warned that the said censures should be declared void; and that the law be renewed which determines that books can be printed only with permission from His Excellency and the Collateral.
>
> As the hour was late, His Excellency ordered that the vote be taken on another day, and the Court was dismissed.[146]

The accompanying letter of the nuncio, 13 November 1723:

> At the Collateral Council which met on the matter of the censures published against Pietro Giannone, about which we advised Your Eminence, a submission was distributed to each of the Regents and other magistrates of the Junta, who took part. The submission claimed to prove, that against the Authors of books printed without the ordinary's permission, the ecclesiastical court cannot proceed to excommunication. As we succeeded in having a copy of it, we enclose it here for Your Eminence, so that you may observe the tenor of it. In this affair, apart from what Your Eminence was advised, we have not heard any other news. And making you a profound reverence...[147]

Submission by G. presented to the Giunta di Giurisdizione (*Court of Jurisdiction*) *in the session of 26 October 1723:*

> The excommunication pronounced by the Archiepiscopal Court of Naples last April of this year of 1723 against Don Pietro Giannone for having had his *Civil History of the Kingdom of Naples* printed without the licence of the Most Eminent Archbishop Pignatelli is null by order and justice, and would greatly prejudice Royal Jurisdiction if not given prompt and appropriate remedy.
>
> In reference to the order, it is true that some days before passing sentence and posting the notice, Don Pietro was cited as being in his customary home, and therefore his brother Don Carlo went immediately to the archiepiscopal court, where he pleaded his absence, substantiated

146 Notamenti del Collaterale, 131: draft in Naples State Archives, cc.359f.; minutes of the session of 26 October 1723: *Giannoniana*, pp. 43-48.

147 Nunciature of Naples, Andrea Auditore, Puccinelli administrator, Pier Girolamo uditore, Gugliemi administrator: AAV *Napoli* 166: *Giannoniana*, pp. 149-150.

by the copy of the passport which, two days before, he had obtained from the Secretariat of War, in order to set out at once for the Imperial Court. And this had, in effect, already happened. And as well as that, he proved to the Monsignor Vicar, with another separate document, the reasons which did not necessitate Don Pietro's remaining fraudulently hidden, as was irrationally stated by those claiming his absence. They, however, without paying any heed to such powerful evidence, went ahead with the excommunication in absentia.

It is generally considered by the most renowned canonists that the sentence of excommunication is null and void, if pronounced without first warning the guilty sinner personally with the summons. This is asserted in common thus by [Roberto] Bell(armino), *disq.Cler*., first part, title *De favor.Cler.canon*, #4 no.21; [Agostino] Barbosa, *ad Cap.Sacros.* n.4 *de sententia Excom*(*municationis*); [Juan] Gonz(ales) *ibidem* n.7; [Orazio] Marta, *De Iurisd*(*ictione per et inter iudicem ecclesiasticum et secularem exercenda*) [Geneva 1620, part 3, ch.2, no.8], and others. And the reason deduced by them for this good opinion is clear and unchallengeable, since by summoning in person the guilty individual, either he will be slack and not appear, so that because of the sin committed and for his contempt, he will be justly excommunicated; or as the obedient son, born and bred in the bosom of the Church, he will easily accept the canonical admonitions and immediately amend his error, which without doubt it must be believed that Don Pietro would have done, if he had been present.

One can, therefore, clearly observe not only the irremediable invalidity coupled to the sentence of excommunication, but also discover the intention of the ecclesiastics who, not to neglect any opportunity to assert their jurisdiction, even when inapplicable, and to reduce Royal Jurisdiction, wanted to introduce a notorious abuse.

These acts of violence, or as they are appropriately termed by [Francesco] Salgado, in the treatise *de Supplic*(*atione*) *ad S*(*anctissimum de litteris et bullis*) [Lyon 1620] notorious abuses, provide sufficient reason on many other considerable grounds for the invalidity of the above sentence. And when not even those reasons were enough to prove it null, and cause the Supreme Collateral Council and the Gentlemen assisting to block it, fitting is the remedy wisely advised for it by Rene [Choppin], *de Sac*(*ra*) *Polit*(*ia*) *forensic* [*libri III* (Paris 1589)], Book One, title 7, no. 2: 'Such is the force of royal rights (*Regalia*) that, if a candidate of the Roman pontiff is striving to do something by which royal rights are lessened, the Curia will cancel it as an illegal action'. At least Don Pietro will not have to remain compromised for canonical reasons.

And even more so must the Supreme Senators remedy it, if we take into consideration how gravely it prejudices the supreme rights of our

monarch, which must be noted in second place.

In reference to justice, it is necessary to note the constitutions, by virtue of which the sentence of excommunication is pronounced.

As you will see, there are four constitutions; that is, those of Session Ten of the Lateran Council [1515], the words of which are as follows:

'We have established and order that otherwise for all future time no one shall presume to import any book or any other writing in to either our city or the other cities and dioceses, or to cause it to be printed, unless previously approved in the City by our agent and the Master of the Sacred Palace; in other cities and dioceses they are to be examined by the bishop, or someone else having knowledge of the book or printing or writing of this kind, by the same bishop deputized for this, and the inquisitor of heretical wickedness of the city or dioceses in which the printing of books of this kind is to be done, and by the subscription of their own hand, under penalty of sentence of excommunication. Who, however, shall presume otherwise, apart from the loss of the printed books and their public burning, and the payment of one hundred ducats to the Fabbrica (the department of Building Works of St Peter's Basilica) of the Prince of the Apostles, will be restrained by sentence of excommunication without hope of remission, and the suspension of the exercise of printing for one year. And only now, with increasing stubbornness, in such a way he is to be punished by his bishop or our agent with all the remedies of the law, so that others may least presume to attempt anything similar following his example. Given at Rome in the public session solemnly celebrated in the Holy Lateran Basilica in the Year of the Incarnation of Our Lord, 1515, 4 May, in the third year of our pontificate, in *Bullar. Rom*. vol.1, Bulla 12 nos 2 and 3.'

From the Council of Trent in its Rule Ten, the words relating to the said Bull are:

'In the printing of books and other writings there applies what was decided in the Lateran Council under Leo X, session Ten.'

From the Diocesan synod of the most Eminent [Jacomo] Cantelmi, in ch.5, *De editione, atque usu librorum*, no.2, the words are:

'No one shall presume to print any book, or any sheet, containing historical deductions, poetry (even sacred), small orations, or the like, by whatever name they are called, and even more so, those which contain indulgences, revelations, miracles and prayers, in this city or diocese, except after prior examination, by us or our deputies, and except where permission is soon to be given by us or our vicar-general, along with an order to be placed at the end. And even less is it allowed to publish those books or sell them, unless all are compared with the first example, which must be signed by the hand of the revisor, and permission be given to publish and sell by us or our vicar-general. Nor shall he dare to

reprint any book or writing, printed either here or elsewhere, or less to print anything by falsifying the press. Whoever in truth contravenes this decree in any way shall be liable to the penalties of the sacred canons as well as others.'

The synod was published in Rome, as can be read: 'in Rome, at the press of the Reverend Apostolic Chamber, 1694'. And the edict of the present most Eminent Pignatelli was published on 13 August 1707 is to this effect.

Of Rule Ten of the Council of Trent there is no mention, and it refers us back to the session of the Lateran Council, since no less in the last two will it be argued that they do not speak against the authors of books, but of the printers. These rules must be limited by Sacrosanct Councils, even if they speak in general, in accordance with statements of Scrader. *Consilio* 12, no.68, Alder(ico) Mascar(di) [*Communes ad generalem quorumcumque statutorum interpetationem* (Ferrara 1608)], Concl. 2, no.72, referred by the author quoted in the book *de Supp(licatio)ne ad S(um) mum*, first part, Chapter Two, no.145, where can be read: 'The new law providing for it is the common law or referring to it', as, in fact, are the two constitutions of the most Eminent Cantelmi and Pignatelli.

'It accepts all the initiatives, amplifications and declarations as the common law on the same point and matter.'

What is more, Cantelmi's Synod, quoted in the said document, was printed in Rome and was not ever accepted in this city, and the necessary Royal Exequatur was therefore not sought. It was, therefore, never observed. And the edict of the very Eminent Pignatelli, issued in this way, did not ever have any validity. And there cannot be any, since they lacked what was required for publication; that is, the Royal Exequatur and the licence of the Royal Collateral. So much more must be confirmed every year, given its nature, and it has fallen into disuse, because despite every effort, it could not be found even in the archives of the Archepiscopal Court. We shall briefly examine, therefore, only the provision of the Lateran Council in its tenth session.

Pope Leo X in the third year of his Pontificate [1515] promulgated a Bull in which it was ordered that books could not be printed without the licence of the ordinaries and Inquisitors of the City and dioceses; and it imposed on those who dared to print books without approval the penalty of losing the books, which were to be publicly burned; they were, moreover, to pay 100 ducats to the Fabbrica di S. Pietro in Rome; and the printers were to be suspended from exercising their profession for one year, and also to be declared excommunicated. And he had the Bull confirmed by the fathers of the Council, which at that time was being held in the Lateran in its tenth session. Pope Leo, therefore, decreed temporal and spiritual punishment against the transgressors of this his

ruling or, more precisely, of what was laid down in the Lateran Council. To enlighten us, it is necessary to know first who are and must be the transgressors of this law; and secondly, how it is implemented in terms of both temporal and spiritual punishment.

In reference to temporal punishment, it must be realized that the writers who have written on this Bull have without doubt interpreted it as referring to the printing of books by heretics, which either come out effectively under their name or tacitly so. Thus testify [Juan] Gonzales in Chapter Four of *de* (*extremis*) *haeret*(*icorum erroribus*)[Liège 1708]; Pietro Cenedo, who makes the same observations; Theophyle Raynaud, in his *Critica Sagra*, volume II, entitled *de bonis et malis lib*(*ris*), first part Erot. 1 and 3; and there are infinite other references by [Agostino] Barbosa in *Collectanea doctorum qui in suis operibus Concilii. Tridentini loca referentes*) [Lyons 1721]. Session Four.

I am therefore convinced that there can be no other transgressor than the printer or, as we like to call him, the typographer, and there is no lack of authority for such an assertion. Bartolomeo Ugolino in the treatise *de Censuris romano Pontifici reservatis, verbo imprimentes Bullae Pii V* [Venice 1602], by interpreting with a different purpose the words of our Bull *Imprimentes et imprimi facientes*, is disputing whether the author of the book is to be understood in the *imprimi facientes* [those who carry out the printing]. He states no, and adds the reason with these words:

'He is to be punished differently... What penalty will the authors of a book deserve which is greater than that established in the said Bull, given that one always wants to call Christians "Catholic"?'

This invalidity is none other than that already termed unsound, inasmuch as it has to castigate the author, who is not at least explicitly included in the Bull, which as penal law must always be restricted, by the provision of the law, to the terms in which it is expressed. And, moreover, so much less should it be enforced in our kingdom, where every day writings are printed or given for printing by the most eminent men, concerning the rights of Our Invincible Monarch, the Princes of the Most Faithful City, and finally in the actual tribunals for the common good, without the ordinaries' permission and approval. That must be taken into consideration, because also in the Bull are to be read very general words: 'or any other writing whatsoever.' If ever one begins to exercise censure, what will be the damage done to Royal Jurisdiction, to the City, and, by legitimate consequence, to the whole kingdom?

So much more will the supreme rights be prejudiced if it is intended to implement the Bull for the punishments.

For the temporal punishment which the ecclesiastics have attempted to implement at other times and before the spiritual in order to usurp jurisdiction, Bartolomeo Cioccarelli gives us precious documentation in

Volume Seventeen of his manuscripts, under the heading of 'printing and printing houses', with a reminder, therefore, to give them [the laws] timely counterbalance, in case they are renewed.

As for the spiritual punishments, even if we do not wish to table the legal provisions and words of very learned authors, such as Giampietro de Moneta, *de Conserv*(*atoribus iudicibus*) [Lyon 1619], Chapter Seven, no. 611 *cum seq.*, and Felin(o Sandeo), in *Can*(*onum*).*inter*(*pretatio*) no. 1 no.5, they show that when a law establishes different punishments for the same crime, it happens that the prescribed punishment cannot be implemented for one part of the law, and is also invalid for the other. Suffice to say, that the same ecclesiastical writers, of great number and first rank, have doubted, rather than been convinced, that the excommunications prescribed in the Lateran Council on this point are ever exercised.

Agostino Barbosa in the above-mentioned passage in Number One:

'Whether this excommunication is accepted for use, when almost all other excommunications of the same council are not accepted for use, is attested by Cajetanus II exc. in fine no.81 and others.'

Bartolomeo Caranza, a Dominican, in Summa Concilior(um et Pontificum) [Venice 1560] in fin. Conc(ilium) Lateranen(sis) sub Iulio II et Leone X, states:

'It is undecided whether the censures carried in this council are accepted by use, as is noted by Cardinal Cajetano, and even doubted by me, and most of them are not observed by use, by which alone they can be cancelled.'

Vincenzo Dillincio the Jesuit, Quaestiones morales (Volume I, tract 15 and Chapter Seven quaest. 6, no.177) states the same. Fr Francesco Suarez de Censuris in communi [Lyons 1604], Volume V, disp.22, section 6, no.23 states thus:

'Besides these censures, others are found in some councils, especially from the more recent, as in the Lateran, under Leo X; but they are so hidden and ignored that they seem to be out of use, and for that reason were never accepted or are now cancelled.'

And in the same (Disputation 24. sect.7, no.1), he personally states to our purpose:

'From these excommunications, therefore, it can be alleged from the Lateran Council under Leo X, where all who either print a book or something written or have them printed without the approval there prescribed are excommunicated. The censures of this council are not, however, accepted by use.'

And, moreover, we shall not labour long to prove that in our kingdom they must not be implemented and observed, because of the always permanent and royal right of the Exequatur; because the ecclesiastics will

have no grounds to prove that this Bull and the Lateran Council were ever recognized by the above-mentioned Collateral Council.

Apart from that, we do not consider it irrelevant to remind the very zealous Gentlemen of the Royal Junta, that in reference to the printing of books in our kingdom, the observance has always been firm and indisputable that it depends solely on the authority and judgement of the Royal Magistrates. Without their licence, it has never been permitted to print books, even though dealing with spiritual and sacred matters. And even omitting all the examples to be read in Cioccarelli and other authors who deal with similar matters, the ban which was published in 1544 by Don Pietro di Toledo, inserted in the First Pragmatic De Impressione librorum, is very famous. From it we learn that the Royal Cappellano Maggiore [chief chaplain] was assigned the task of reviewing and identifying all the books on theology and Holy Scripture printed, without there having been any recourse to the licence and approval of the ecclesiastics.

It is, in fact, indisputable that, whenever the Court of Rome has attempted to ban the book of some author advocating the defence of the Royal Jurisdiction and royal rights, the Viceroy and the Delegate of the Royal Jurisdiction have always made every effort to ensure that no account be made of the ban instituted by the ecclesiastics. We omit, therefore, the examples in most recent times, which are fresh in our memory, and turn to the action taken at the time of Pope Clement VIII [1592-1605] by the count of Benevento, who was then Viceroy of the Kingdom, when at the time the second part of the *Diversorio Feudale* was banned by the regent Camillo de Corte; and by the duke of Alba, when Urban VIII [1623-1644] banned the work of Pietro d'Urries [*Aestivum otium*] in defence of Rite 235 by the Gran Corte of the Vicaria. We read that on these occasions the entire obligation was assumed by the Court of Madrid to have the censure declared null, and in order that the authors who had defended the royal rights continued to be held in great esteem.

One sees, therefore, that in our kingdom the Royal Exequatur has never supported any Brief of the Court of Rome on Jubilees, Indulgences and other matters, and any synod or edict prepared by the ecclesiastics of the kingdom, if it has not been previously examined for matters prejudicial and contrary to Royal Jurisdiction. This can be read in accordance with the express law established in our kingdom, in conformity there with Rule Five *de citationibus*, published by the duke d'Alcalà, then Viceroy, in 1561.

From all the quoted reflections, we are sure, that the Gentlemen comprising the Royal Junta of Jurisdiction will not fail, in the light of such reasons, to remove from the public such a serious prejudice, which attempts are now being made to introduce; and that there will remain in

each of you that proper wish to deliver the kingdom from the innovations which the ecclesiastics attempt to introduce, in order to have the royal rights buried in perpetual oblivion.[148]

[79]

Letter to Rome from the Neapolitan nunciature, 6 November 1723 on G.'s absolution:

Because this Cardinal Archbishop is away from the city for a few days at the villa of San Sebastiano, it seemed proper to obey the order of Your Eminence of 30 October to speak as we did yesterday, to Mons.Vicario Montesoro, to have from him the correspondence which His Holiness Our Lord wishes on the matter of Pietro Giannone's absolution. He told us that he truly could not give us an account of it, given that such absolution, if in fact it had occurred, has not passed through his channels, but that at our request he would let His Eminence know and pass on to us his reply. Today, then, the same prelate told us that the Cardinal signified to him that it was true, that Giannone on his part had asked him for absolution from the censures. He also stated that G. would submit to the judgement of Holy Church in respect to his books. His Eminence therefore gave permission to any approved confessor to absolve him, enjoining him to refrain from similar matters in the future; and to keep with him the documents referring to everything. He added to us that the same cardinal informed him that he was induced to do this mainly for two reasons: firstly, because with such action he felt it confirmed his power of proceeding in similar cases to the publication of censures against authors of books, who, without the permission of his Curia, have them printed. Secondly, because the royal magistrates were already set to deal with the said censures in the Collateral and take some extravagant decision on it, it seemed right to him to obviate such grave disorder by resorting to the above-mentioned expedient.[149]

See also Rome's comment of 23 December 1723: the cardinal-assessor of the Inquisition wrote to the Viennese nuncio:

Since Pietro Giannone... has obtained absolution secretly and without the knowledge of His Holiness from the archiepiscopal Curia of Naples... we assume that he requested the said absolution to obtain some post

148 Document presented to each of the Regents of the Collateral Council of 26 October 1723 on the subject of G.'s excommunication; a copy was sent by Naples' nunciature to Rome: AAV, *Nunziatura di Napoli* 166: *Giannoniana*, pp. 150-156.

149 AAV, *Napoli*: Bertelli, 'Appunti e osservazioni', p. 188.

or dignity either in Vienna or the said City and Kingdom of Naples. Monsignor Nuncio will have to employ every effective office to prevent the said Giannone being assigned any post or dignity, especially in the Kingdom of Naples.[150]

[92]

G.'s petition to Charles VI (c.1724):

Pietro Giannone, Neapolitan lawyer, at the feet of Your Christian and Catholic Majesty, humbly sets forth how it is already one and a half years since he has been in this city, where he was obliged to come to flee the persecutions of some ecclesiastics. The friars especially found intolerable that in his *Civil History of the Kingdom of Naples* he had clearly enunciated the supreme royal prerogatives which Your Majesty holds in that kingdom, and defended your Royal Jurisdiction by revealing their assaults on it, and their immense acquisitions of temporal property in grave prejudice to the royal treasury and the patrimony of Your Majesty's subjects. They burden it with a thousand frauds, and above all claim that his books contain many heresies. Later, however, the ban drawn up by them and promulgated in Rome proved them wrong. Although the court of Rome holds in horror similar works which defend the royal rights and reveal the attacks by ecclesiastical jurisdiction, and considers them all rash, scandalous, schismatic, erroneous and redolent of heresy, after having had his books rigorously examined by its Qualificators, they have not been able to qualify any clause in them as heretical. This they certainly would have done, given their promptness in banning similar books, as seen in previous years with the banning of books published in defence of the rights of Your Majesty; namely, in reference to the benefices of the kingdom which were to be conferred on nationals. And in order that the suppliant may further clarify his innocence, he presented the said books to Your Majesty, to whom they were dedicated and consecrated. He exposed them also to the censure not least of the Regents whom Your Majesty keeps in the Collateral Council of Naples, and of the Regents who comprise here the Supreme Council of Spain, and of all learned and dispassionate men, in order that either they reveal the errors in them, so that they may be emended, or that they note the places where they believe the suppliant has lapsed. This, therefore, would have made clear that his work, far from being thought licentious, on the contrary must be considered moderate and sober because of the endless matters which the ecclesiastical order is spared. Two years have passed, however, since its publication, and not only has there not been anyone who could reveal

150 BAV, *Rossiano 1800*: Bertelli, 'L'incartamento originale', p. 18.

the faults imputed to it, but on reading it through, almost everyone has realized that the faults are solely the deception of some friars, whose particular interest is to try to discredit it.

It has not been possible, nevertheless, Your Majesty, to repair the very grave damage suffered by the suppliant because of these false accusations. He has had to abandon his profession as a lawyer which he practised in Naples, and live far from his homeland in a strange country, where, to support himself, he is forced to use his own resources, and these, being very meagre, cannot last long. He thus foresees the time when he is reduced to extreme poverty, without the necessary means to support himself according to his station. He can trust in nothing except the beneficence and magnanimity of Your Christian and Catholic Majesty, in pity for his lacrimose and unhappy state, to raise him from the great tribulation in which he finds himself. It has not been his destiny to be consoled in the next round of awards of three supernumerary posts: one for the President of the Royal Chamber of Naples, and two for councillors of Santa Chiara, although he presented a reverend petition about them to Your Majesty. Since it pleased You to confer them on other subjects, the suppliant has been left disappointed in his hopes of being presently employed in some other post in Your royal service, and is in the meantime deprived of his necessary support.

He has recourse, therefore, to the great clemency of Your Majesty, and devotedly requests that, until it pleases Your Majesty to console him, you will meanwhile assign appropriate assistance to him here, worthy not of his merits, but of the celebrated magnanimity of Your Majesty, in order that he can support his poor person. He asks also that to this effect you give appropriate orders to have it administered to him through secure channels, or by giving precise orders to Naples, in order that the sum which Your Majesty deigns to assign to the suppliant be remitted to him here in Vienna by the delegate of the Council of Spain, at the same time as the quarterly stipends remitted for the support of the Council of Spain, or by some other prompter implementation which Your Majesty will deem more appropriate in the case of the suppliant. And he asks you to take into consideration that, as it is a matter of sustenance, Your Majesty will not permit that the suppliant suffer greater discomfort, or that others with the usual subterfuges render illusory the most gracious favours of Your Majesty, since it is a question of actual assistance which cannot suffer any delay. He thus entrusts himself to the clemency of Your Majesty from whom he will receive it as a most singular favour, as God wishes.[151]

151 TAS, *Mss. Giannone*: *Giannoniana*, pp. 431-433.

Chapter Six: 1725-1727: Vienna

I

At the beginning of the new year 1725, new complaints and criticism began to be heard from Rome on account of the grant made to me by His Majesty, which would certainly not have been heard had Innocent XIII lived longer.[1] He had died in the preceding year and in his place was elected Cardinal Orsini, a Dominican monk [Benedict XIII], whose many archbishoprics, illustrious lineage, and even the cardinal's purple could not make him forget that he was a friar. On the contrary, not even the papacy itself sufficed; for when made pope, he did not abandon his old habits and ways. As before, he enjoyed being on familiar terms with the monks by whom he was almost always surrounded, and as he was a simple, honest man, he was easily drawn into their nets without being aware of their intrigues and cabals. It was easy for them, therefore, to make him believe that my *Civil History* was impious, heretical and injurious both to the Holy See and to all the religious orders, especially the Dominicans, since it was disrespectful to the devotion of the rosary, and when referring to the martyrdom of Pietro da Verona,[2] the so-called St Peter Martyr, a Dominican, it seemed to be described more as the assassination of a scoundrel than a true martyrdom. They convinced him that the author of the *History*, moreover, was a foul heretic, who, instead of being punished, had been welcomed in Vienna by the emperor

1 Innocent died on 7 March 1724.

2 Peter Martyr, Saint (1205-1252), Inquisitor born in Verona; made a Dominican by St Dominic himself; appointed Inquisitor for Northern Italy by Innocent IV (pope 1243-1254). He brought the Inquisition to bear against the threat of heresy, and authorized the use of torture to produce confession and execution by fire. The Milanesi put him to death. He was the patron saint of Inquisitors! G. wrote of him in the *Istoria civile* (Chapter Six: Appendix).

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and, what is more, to the scandal of the public, had been kept by him at his Court by assigning him an annual stipend for his support until employed in his royal service. The friars' evil offices were so constant and effective with this simple and good pontiff that they induced him to make a complaint to the emperor's magistrates in Rome. It was even rumoured in Vienna that the pope had written a letter in his own hand to the emperor in which he profoundly regretted the stipend.

Whether real or imaginary, this letter would not have made any impression on the Imperial Court, as it was already known that the pope had filled Naples and Benevento with similar letters written in his own hand, and that he very readily wrote them to all kinds of people, even to his archpriests, parish priests and comrades whom he had known and become friendly with when archbishop of Benevento. And it was also known in Vienna that some of his letters had been to recommend persons who merited no consideration, and for frivolous and worthless matters. And it was known that as pope in Rome he behaved as he had done in Benevento when archbishop, and for as long as he lived, he had no understanding of what it was to be pope. He thus took no care of the great matters of State or the papal monarchy, and was completely engrossed in ecclesiastical functions and ceremonies, baptisms, consecrating churches and altars, blessing bells, the cleanliness and purity of the sacristy's vestments and ornaments, and similar matters.[3] Those around him, therefore, as they were cunning and shrewd, left him to these occupations so well suited to him, and knew how to look after their own interests and not his pontificate. These beginnings gave rise to his contempt for the nuncios who were in the courts of the princes, so that none was promoted by him to the cardinalate, and he referred to them as journalists who did nothing but spy on the secrets of the courts and report them to Rome. He did not want to know anything about the dispatches sent by the nuncios to Rome, and did not concern himself with them. They were simply sent to the secretary of state, who had the burden of making whatever reply he thought fit.

The pope's state of mind harmed me in one way, but in another benefited me, since the nuncio Grimaldi at the court of Vienna took no

3 On the pomp and ceremony of a pope's life see Charles Dupaty's description of St. Paul's Day fifty years later in Rome under Pius VI (*Travels through Italy* (London 1788), pp. 298-299).

notice of what the pope and his monks felt about me and my work, and made no complaint about me to the emperor and to other magistrates.[4] The disservices to me, however, were coming directly from Rome, and there was no lack of people who, in order to gain credit with the pope, both there and in Vienna, collaborated to make me fall out of favour with the emperor and his ministers.

Goaded by the friars and monks, the pope was also induced to take a step which not only weakened him but also made more evident the extent of the Dominicans' power over him. Clement XI had not been content with banning the *Historia ecclesiastica* of Noël Alexandre with his special brief, and when condemning it, ordered that it be excluded from the permission given by Rome to read banned books. Since Pope Benedict XIII, however, was a Dominican, and Noël Alexandre was a monk of the same order, and Benedict's concept of his *Historia* differed from that of Clement, he removed the work from those which one could not have permission to read. And to do something more gratifying to the monks, he replaced it with my *Civil History*. And whereas his predecessor, Innocent XIII, was content simply to ban my work and not exclude it from the permission, Benedict ordered that it be expressly excluded. And this then became normal practice. With the works of Charles Dumoulin, Macchiavelli and others, my work, therefore, also was excluded.[5]

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4 Lino Marini's research on the archives of the Inquisition has revealed, on the contrary, that Grimaldi was immediately convinced of the view of the Holy See, and fought unhesitatingly against G. 'He speaks, from what I hear, with moderation and modesty', he wrote to the secretary of state, Cardinal Spinola, on 3 July 1723, but Grimaldi had already gone into battle to prove the 'impudence and impiety of the man... to the chief ministers, so that instead of favour, the author be given a worthy punishment' (AAV, *Germania*: Marini, *Mezzogiorno*, pp. 207, 268 (doc.4)).

5 See G.'s letter to Carlo, 20 January 1725, from Vienna (*Epist.*, p. 216) in which he observed how strange the exclusion was and how mystifying to everyone there. Charles Dumoulin (1500-1550) was to French law what Cujas was to Roman law. Persecuted in France, he fled to Germany (at that time the refuge of intellectuals), where he lived until driven out by the jealousy of his colleagues at the University of Tübingen (*NBG* 15, pp. 217-221). He was the first to produce a critical edition of Gratian's *Decretum* (1554) (B., p. 115). In order to study his works on law placed on the *Index*. the Italians republished them under the exotic name of Gaspar Caballinus (*NBG*). On the banning of G.'s works, see *Opere postume*, 1 (1770), 245-254. Whenever the Inquisition granted anyone permission to read banned books, it appended the postscript: 'Provided that they are not the works of Giannone' (*Racconto di varie notizie* (Naples 1997), p. 36; Scipione Volpicella, 'Parere del Collaterale', *ASPN*, 1 (1876), 118-122, p. 121). Some fifty years later, Johann Wilhelm von Archenholz

Both the friars and others had broad scope to show Benedict their animosity to me and their boldness, by offering to write a refutation of my *History*, and each one promised to slay the giant.[6] Among the others, Monsignor Anastasio,[7] the archbishop of Sorrento, was living in Rome because he had been driven out of his seat and from the kingdom of Naples. After he had reduced his diocese to confusion and picked quarrels over jurisdiction, abusing that of the king, he had finally forced the viceroy and his Collateral Council to expel him from the kingdom. When he withdrew to Rome in the pontificates of Clement XI and Innocent XIII, his turbid and ambitious mind made him disliked and unwelcome. He therefore lived there uselessly for long years and was never able to obtain permission to return to his church. On the Orsini pope's assuming the throne, however, he joined the rabble of the other flatterers, and made the pope think him a learned and cultured man. To

(1743-1812) in his *Picture of Italy*, 2 vols (London 1791), 2, p. 72—he was in Rome 1778-1786—tells of a secular priest who had permission to read all the prohibited books—except Montesquieu's *Esprit des lois*, Giannone, and Voltaire's *Maid of Orleans*. G. remained on the *Index* until the final edition in 1948, published under Pius XII, listed immediately preceding his fellow-historian and admirer Edward Gibbon. Giannone's *History* was banned in 1723 and Gibbon's in 1783. Added to G.'s entry was his 'De consiliis ac dicasteriis' (*Index librorum prohibitorum*, Sanctissimi Domini Nostri Pii, PP XII (iussu editus) (Vatican 1948), p. 190). Montesquieu and Voltaire also were still listed. The *Index* was abolished by Paul VI.

6 Benedict XIII, however, had been advised that the *Civil History* 'contains many truths which cannot be impugned; and as for the contaminated part, it discredits itself; by impugning it, one would excite the pens of G.'s companions and his own to write new insults against the Church; that the time to reply was when the reply would close the mouths of the adversaries; and that in the part where Giannone deals with civil history, that is, the major part, it is a very useful book, and has been received with universal praise' (Fausto Nicolini, '*L'Istoria Civile* di P.G. e i suoi critici recenti', *Atti dell'Accademia Pontiniana*, 37 (1906), 1-52, pp. 12-13, 42-43).

7 Filippo d'Anastasio (1656-1735), born at Naples, he was educated by the Jesuits; he undertook an ecclesiastical career, and graduated in civil and canon law. In 1687 he was called to the chair of Civil Law at the University of Naples, but was removed from it by the viceroy, Count Santo Stefano, to be made founding member and 'prince' of the Academy presided over by the duke of Medina Coeli, together with other renowned scholars, such as Paolo Mattia Doria, Nicolò Caravita, and Gregorio Calaprese. As one of the circle of Giuseppe Valletta, he travelled through Italy with companions Tommaso Cornelio and Francesco D'Andrea. His views changed radically when in 1699 he was appointed archbishop of Sorrento and became involved in disputes in which he attacked the royal prerogative, and was banished from the Kingdom. In 1703 he was allowed to return, and in 1706 was made assistant to the throne. Although offered rich sees, he refused them for his old diocese of Sorrento in 1710 (*DBI* 3, pp. 37-40: E. Gencarelli). After new conflict, Benedict XIII appointed him patriarch of Antioch.

prove it, although there was no need or occasion to do so, he published an *Apologia*[8] in which he claimed to defend himself and characterize as legitimate all the outrages which he had perpetrated in Sorrento against royal jurisdiction. Although the book was injurious to royal rights, he dedicated it to the pope and it was printed in Rome with the permission of his superiors. From the actual work, however, it was clear that he had not published it to defend himself, because so many years had elapsed that all Sorrento's jurisdictional strife was over, and no more was said about it. One saw that it was a pretext to maltreat the author of the *Civil History* by ill-using him in many places but in an awkward way, since what the author had written in his *History* did not relate to his theme. And on such a pretext, in order to ingratiate himself with the pope and the court of Rome, he promised in the work to publish another which would reveal the many mistakes and errors of that author, both in history and chronology and, above all, in ecclesiastical and theological matters. He gave an idea of the work, moreover, and the number of chapters into which he had divided it, adding that he was moved by compassion and charity to draw the lost sheep back into the fold. With the printing of the *Apologia* everyone was left in a state of anticipation for the other promised work.

It was heard also that a sandaled Franciscan friar[9] was preparing to

8 Anastasio, *Apologia di quanto l'arcivescovo di Sorrento ha praticato cogli economi de' beni ecclesiastici di sua diocesi, consegrata alla Santità di N.S papa Benedetto XIII* (Defence of All That the Archbishop of Sorrento Has Done with the Finances of the Ecclesiastical Properties in his Diocese, Dedicated to His Holiness Pope Benedict XIII) (Rome 1724). Chapters Ten to Thirteen constitute a fierce attack on G., although not actually mentioning his name. In chapters Eleven and Twelve (pp. 130-200), Anastasio 'tried to prove true and legitimate the law of Constantine which granted to the bishops the contentious jurisdiction recorded in the *Theodosian Code: De episcopali indicio* (On bishops' jurisdiction). This had been shown by many arguments to be false and apocryphal by Jacques Godefroy and many other worthy men, and as such was rejected by G.' (Panzini, *Vita*, pp. 77-79). Anastasio, moreover, promised the reader 'an historico-theological dissertation, divided into four chapters and arranged geometrically, to withdraw G. from the false doctrine and rash opinions which he had taken from turbid sources' (B., p. 116). Benedict XIII, however, did not allow Anastasio to publish another work against G. G. wrote a reply, the 'Riposta', intended for publication, but was advised by Rialp not to publish it. The manuscript is in TAS, *Mss. Giannone*: *Giannoniana*, p. 407; on Anastasio and his unpublished manuscript, and the entire matter, see *Giannoniana*, pp. 33-35.

9 Giovanni Antonio Bianchi (1686-1758), theologian and adviser to the Inquisition; provincial of his Order and advocate of the Roman Curia and Savoy (*DBI* 10, pp. 114-117: Ricuperati). The work to which G. refers is *Della potestà e della politia della*

write a refutation of the *Civil History* and that Cardinal Annibale Albani[10] would cover the costs of printing it. While these champions were setting to work in Rome, they did not neglect their evil offices at the court of Vienna by imputing to me what they were doing. The marquis of Rialp told me of a letter informing him that in Vienna I was preparing

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Chiesa trattati due, contro le nuove opinioni di P. Giannone, dedicati al Principe degli Apostoli (Two Treatises on the Power and Political System of the Church, against the New Opinions of Pietro Giannone, Dedicated to the Prince of the Apostles), published in Rome between 1745-1751 in 7 vols (B., p. 117). In it, Bianchi asserted that G.'s statement that the Church in its rulings may not destroy the civil laws or establish anything contrary to them was an 'open blasphemy' (Raffaele Ajello, *Il problema di riforma*, undocumented edition (Naples 1961), p. 63). Carlo wrote to G. on 7 September 1745: 'the book's hypothesis was that the popes had given jurisdiction to the princes... who had accepted it from the popes as jurisdiction *de jure divino*. As everyone has abandoned such views, the book was hardly born before it was buried', and again on 5 October 1745 Carlo wrote that Bianchi's book had been confiscated by the magistrates (*Vita*, ed. Pierantoni, pp. 360-361). After all the volumes were published, Muratori observed: 'I respect Fr Bianchi and think he writes well, but he has used scabrous arguments and will certainly not convert any of the French. It is well for him that Giannone has other things to think about, because if he were free, I do not know how he would treat him' (Modena, 20 June 1745: *Epist.*, 42, p. 250, no.268). A friend wrote to Muratori from Rome: 'I hear from someone who has read it, that the Inquisition gives permission to read Giannone, provided that one reads the whole reply [in seven volumes!] made to him by Fr Bianchi' (Muratori, letter from Rome, 2 October 1745: *Epist*. 42, p. 299, no.339). The renowned Arturo Jemolo refers also to a passage illustrating the claim of curialists that all their ideas and superior status derive from God:

> 'Nothing proceeds more from God than the fact that when, among the other natural gifts granted to the human species, he had given that of knowing how to preserve oneself in human society, to defend oneself from the oppression of the arrogant, and to guard equity and justice against the violence of the wicked. He granted also the right of instructing princes and magistrates, and of disposing public power either to one alone who might supervise others, or to a number of the most elect, who with common counsel might administer justice and prevent violence' (Bianchi, *Della potestà della Chiesa* (Rome 1745-51), 1, p. 6; Jemolo, *Stato e chiesa* (Naples 1972), p. 48).

When in the Citadel of Turin, the prisoner took notes from Bianchi's work, but made no critical comments (Turin Royal Library, Varia 303, *Giannone. Miscellanee critiche erudite*: *Giannoniana*, p. 491). See also G.'s observations on Benedict XIV in *Triregno. Città terrena*, pp. 73-79.

10 Annibale Albani (1682-1751), nephew of Clement XI and brother of Alessandro, was a seasoned politician. During the conclave to elect a successor to Clement XI, for example, France had sent him 30,000 livres (Dubois to Rohan, March 29, 1721, in Michaud, quoted by Pastor, 34, p. 19). And Charles VI had sent him a diamond ring and the promise of an annual pension (Pastor, 34, p. 21). Charles De Brosses wrote of him: 'He is a most masterful person, and a terrible person. I do not think that Satan himself is more feared in hell than this man is dreaded here.' (*Lettres familières sur l' Italie*, ed. Bézard, 2, p. 148).

another book and that it would soon be published. I could not refrain from replying that those men, who were as ignorant as they were evil, did not understand how hard and difficult it was to write books; since they imagined that in the midst of such travail and anguish I was in a state to publish books which they seemed to believe were like *fritelle* or *focaccie*. I said that if they had this facility I did not envy them. Let them quickly bring out of the oven the books they were boasting about and I would give them bread for buns. I told him that I was immersed in my troubles and could not think of books, and if they gave me no occasion to write, I would go on forever in profound silence.[11] The situation, in fact, was reversed, because in Rome the wasps' nest had been disturbed and some were preparing to write, and at that very time two refutations were expected, one from Monsignor Anastasio and the other from the Franciscan. In order that the marquis be even more sure, and in the future not give ear to similar false reports, but recognize with his own eyes the tricks and snares of Rome's flatterers, who, although not wanting others to write, were themselves doing what they reproved in others and censured, I went back to him a few days later and showed him Anastasio's *Apologia* and the passages in it marked injurious to royal jurisdiction, and that the book had been quite recently printed in Rome and dedicated to the pope. I told him that I had only one fervent request, which was not that they be prevented from printing and circulating their refutations. Let them write and scribble on all the paper in the world, but let the weapons and the battlefield be equal. Since they had ample freedom to write, I should be allowed to reply to them, if they merited it. I was not replying to the contumely and ill-treatment meted out to me by Monsignor Anastasio, as I had no wish to contend with anyone better at hurling insults than I, and I left them to their own kind. If, however, the work promised,[12] or the other being prepared by the Franciscan,[13] or any

11 In G.'s correspondence he refers to a possible reply to Anastasio. Bertelli suggests that G.'s frequent assertions that he will not reply may be prompted by anxious advice for restraint from his friends in Naples. G. writes to Carlo on 9 June that he will make no move without superior orders (Vienna, 9 June 1725: *Giannoniana* p. 224; B., p. 118).

12 The other work promised by Anastasio (above, n.187).

13 The work of Bianchi (above, n.189). For other attempts to refute the *Civil History,* see Anon. and untitled, *Zibaldone* (Library of the Società napoletana di Storia patria, *Fondo Cuomo*): *Giannoniana*, pp. 95-98; 'Idea delle opere scritte contro Pietro Giannone': *Giannoniana*, pp. 98-100 ; Giuseppe Francesco Novara, *Della Storia Civile*

other work to appear was such as to force me to defend and clear myself of any mark or slander levelled at me, I asked him not to deprive me of that natural defence granted by all laws to the attacked and oppressed to vindicate their reputation and honour.[14]

The marquis replied that I should remain steady and calm, because he hoped that nothing else would call for a response or reply.[15] Much time passed, in fact, without seeing or hearing of any of the books promised and threatened. It was then discovered later that Monsignor Anastasio had to attend to something quite different from what he had boasted about, which was now perhaps never to be fulfilled. It was learned that he was busy extricating himself from an accusation of having embezzled the inheritance of a niece, the daughter of his brother, who had left him in charge of administering it until the minor, his niece, had come of age. The compassionate archbishop had appropriated it for himself and impoverished his niece and enclosed her in a convent. And the nuns on her behalf had taken the case to the court of the Vicaria in Naples to make him account for it and restore the misappropriated property to the niece. From Naples, therefore, where I had written to some friends not to delay in sending me the work promised by Anastasio when published, they sent me instead some printed pleas in which was laid bare all that the monsignor had done, and his embezzlement was revealed in detail and proved with clear and authentic documents. All that was known of the Franciscan's work was that, although Cardinal Albani had brought out many pages of the first volume in a printing-house in Urbino, it

del Regno di Napoli scritta da Pietro Giannone Avvocato e giurisconsulto napolitano, colle animavversioni storico-critiche teologico-politiche di Fr. Giuseppe Francesco Novara Min. Riform. di San Francesco. Tomo primo dedicato alla Santità di N.S.re P.P. Benedetto XIV'. See Chapter Seven: Appendix [63].

14 Argento arranged for G.'s friend, Ignazio Ottavio Vitagliano, at whose villa the *Civil History* had been published, to write a refutation of Anastasio's *Apologia*: 'Difesa della real giurisdizione intorno a' regi diritti su la chiesa collegiata appellata di S. Maria della Cattolica della città di Reggio' (Naples 1727). Vitagliano, however, criticised G.'s treatment in the *Civil History* of the jurisdiction of the grand chancellor of Sicily under the Norman and Angevine domination, and G. sent a very exasperated review of it with extensive notes to Carlo from Vienna on 11 August 1725 (*Epist.*, p. 278). It was copied and circulated in both Naples (3 November 1725: *Epist*., p. 302) and Vienna, although G. stipulated that it 'be reserved only for friends' (28 October 1725: *Epist*., p. 301). Panzini finally had it included in the *Opere postume* of 1766 and subsequent editions (B., p. 119; *Giannoniana*, pp. 128-130).

15 The emperor was fully informed of Anastasio's *Apologia* (Vienna, Perchtoldsdorf, 1 September 1725: RBN, 202-204: *Giannoniana*, p. 226).

had never been seen. And kept even more concealed and suppressed was the unfortunate outcome of the work of the Jesuit Sanfelice when it appeared in 1729, which will be related below.[16]

The shrewder politicians in Rome then considered that my work should be put aside and rightly or wrongly the author persecuted in every way, and that this would be the best and most certain reply and refutation. The friars and monks, however, by whom the pope was almost always surrounded, did not want to omit this course, yet did not want to neglect the other of books and writings, each thinking with such an opportunity to better his position and reveal his talents. It is incredible how upset they and the members of Rome's Curia were by the news that the emperor was considering employing me in his royal service and had meanwhile assigned me a stipend for my support in the Imperial Court. All one heard from Rome were threats, and that they were searching for ways totally to thwart my advancement.

At this time the fiscal advocate Riccardi had the wish to go to Naples to stay for a few months, in the hope of being restored to better health, and then return to Vienna. After obtaining six months' leave from the emperor, he left towards the end of the previous year 1724. When passing through Rome, where he stayed several days at the home of the Imperial minister, Cardinal Cienfuegos,[17] he heard these threats with

16 See Chapter Seven.

17 Alvarez Cienfuegos (1657-1739), born at Asturias; he studied philosophy at Salamanca, where he later taught Theology; he became a Jesuit in 1676, and was appointed cardinal in 1721 and plenipotentiary for Charles VI in the Roman Curia (*New Catholic Encyclopedia* 2, p. 872). One of Cienfuegos' brothers was the bishop of Popajan and viceroy of Peru; another was the Inquisitor of Mexico. Charles VI conferred on him the very rich archbishopric of Monreale, which yielded an annual income of between 500,000 and 600,000 *livres* (Nicolini, *Uomini di spada* (Milan 1942), p. 60), because when appointed cardinal he was made protector of the kingdom. He received as well 6,000 ducats per annum of Neapolitan monies (Benedikt, *Königreich Neapel*, pp. 270, 277). Although he was notoriously inept, the Spaniards would allow only a Spaniard to replace him, but could not find anyone able to support the expenses of the post, so that Cienfuegos remained in Rome as Imperial ambassador. He was also a most diligent politician and a *habitué* in the intrigues of the supposedly secret conclaves of cardinals to elect the new pope (Pastor, 34, pp. 102-103). Cienfuegos as cardinal gave his consent to the elevation to the cardinalate by Benedict XIII of the notorious Coscia (*ibid*., p. 125). He published a life of St Francesco Borgia in Spanish in 1717, and a work on the Trinity in two vols (B., p. 120). G. did not disguise his feeling for Cienfuegos: G. wrote to Carlo: 'The Pope's cause is maintained in this court by Cienfuegos. His offices could have greatly harmed me in the time of the deceased Pope [Innocent XIII]' (Vienna, 19

his own ears. And as he also was hated at the papal court, he could hardly have escaped some outrage if he had not been welcomed into the cardinal's home and held the rank of minister of the emperor; for there were rumours in Rome that the pope wanted to place him under arrest. Afraid, therefore, he had to escape without delay in the cardinal's carriage and hasten his journey to Naples. From there he wrote to his and my friends in Vienna to warn me to be careful, because he had heard me spoken of in Rome with more malevolence and hatred than if I were a Luther or a Calvin, and they were trying in every way to ruin me and make me lose all that I had obtained with such effort and entreaties.[18]

At this news, my sole aim was to commend myself to the emperor's clemency and ask the highest magistrates, and especially Prince Eugene, to grant me the safety of their protection. This was efficacious in preserving me from the evils threatening me from Rome. And since I was assured that His Majesty would not abandon me, but was in fact continuing punctually month after month the allowance for my support, I decided to stop boarding in someone else's home and live by myself in my own home with my own servants. I thus rented a small house and lived with no other company than some books which I had provided for

August 1724: *Epist.*, p. 177). 'This court is well informed of the books published day by day in Rome against the Imperial royal rights... all attributable to the credulity and simplicity of the Imperial plenipotentiary, who lives there, of whom every day one hears of monstrousness and extravagance' (Memoria di P.G. al Consiglio di Spagna del Feb. 1729: TAS, *Mss. Giannone*: Ricuperati, *Carte torinesi* (Turin 1962), p. 48; for the context see *id.*, *L'esperienza*, p. 333). Panzini (*Vita*, p. 64) states that at the Roman court Cienfuegos was unceasing in his defamation of G.

18 Riccardi also was the victim of papal slander. Reports had come back to Vienna that he was immoderate in his discourse. G. wrote anxiously to Carlo that Riccardi should be secretly advised to be careful. By defending him in Vienna, G. wrote of having in some way expressed his gratitude to Riccardi and absolved somewhat his sense of obligation to him (Vienna, 3 February 1725: *Epist.*, p. 221; 10 February: p. 223; 24 February: p. 229; 17 March: p. 236). Riccardi had not forgotten G. On 16 May 1725 he wrote of having found Anastasio's new book and was summarizing it for G. (Ricuperati, 'Alessandro Riccardi', *RSI* (1969), 745-777, p. 765). On his return to Naples he wrote: 'Here the people are as they always were, most cowardly in accusing me when present, arrogant in finding fault with me when absent' (letter to Forlosia, 19 Jan. 1725 Vienna Nat. Lib.: quoted *ibid.*). He described Naples as 'an infinitely wretched theatre of every obscenity', because of the 'harsh wrongs done to this kingdom by the court of Rome' (*ibid.*, p. 761). G. wrote to Carlo on 24 February 1725 'I am astounded at so much wickedness, and how they go in concert, these here giving a hand to those scoundrels there [in Naples]. And I truly begin to hate that nation more than before, because certainly for malice and insolence it is without par' (*Epist.*, p. 229).

my relief and to make my solitude less wearisome.

With Riccardi's departure for Naples, the gathering of friends which used to meet in the evenings at his home had ceased, and the only other salon remaining was in the home of the regent Almarza. I did not fail to go there, because there was no other place in Vienna where more Italians gathered, especially Neapolitans and Sicilians, or which was more convenient to hear events of note in the Court of the city, or to be informed of the latest happenings in Italy and most of all in Naples.

In April of this year 1725, we learnt that peace[19] had been concluded between the emperor and Philip, king of Spain, and drawn up in Vienna. This was negotiated in secret on King Philip's behalf by Duke Ripperda,[20] who had been living incognito for many months in Vienna negotiating with Count Sintzendorf, grand chancellor of the court, and the marquis of Rialp, magistrates appointed by the emperor, without the participation of other princes. It was promulgated in May, and many copies of this peace were printed, which can now be read in Lünig's *Codice diplomatico d'Italia*.[21] All the dejected Neapolitans, Sicilians and Milanese were glad to hear of its conclusion, in the belief that the Viennese court would be delivered from the many Spaniards who, with the reciprocal restitution of property, rank and honours, agreed upon in the ninth article of the peace, were to return to Spain to their paternal homes. And it was thought that this would leave the emperor's beneficence restricted to

19 By this Treaty of Vienna (1725), Charles and Philip finally made peace with each other. 'The treaty was the result of ten months of 'very strange diplomacy... by which the emperor promised very little' and hoped for benefits in trade. Elizabeth Farnese hoped to ensure Italian possessions for her sons. Charles had hopes that the Ostend Company would provide ballast at least for Austria's tottering economy, and that it would benefit from trade in the Spanish colonies, since it was at a constant disadvantage in the East because of British and Dutch hostility (Neville Williams, *Penguin Dictionary of English and European History 1485-1789* (Harmondsworth 1980), p. 83).

20 Johan Wilhelm von Ripperda (1680-1737), political adventurer and Spanish minister; born at Groningen in the Netherlands, he became the agent of Elizabeth Farnese of Spain. After the treaty with Vienna was negotiated, it was discovered in Spain that he had made rash promises and misappropriated considerable sums of money. He was imprisoned in the castle of Segovia, whence he escaped, returned to the Netherlands, and wrote a fantastical autobiography (*Memoirs*, 1740). He finally died in Marocco in 1737 (*EB* 29, p. 366).

21 Johann Christian Lünig, *Codex Italiae Diplomaticus* 3 vols (Frankfurt 1725-1735), 3, coll. 885 (B., p. 122).

his own faithful subjects and vassals in the kingdoms and states of Italy which remained permanently under his most clement dominion. This is how human judgement, however, deceives itself![22] This peace had the opposite effect. Not only did the Spaniards, who were in Vienna, entrench themselves more firmly, but others came in droves from all the kingdoms of Spain, especially Catalonia, Valencia and Aragon, who like locusts ate away all the emoluments coming from the dominions of Italy and left the nationals only the few miserable gleanings remaining after the harvest. The Council did not, therefore, cease to be called, as before, the Council of Spain, and in dispatches the Spanish language was not abandoned, although it was only a hindrance in the separate kingdoms and states of Italy. The terms inquisitor and commissioner of the Crusades,[23] moreover, were not confined to Sicily, although Naples and Milan did not have crusades. And in reference to the Inquisition, that of Milan was not subject to that of Spain, and Naples did not recognize any Inquisition, but retained as before the posts of General Inquisitor and General Commissioner of Spain. And if, after this peace, the number of Spaniards greatly increased in Vienna and in the states of Italy subject to the emperor, crowding the secretariats and courts, the name and language of Spain rightly should not have been abandoned. These states of Italy had become profitable and fertile sources of revenue, destined not only to sate the many Spaniards coming from Spain, but also to refine them and make them well-off and comfortable in splendid, prestigious circumstances, enriching them with appointments, magistracies, offices, and other honours and rank. And as the majority

22 Ariosto, *Orlando furioso* 1.7 (B., p. 122). 'Such is the waywardness of human nature!' (*Canto* 1, 7, tr. Guido Waldman (London, 1974)). As Edward Crankshaw observed, Charles VI throughout his entire reign let himself be guided by such 'silly, vain, ignorant and frequently corrupt placemen', a century out of date in their view of Spain (*The Habsburgs* (London 1971), p. 152).

23 The Court of the Inquisition of Spain was a court of appeal for offences committed in the kingdom of Sicily. It had its seat in Vienna, to which 'on rare occasions recourse is had from Sicily, or if relevant material is submitted to it to keep it busy. And if cases do require a decision, they are reduced to those concerning ghosts, the witchcraft of visionaries and curses—which are immediately qualified as heretical—sorcery, bigamy and similar matters. And since there is often a complete lack of material to employ the actual Inquisitors of Sicily, to prevent their remaining idle, they seek to qualify every crime as heretical' (Giannone in his *Breve relazione de' Consigli e Dicasteri della città di Vienna* (Brief Account of the Councils and Ministries of the City of Vienna), in *Opere postume*, 2 (1766), p. 225-281).

of them, moreover, were inept, useless and idle, many were provided with pensions, benefices, daily allowances and other subventions. What was truly astonishing was their boldness in coming, as though they had been invited to enjoy sure and indubitable earnings and recompense. And if any of them were asked why, leaving their own country, they had come to a country so foreign and distant, they would reply: to have the consolation of looking on the face of their master. They regarded the emperor as the true king of Spain, since, by the terms of the actual peace, he had retained the title of Catholic King, and for this reason they called the first archduchess the princess of Asturia. And, as if Philip V had remained in Spain as governor of those kingdoms, they thought that the emperor could dispose of them and that prince as he thought fit, and that Philip would be obedient to him, in order to impress on him his alliance and friendship, and as a liege to gratify his every wish and desire.

Strange rumours and fancies, therefore, were heard of new marriages[24] and relationships to make this alliance even stronger and enable the emperor, with Spain as his ally, to laugh at all the other princes of Europe. That was the root of the evil tree which later put forth so many thorns and brambles. The peace brought with it the alienation of England and Holland from the emperor, and the alliance which England then made with France and other princes[25] to the emperor's cost. From it ensued the discord of Spain's new war with the English,[26] and then the peace of

24 Nicolini (ed. *Vita*, p. 136) suggests that G. here refers to the marriages often mooted between the two sons of Elizabeth Farnese, Don Carlos and Don Filippo, and Maria Theresia and Amelia of Austria.

25 The treaty of Hanover 3 September 1725 was concluded as a result of Charles' treaty between Austria and Spain of 30 April 1725, which the other great powers saw as upsetting the balance of power in Europe. In August and September, therefore, Great Britain, France, the Maritime Powers, and Prussia formed this counter-alliance known as the First Treaty of Hanover. The Maritime Powers, which did not ever let Charles VI forget his dependence on their navies in the war of the Spanish Succession (Oswald Redlich, *Werden einer Grossmacht* (Brunn 1942), pp. 243-244), were angry at the trade alliance formed between Spain and Austria. Great Britain was alarmed at the threat resulting from the proposed marriage of Maria Theresia to the Infante Don Carlos, which Charles had rashly pledged in return for Spain's recognition of the Pragmatic Sanction (Charles Petrie, *Diplomatic History 1713-1933* (London 1946), p. 19; Derek McKay, *Prince Eugene* (London 1977), p. 211; Jean Bérenger, *Histoire de l'Empire des Habsbourgs* (Paris 1990), p. 428).

26 1727: the siege of Gibraltar (B., p. 124).

Seville between Spain, France and England,[27] from which the emperor was excluded, and many other changes and variations in arrangements, and new designs by the princes of Europe on wretched Italy, left as the butt and target of others' wishes and invasions.

The Spaniards at that time in Vienna nurtured completely different and vague ideas; for example, that no power was capable of opposing the emperor since he had Spain as his ally, deluding themselves that it would be impossible for Spain to detach itself and make alliances with other princes. To the Spaniards in Vienna it seemed that the two were united in one body ruled by a single head, who was the emperor. From this was born the idea that all the Spaniards considered themselves his faithful subjects, even that Italy could not be governed without the Spaniards, because they were more expert in the art of government and the administration of justice in the councils and courts than the Italians themselves, and much more so than the Germans. This meant that old Spaniards and those who died were replaced by other Spaniards, and when, on the death of some Spanish plenipotentiary, the emperor used to grieve that the Spaniards were dying out, they boldly replied that they would never die out for His Majesty, since in Castille, Leone, Aragon, Valencia, Catalonia, and other kingdoms of Spain there were eminent subjects who could be employed in his royal service at the Imperial Court and in the councils and courts of Italy and Flanders.[28] And this

27 The Treaty of Seville, November 1729, was signed by Spain with France and Britain. Charles' evasion of his pledge that the archduchess Maria Theresia would marry the Infante Don Carlos angered the Spanish queen Elizabeth Farnese, who turned to France and Britain for aid in securing a Spanish succession in Parma and Tuscany for her sons. Austria lost its trading privileges with Spain, and it was agreed to send 6,000 Spanish troops to Parma and Tuscany to enforce the terms of the treaty of 1725. Redlich asserts that the Treaty of Seville came about from the 'insincerity of the treaty in 1725 between Austria and Spain'. Charles had continued to hold out against Spanish succession in Parma and Tuscany, because the Pragmatic Sanction would automatically have applied in all of Austria's possessions (*Werden einer Grossmacht*, pp. 190-192).

28 Bertelli observes here G.'s 'bitter irony' in the light of his own personal experience: his attempts to obtain a post, blocked always by the Catalans and Spaniards (B., p. 124). G. wrote in desperation to Carlo, 5 February 1724:

> 'Let a man be as learned as can be, his fame extending beyond the Indus and the Ganges, what impression can all this make on a pack of Spaniards, who, when it comes to conferring a post, recognize no other title to it than position, seniority and long service in minor posts, even though held with no ability? On the other hand, how can any thought be given to us Neapolitans, until good offices have been provided for all the Spaniards who have come here, all without exception

idea, that without the Spaniards the emperor could not properly govern the states of Italy and Flanders, was equally firm and constant in their minds as it was old—until the emperor had acquired them. The count of Cerbellon,[29] a member of the Council of Spain for Sicily, used to tell me what the archbishop of Valencia, whom he called his uncle, had told him when the plenipotentiaries were sent from Vienna to the peace conference held in Cambrai.[30] The archbishop had suggested to the emperor that in the instructions to be given to them it should not be forgotten that, since Spain remained with Philip, it was to be left to the emperor's discretion to call to Vienna those Spanish subjects whom he needed to employ in governing his states of Italy and Flanders. And if this could not be obtained indefinitely, at least agreement should be reached on a specific, fixed number.

The peace of Vienna in this year produced other incredible results. Contrary to the common belief that those kingdoms and provinces now separated from Spain were no longer to employ Spanish magistrates, they not only continued to appoint them but also made their control more absolute and rigorous, to the exclusion of anyone not of their nation. They were, furthermore, so jealous of others' interference that little by little they managed to exclude from the actual vice-regencies of Naples and Sicily and the governments of Flanders and Milan citizens of any other country, in order that they might fall into their own hands.

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considered exiles, who would have left in the homeland, sceptres, crowns and everything to follow the king of their heart?' (Nicolini, *Scritti inediti*, p. 89).

For G.'s general comments on the defects of Spanish government, see the *Civil History* (bk 30, ch.2= Ogilvie, 2, pp. 475-476). Charles' indulgence of the Spaniards, however, seems not to have been inspired simply by favouritism. See his letter on becoming heir-apparent, seeking advice (to Wratislav, Barcelona, 31 July 1716, quoted by J.W. Stoye, 'Emperor Charles VI: Early Years of the Reign', *Trans.Royal Hist.Soc.*, 12 (1961), 63-84, p. 74).

29 Juan Basilio Castelvi, Conde di Cerbellon (1675-1754), was the nephew and heir of the archbishop of Valencia and one of Charles' supporters in Sardinia, where he was made viceroy, and then became viceroy of Sicily. He was the regent for Sicily in the Council of Spain. Charles sent him to Naples to replace the viceroy Giulio Visconti (1733-1735) when he fell ill (Benedikt, *Königreich Neapel*, pp. 200, 240, 484). He was a steadfast friend to G in Vienna, read the *Civil History*, praised it to others, promoted its sale in his travels, and was a 'very special patron' of G., different from other Spaniards and 'a lover of the arts and much more of learned, decent men' (Vienna, 30 October 1725: *Epist*., p. 84; 11 December 1725: *Epist*., p. 93; and for the above reference, 13 March 1734: *Epist*., p. 1042).

30 The Congress of Cambrai (1722-1725), tried unsuccessfully to resolve the disputes between Austria and Spain.

The vice-regency of Sicily had in effect already become Spanish when it passed from the duke of Monteleone, a Neapolitan, to Marquis Almenara, a Spaniard,[31] who, after holding it for two triennia, was replaced by Count Sastago,[32] also a Spaniard, whose successor, if the recent revolutions of things had not changed everything, would have been Marquis Rubi,[33] a Catalan. And if those last changes in rule had not occurred, the same would have happened in the kingdom of Naples. This had already begun, because when Cardinal Althann was removed, the same Marquis Almenara was sent from Sardinia as interim viceroy. He held the post for six months until the election of Count Harrach (Fig. 17),[34] who was German. And they boasted that, because other countries lacked anyone suitable or able, recourse had finally to be made to the Spaniards, to whom the art of government, and especially that of the vice-regency, was proper.

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31 Nicola Pignatelli, duke of Monteleone (1648-1730), was viceroy of Sicily 1719-1722. He was replaced by the marquis de Almenara y Palma, Joaquim Fernandez Portocarrero (1681-1760), who then went to Naples between August and September 1728 as temporary viceroy between Althann and Harrach (B., p. 126; Benedikt, *Königreich Neapel*, pp. 200, 277). G. visited Portocarrero on behalf of a petitioner and they became friends: 'he always receives me with such courtesy and kindness that I am embarrassed... I have found him a most wise gentleman and of good taste in literature and very fond of men of letters' (Vienna, 5 March, 1729: *Epist*., p. 604).

32 Francesco Cristobel Fernandez de Cordoba, marquis of Aguilar and count of Sastago y Murato (1701-1763), grand marshal of the kingdom of Aragon, became viceroy of Sicily in 1728 (Benedikt, *Königreich Neapel*, pp. 200, 228). He lost his post in 1734 for having failed to check the advance of the Infanta (B., p. 126).

33 Joseph de Rubi (1669-1741), viceroy of Sicily from 1717 after having distinguished himself in its conquest as the commander of the Imperial troops (B., p. 126; Benedikt, *Königreich Neapel*, p. 176). He replaced Sastago as viceroy of Sicily in the tumult of 1734.

34 Aloys Thomas Raimund, Count von Harrach (1669-1742), entered the Imperial service as Imperial councillor (Reichshofrat) and chamberlain (Kämmerer) of Joseph I (HRE 1705-1711), and went as ambassador extraordinary to the Spanish Court. On returning to Vienna in 1698, as the successor to his father Ferdinand Bonaventur, he was appointed ambassador to Charles III of Spain, Joseph's younger brother and future emperor Charles VI. With him went the hope of his influencing the succession of the Habsburgs in Spain through Queen Maria Anna von Pfalz-Neuberg, who was well disposed to him. After Philip became king of Spain (in 1700), Harrach left Madrid and became marshal and governor of Lower Austria from 1715. He was viceroy in Naples, 1728-1733. In 1734, he was appointed a Konferenz-minister in Vienna (*DBE* 4, p. 394).

Fig. 17 Aloys Thomas Raimund, Count Harrach (1669-1742), viceroy of Naples 1728-1733, by Francesco Solimena. Wikimedia Commons, public domain.

In Flanders every stratagem and intrigue was used in the matter concerning Prince Eugene of Savoy, who was governor there. A proposal was made to the emperor that its inhabitants would be most glad to have the consolation of the archduchess, his sister, as their governor. The prince, therefore, on learning of their intrigues, resigned[35] the government to the emperor, who gave it to the archduchess,[36] who went to Brussels to administer it. The sole reason for it was that the prince of Cardona, as president of the Council of Flanders in Vienna, was unable, with Prince Eugene as governor, to arrange matters in that province with his council, composed for the most part of Spaniards, according to their will and liking, and contrived to have it fall into a woman's hands in order to arrange matters as they wished, as events proved. And we then witnessed something extraordinary and astonishing; for to make generous compensation to Prince Eugene for the money and emoluments

35 On his removal in 1717 from the governorship of Milan, after the peace of Rastadt in 1724, he had been made governor of Flanders.

36 Maria Elizabeth (1680-1741), daughter of Leopold I and sister of Charles VI. G was to write to Carlo of the unrestrained persecution of Van Espen by the Jesuits of Flanders (above, Chapter Three, n.23), because of the weakness of the archduchess, who was easily swayed by their plots and intrigues (Venice, 6 August 1735: *Epist*., p. 1109).

derived from this government, they decided that the emperor should confer on him a new post as splendid and illustrious as it was vain and imaginary, without any function and duties. It was the post of vicar-general of Italy, although its charter, which can be read in Lünig's *Codice diplomatico d'Italia*,[37] clearly stated that it had no duties, and that whatever the post brought with it in honours and pre-eminence applied only when the prince was in Italy. This they rightly foresaw was impossible, since the other weighty posts held by the prince, such as president of the Council of War, commander-in-chief of the Imperial troops, and the highest seat in the Council of State and the Conference, meant that the emperor would never have sent him away from his presence and his Imperial court, except on some serious military expedition. What was most astonishing, however, was that they cared little about the misery to which the Italian states would be reduced, subjected to another new and unbearable burden. In the actual charter the prince, as vicar-general of Italy, a post meant to be purely ideal and imaginary, was to be assigned the sum of 120,000 florins a year, to be paid to him by the southern states in advance and with precedence over the same monies of the viceroys of Naples and Sicily and the governor of Milan. And when the sum was divided up, half of it, 60,000 florins, was to be paid by the kingdom of Naples, and of the other half, 30,000 by the kingdom of Sicily and the same amount by the State of Milan. There was no difficulty imposing these new burdens on Italy, and in such a way that punctually, year after year, the sum was paid to him in order to satisfy their ends and allay the prince's exasperation with them. As Prince Eugene, who was against it, knew that for such a post, which he was well aware was to be imaginary, he was to be paid hard cash, he refused to accept it. The emperor, however, insisted that at all costs he do so. It was at the time common knowledge in Vienna that the prince, when first brought the bills of payment, had said that the Spaniards wanted even him to become Spanish, since it was the custom introduced among themselves of being lavish with money, remunerations and pensions not, however, to those who had served or were actually in the emperor's service, whose work in some way benefited the common good, but solely to provide for the greater ease, comfort and private fortune of the well-to-do.

37 Lünig, *Codex Italiae Diplomaticus* 1, coll.335-8 (B., p. 127.1).

Time proved that they wanted the prince to be content with that payment and not interfere in Italian matters. And they were so jealous that, in spite of the prince's reluctance to involve himself in their affairs, if someone appealed to him to obtain some grace or favour, this in itself was enough to exclude the person from it, as was my own experience. Since it was known that I used to go to the prince's home, I was not well liked by the Spaniards, and I had to conduct myself with much circumspection and adroitness not to ruin my affairs, and to show total dependence on them. Not even that benefited me, because they were intent on favouring their compatriots and not considering anyone else.

In the summer of this year I received the unhappy news from Naples of the death of my old father,[38] which left only my brother to administer and look after what was left there and all the family. And towards the end of this same year, it happened that when Riccardi, who had decided to return to Vienna from Naples, was sailing through the Adriatic in very late autumn, he was shipwrecked. After living for many weeks on a deserted island in that gulf,[39] he reached port at Venice, where he stayed for a few days and then went on to Verona, having been invited and cordially welcomed there by Marquis Maffei,[40] and he intended to stay there until the severity of winter had passed. Whether because of the past hardship and discomfort suffered in the storm at sea or Maffei's excessive kindness, however, one night when in Verona he was overcome by an apoplectic fit so serious that in a few moments it took his life.[41]

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38 G.'s letters had hitherto always ended with a greeting to his father. On 11 November 1724, he had written to Carlo: 'You can keep our old father hoping that my return will be soon and at the first opportunity for a vacant post for Naples' (*Epist.*, p. 196). It was then, in fact, in the autumn of that year 1725, that he alludes to the 'unexpected and sorrowful news' of the death of his father (Vienna, 13 October 1725: *Epist.*, p. 294).

39 G.'s letters to Carlo express his anxiety and that of all Riccardi's friends in Vienna at the lack of news from him.

40 Scipione Maffei (1675-1755), scholar and tragic poet; born at Verona, educated by the Jesuits at Parma; with Apostolo Zeno and Antonio Vallisnieri, in 1710 he founded the *Giornale de' Letterati*; author of a tragedy, based on a lost [!] play of Euripides—*Merope*—which was very successful and translated into many languages. He was a conservative, like Muratori, and as such ultimately hostile to the memory of both Riccardi and Giannone. In 1731, he published *Verona illustrata*, relying only on inscriptions (Harold Stone, *Vico's Cultural History* (Leiden 1997), p. 262).

41 Many rumours circulated on Riccardi's death. One such story was that he had died of shock after receiving news that he had lost the emperor's favour, and that Garelli had been somehow implicated (correspondence of Basilio and Nicola Forlosia,

After the cruel news of this sudden death reached Vienna, the post of fiscal advocate, left vacant, had to be filled, and the Neapolitans believed that they could obtain it and came forward. The Sicilians did the same, claiming that since first a Milanese had obtained it, who was Belcredi,[42] and then a Neapolitan, Riccardi, it should now be conferred on a Sicilian. There were many Italian claimants who deluded themselves that, because previously it had been granted only to nationals from the kingdoms and states over which the Council of Spain had jurisdiction, they should not now be wronged by seeing it pass to the Spaniards.

Friends advised me to apply for it with the others, especially as I could have obtained from Prince Eugene every good office and favour. When therefore I spoke of it to him, he did not consider me undeserving, and, on the contrary, told me that if I brought him the petition he would place it in His Majesty's hand, recommending me to him. This I did, and the prince, one of whose admirable gifts was that of fulfilling exactly

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Vienna Nat. Lib., quoted by Ricuperati, 'Alessandro Riccardi', *RSI* (1969), 745-777, p. 767). G. wrote to Carlo on 20 April 1726 that he hoped Riccardi had died in ignorance of, and not embittered by, the slander levelled at him during his time in Naples, which had certainly not been revealed to him from Vienna (*Epist*., p. 349). Despite the intrigues involved, a magnificent memorial service for Riccardi was organized in Naples. From the court of Rome, the secretary of state observed to the Viennese nuncio four years later (1731): 'On the death of Riccardi the tribunal with all its members in a body, and a good number of the highest nobility, celebrated with oration and pomp his most solemn funeral... an honour never given to the country's most deserving patricians in the great affairs of war or peace' (instructions of 28 January 1731 to Passionei: AAV, *Germania*: Marini, *Mezzogiorno*, p. 220, 274-276 (doc.12)). Thanks to G., a splendid memorial service was held in Vienna to honour Riccardi's memory, and Garelli personally shouldered most of the expense. Garelli also wrote an inscription for his tomb, which G. duly sent to his friends in Naples. Through G.'s intercession, he also promised to provide for Riccardi's two dependant relatives in Naples (see letters to Carlo, 11 May: *Epist.*, pp. 356-57, and 25 May 1726: *Epist*., p. 360). His funerary inscription was as follows:

'To Alessandro Riccardi, noble Neapolitan, August Councillor to the Emperor Charles, son of Leopold, Regent in the Supreme Spanish Council, most vigilant patron of the Treasury, Prefect of the Imperial Library, sincere cultivator of Christian piety, an outstanding man in his loyalty to his Prince, in his charity to his country, in his knowledge of divine and human law, in his manifold learning, in his ancient ways, who, when returning from Naples to Vienna, died at Verona on 18 April, 1726. P.N. Garelli set up this monument to his best friend and meritorious colleague' (Vienna, 11 May, 1726: *Epist*., pp. 356-357).

42 Count Giambattista Belcredi. Benedikt, *Königreich Neapel*, p. 227 lists him as fiscal lawyer in the Council of Spain in Vienna from 1713. His pro-fiscal subordinate, Riccardi, succeeded to his post (B., p. 129).

what he promised, did not fail to speak about it to the emperor and give him the petition.

The Germans who frequented the court, to whom I was well known, tried equally to help me as much as they could.[43] I nevertheless did not entertain any hope of it, knowing that provision for it was to pass through the hands of the Spaniards, who would exclude everyone in order to have it fall to one of their compatriots. For this purpose, they let the fury and zeal of so many subside, and month after month nothing was said about filling it, which led many to believe that the office was useless in the Council, since all the regents were fiscal advocates. They used to preach to the emperor, however, that it was most useful and necessary, and as a result, after almost two years, when others were least expecting it, it was filled by the regent Alvarez,[44] a Spaniard from Salamanca, who was living in Naples as regent of its Collateral Council.

Everyone was astonished that a regent was taken from the supreme Council of Naples to fill the post of fiscal advocate in Vienna, whereas previously in Vienna itself and in Madrid, in the Council of Italy, councillors of Santa Chiara and presidents of the Regia Camera, not regents, were called from Naples to fill the posts of regents, but not in the case of the fiscal advocate, who was usually elected from the Order of Advocates. It was even more astonishing because the fiscal advocate of Vienna had to compete for precedence with the secretaries, since they claimed that, as they had been granted the title of councillor, they were to take precedence over the fiscal advocate in seating and at every function. The Spaniards, however, understood it differently, because to have in the hands of their compatriots the office which had previously been held by Italians, they simply chose a regent of the Collateral Council in Naples, a Spaniard, so that no one might contend with him for rank or merit, and they described him also as a great professor. No one knew about this, and then it was learned that in his youth he had been a professor, not in Salamanca but in Pavia, where he had received the chair from one of his

43 G. wrote to Carlo: 'contrary to my nature, I have become so used to playing the courtier that I would never have believed it or imagined myself capable of it' (Vienna, 16 March 1726: *Epist*., p. 338). On the onerous demands involved in his own clientele, G. was to write exhaustedly to Carlo, about the friends and acquaintances who besieged him with requests: 'I think that if I went to Constantinople, even there they would persecute me' (Vienna, 7 February 1728: *Epist*., p. 520).

44 G., nevertheless, was not hostile to him.

brothers who was a senator in Milan where these professorships used to be dispensed to the sons or relatives of those magistrates, as though they were simple benefices.

Once this post had been taken by the Spaniards, they never relinquished it, because after Alvarez went to be regent for Milan, Esmandia,[45] also a Spaniard, who used to be a senator in Milan, was appointed fiscal advocate. And whereas previously his salary was no more than 6,000 florins per year (Riccardi had been paid 9,000, the extra 3,000 florins having been paid to him in his position as the other Imperial librarian), after the post was held by the Spaniards the money was increased to 9,000 florins, as was paid to all the other regents.

As the years passed, the greed and power of the Spaniards at the Imperial court of Vienna grew, and they openly treated the Italian states as their own patrimony. The hopes of Italian nationals thus waned, and they absolutely had to beg graces and favours from the Spaniards and gather the crumbs which fell from their table.[46]

Not only was this system, which was a common evil, damaging to me, but also the court of Rome was against me and under Benedict did not cease persecuting me,[47] all the more so because with time my work was increasingly sought by all countries and avidly read and commended. And in Naples it had enlightened many, especially the young, so that they began to conceive ideas different from those with

45 Esmandia was a fiscal lawyer of the Council of Spain in Vienna in 1725, who in 1731 personally intervened to block a proposal by the viceroy Harrach to grant a very small allowance to Vico's daughters, who were totally dependent on their father's tenuous means The reason for Alvarez's wish to transfer to Milan was that there he would be paid an allowance for housekeeping. Esmandia then used the same excuse later, when Alvarez died, in order to be transferred back to Milan (Benedikt, *Königreich Neapel*, p. 578).

46 G., nevertheless, wrote to Carlo on 22 December 1725 from Vienna: 'I have had reason to console myself, and have observed that His Majesty has such clemency for me that I am overwhelmed, and am obliged to abandon myself entirely in his arms. This will serve to calm you, and believe me, it is much better to strive from here close by than far away' (*Epist*., p. 316).

47 G. was always careful not to give positive cause to Rome to torment him. He insisted, for example, that his friends and colleagues, the Mencke of the *Acta eruditorum lipsiensium*, not include a review of the *Civil History*, which would further antagonize Rome (Vienna, 13 January 1725: *Epist*., p. 214, and again, 31 March 1725: p. 240). G.'s later role in the *Acta eruditorum lipsiensium* was to recommend Italian authors to the reviewers, although he did not write the reviews. Ricuperati in his erudite account of G.'s involvement in the journal suggests that the *Acta* was reluctant to have foreign Catholics as reviewers (*L'esperienza*, p. 318).

which the worthless legal books of the clumsy canonists had kept their minds encumbered. The writings coming from the courts on the occasion of some dispute over local or personal immunity or over the property of individuals and ecclesiastical possessions were also set out according to the true principles of sound jurisprudence. People became more cautious about loading the churches and monasteries with more property and riches, and attempts were made to block further gains to them of real estate. And many people were undeceived of so many vain and useless superstitions, which made them more knowing in order to elude the hypocrisy and subtle tricks of the priests and monks.

In Flanders, especially in Brussels and Louvain,[48] where many copies of my *History* had gone, it was exhaustively read and re-read by many, so that the Flemish wrote to Vienna that they now knew more about the kingdom of Naples than their own province. And as I did not neglect in many passages of the work to make honourable mention of Van Espen, the famous professor of Louvain, celebrated for his illustrious works, that wise and venerable old man, then still living, sent me his thanks and on later publishing his learned book *De recursu ad principem* (On Recourse to the Prince), sent me a copy as a gift that I might have something by which to remember him.[49]

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48 G.'s prominence in the world of learning must have been a great comfort and satisfaction to him. He writes to Carlo: 'A provost in Brussels, believing me an abbot, has, in view of his age, offered to resign to me his living in his church' (Vienna, 29 June 1725: *Epist*., p. 262). In G.'s first interview with Rialp, the marquis himself had indirectly alluded to G.'s renown, when he observed that, according to what he had heard, G. in his *History* (which Rialp had not had time to read) had 'much maltreated the court of Rome, which had induced several Dutchmen, who are, so to speak, heretics, to order from Naples quite a few copies.' And the marquis had continued: 'That is bad' (4 December 1723: Nicolini, *Scritti*, pp. 74-75).

49 It is published in the *Opera omnia canonica, integra et completa* (Venice 1769) (B., p. 132). G. wrote to Carlo: 'Because of the respect for him which I manifest in my work, he had had translated into Flemish that whole chapter where I treat the banning of books' (bk 27, ch.4=Ogilvie, 2, pp. 387-399) (Vienna, 29 June 1725: *Epist*., p. 262). On the persecution of Van Espen and G.'s support and assistance, see G.'s letter to Carlo of 29 September 1725 (*Epist.*, p. 291):

'All the good friends whom Van Espen has here have exhausted themselves to save him from the persecution of Brussels' internuncio, our Neapolitan [Giuseppe Spinelli]. He has accused him to Count Daun for what he has written in defence of the Chapter of Utrecht, in which there is nothing to criticize. Much has been written in Flanders in his defence, in which honorable mention has been made of me, and Van Espen himself in petitions does not neglect to honour me. The sky of Flanders is very different from yours in Naples. Down there [in Naples] they all want to attack me and declare me a heretic...

In France it was no less sought, and many requests for it came from Paris to Cavaliere Garelli,[50] who did not fail to send copies to those of his friends who had requested them, from the copies which I had had sent from Naples to Vienna.

All this irritated the Roman Curia even more, so that their persecutions became fiercer and more incessant. And their animosity and odious malevolence reached such extremes that all who read the *History* and seemed convinced of its erudition, even if they were priests and monks, earned their indignation, and they called them Giannonists to make them odious to the court of Rome. It was as though I were indicating matters which were new and not old, written about by most precise, learned and serious writers whom I, contrary to the custom of other historians, listed in the margin, so that each might be checked and the reader not be reliant solely on my narrative.[51] I therefore used to ask anyone making derogatory reference to it to show me this new doctrine being taught by me, since they considered me the leader of a new sect. I was, however, fortunate that their detractions and slander, which had spread throughout Italy, and their insidious intrigues could not in those times be plotted in the Imperial court of Vienna, because of an incident which was favourable to me. In reference to an old dispute, the emperor in previous treaties made with Innocent XIII had restored Comacchio[52] to the Church of Rome, on the understanding that the

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I must take more notice, however, of the view of the foremost canon lawyer in Europe than all that din of the Neapolitans. If I have a chance, I shall send you something of what has been written in this dispute, and since Van Espen has wanted me to become involved in his defence, I have not failed to do so and for my part to contribute what I could'.

Attached to this are two letters written by Van Espen to Mons. Prévalien and an unknown addressee (perhaps Rialp) on his defence of the election of the bishops of Utrecht. They are translated from French (*Giannoniana*, p. 228). G. wrote of Van Espen: 'He died blind and almost ninety years of age in Holland, unable to return to Louvain because of his persecutions by the Jesuits. The archduchess governor of Flanders, being a woman, was easily caught up in their intrigues and cabals' (Venice, 6 June 1735: *Epist*., p. 1109).

50 G. wrote to Carlo in praise of Garelli, 'who... has given me the ultimate proof of faithful friendship and the utmost affection, which I do not experience from the others. It will be a comfort to me if it only happens that personages of note have taken such care of me' (6 July 1726: *Epist*., p. 374).

51 This important statement must be taken into consideration in reference to the charge of plagiarism levelled at G. by his later detractors.

52 Comacchio or the Valli Comacchiesi was regarded as an Imperial feud distinct from the duchy of Ferrara. It had been occupied by the troops of Count Daun under the

bull of Pope Clement XI on the abolition of the court of the Monarchy[53] would not be implemented in Sicily, and that matters would be left as before and nothing new attempted regarding the court. Pope Benedict,[54] however, incited by some hypocritical zealots and without consulting the college of cardinals, after the restoration of Comacchio to the papacy, sent his briefs to the bishops of Sicily, enjoining them to exercise their jurisdiction on that island in accordance with the bull of Clement, thereby disregarding completely the old ways and usages of the court of the Monarchy, considered by him to be abuses. And the method adopted to have the briefs reach the bishops was to send the packet containing them to Cardinal Cienfuegos,[55] the Imperial plenipotentiary, for him to direct to Sicily. And he, as archbishop of Monreale, was sent another similar, specific brief ordering him to carry out all that it contained. That good cardinal, to obey His Holiness, accepted the brief and sent the packet to Sicily to the archbishop of Palermo[56] to whom it was addressed, who sent out the briefs to all the bishops of the island, throwing it into confusion over the innovation which the pope wanted to introduce at a time when the Sicilians least expected it.

When the emperor heard this news, he was incensed, even though the lord chancellor, Count von Sintzendorf, and the marquis of Rialp

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command of Count Claude de Bonneval in 1708, and should have been restored to the duke of Este, to whom it had belonged until transferred to the Church. Its possession became the subject of a great controversy based on historical and legal considerations in the early eighteen century. Ludovico Antonio Muratori, as adviser and librarian to the duke of Modena, Rinaldo d'Este, was the protagonist against the court of Rome. The chief papal supporter was Giusto Fontanini. Comacchio remained under Austrian occupation until 1725, when it was given back to the pope, in return for his recognition of the Pragmatic Sanction. (B., pp. 132-133.3). For a fuller treatment, see Bertelli, *Erudizione e storia in Ludovico Antonio Muratori* (Naples 1960), pp. 100-101.

53 Philip II in 1579 had set up a court in Sicily known as *Iudex monarchiae siculae* to which was delegated ecclesiastical jurisdiction in the name of the Sicilian monarchy. The kings of Sicily asserted the right to exercise in their kingdom also the supreme ecclesiastical power invested in the representatives of the Holy See. On 20 February 1715, Clement XI suppressed the court with the ruling *Romanus Pontifex* (B., p. 133).

54 Pastor, however, writes: 'The attitude of the Pope could surprise no one for, whilst still a Cardinal, he had on one occasion given unequivocal expression to his abhorrence for the Sicilian Legation by subscribing to Clement XI's Bull of abolition on his knees' (34, p. 145).

55 After a brief term as archbishop of Catania (1722-1725), Cienfuegos had been made archbishop of Monreale, which title he retained until his death, despite his relocation to Rome as the Imperial plenipotentiary (B., p. 133).

56 Joseph Gasch, 1653-c.1729 (B., p. 133).

did their best to allay his just indignation; the count in order not to ruin his negotiations in Rome for the cardinalate of Abbot Sintzendorf, his son,[57] for which he had obtained the patronage of the king of Poland;[58] the marquis in order not to break off the hopes for the cardinalate of the archbishop of Salerno, his brother,[59] and the good fortune promised for Abbot Perlas, his son, and his nephews, whom he kept in Rome. All the members of the Council of Spain were nevertheless strongly opposed to the innovation, which they considered a flagrant attack, and made constant representations to His Majesty that he should not suffer it, and that matters in Sicily should be left as they were, by annulling the briefs and not allowing the bishops to attempt anything new. The emperor followed their wise advice and ordered the viceroy there to block any attempted innovation.

To this trouble was added shortly after another, occasioned by Cardinal Annibale Albani's having printed a new, magnificent *Bullarium* of all the constitutions, bulls, briefs and even notes issued by Clement XI,[60] his uncle, during his pontificate, and when collected in this volume these were claimed to be universal laws which served *pro regimine urbis et orbis* (to rule Rome and the world). They included many bulls, briefs and acts most prejudicial to the royal prerogative and especially to the court of the Monarchy in Sicily. When they were shown to the emperor, therefore, with the pages noted where could be read the many affronts to, and ill-treatment of, both the royal rights and His Majesty's magistrates, this also aroused the emperor's indignation and determination to have it rejected in all the kingdoms and his extensive dominions. And although the Council of Spain advocated that it should be banned by public edict in his states, and the emperor expressed his agreement with their view, the marquis of Rialp, through whom as secretary of state the orders had to pass, deferred them so that with time matters cooled down and the emperor was otherwise occupied. The clamour had finally so abated that the marquis of Rialp could write a letter to the viceroy of Sicily, in which with great caution and secrecy he ordered him not to permit the

57 Philip Joseph Ludwig von Sintzendorf.

58 Augustus II (1679-1733), the Strong, archduke of Saxony, king of Poland, came to the Polish throne in 1697. At his death began the war of the Polish Succession.

59 Paul Perlas de Vilhena (d.1730). He was aiming at the cardinalate and would have attained it, had he not died (Benedikt, *Königreich Neapel*, p. 231).

60 *Clementi Undecimi pont. max. Bullarium* (Rome 1723) (B., p. 134).

collection of Clement's bulls to be brought into the island, by giving secret instructions on this to the wardens of the ports. This accomplished nothing, since it was heard later that they had been introduced into Palermo, Messina, and other cities of Sicily, and that all the copies sent by Rome had been brought into the island.

With these troubles pending and the court of Vienna having made clear its dissatisfaction with the court of Rome, either no attempts were made to damage my interests, or if they were, they were fruitless, not understood and unheeded.

II

[1726]

In the meantime we had entered the year 1726.[61] I had to my cost

61 On Easter Saturday of 1726, Althann burnt in his fireplace Costantino Grimaldi's *Considerazioni*, written at the request of the court of Barcelona, Riccardi's *Ragioni*, published at the beginning of the Austrian vice-regency in 1708-1709, the first two volumes of Grimaldi's *Discussioni*, already placed (to Grimaldi's great distress) on the *Index*, as well as the four volumes of the *Civil History*. To the anxious enquiry of a member of his household, he replied: 'I am burning the heresies of the Neapolitans' (quoted by Marini, *Mezzogiorno*, pp. 204-205). The *Civil History* was also burned publicly. G. learned of this from Costantino Grimaldi (Vienna, 8 June: *Epist.*, p. 365 and 20 July 1726: *Epist.*, p. 377). G. muses to Carlo: 'I do not talk about it, because it matters little to me. It is true that people write here about it from other places and it is spoken of with horror at various gatherings, some persons marvelling that I do not know about it or do not make any fuss' (Vienna, 20 July 1726: *Epist.*, p. 377). No one suffered from Althann more than Grimaldi. Friend and protector of G. in Naples, he wrote several urgent letters to G. in Vienna, imploring his intercession, given the persecution of him in Naples by Althann, and the court of Rome under its nuncio: for that of 14 March, 1727, see Chapter Six: Appendix. His writings were placed on the Index and destroyed. The united efforts of Garelli, influential Neapolitan friends, and officials in Vienna were ineffectual. Rome's secretary of state, Cardinal Antonio Bianchieri wrote to Passionei how atheism was making great strides among the people of Naples, 'not only because there is no punishing authors of such scandalous and pernicious maxims, such as those of Councillor Grimaldi and Giannone, but they are even rewarded and distinguished by the court in Vienna' (Rome, 28 January 1731: *ibid.*, p. 274, letter 12). In reply to the letters of Grimaldi, in the throes of desperation over his confiscated and condemned books, G. sent acknowledgements through Carlo: 'I have done as he wished with Garelli, to whom I gave the letter which he included for me, and I shall not fail to undertake his defence, as will all his friends here, to deliver him from the persecution which he is suffering' (Vienna, 7 December 1726: *Epist.*, p. 419). 'To Sig. Grimaldi I reply, commiserating with him on his misfortune, and so much more, because here there can be no compensation for the harm done to him' (28

experienced how badly I had been advised in deciding, as I was alone, to take a house by myself and place myself in the hands of the foreign servants who looked after my domestic affairs. Not only had my expenses increased and become insupportable, but also I was very badly served and, what was worse, had twice been robbed,[62] once by a servant from Trente and once by a German from Linz, the capital of Upper Austria. They escaped after emptying the chests where I kept some ready cash, and although it was not much, any blow of this kind overwhelmed me, as I had nothing except what was given me by my monthly allowance.

I then realized the good sense of those who did not have large stipends to support the expense of a house only for themselves, who arranged to become boarders, so that by pooling their resources they could live more comfortably without abandoning themselves to servants to be robbed and badly served. To my case could be added a particular reason which helped convince me of this course of action. As I had become friendly with the household of old Ploikner and acquainted with his family, which was made up of discerning, upright and affectionate women, I willingly decided to join forces with them. I did this even more so because, apart from the greater comfort and care which I would have in my domestic affairs, I would be able to benefit them considerably and relieve the straitened circumstances which had befallen them after the death of that good old man.

December, 1726: *Epist*., p. 424). Despite G.'s confident tone and the evident efforts which he made from Vienna on Grimaldi's behalf, his newly published books could not be saved, remained condemned, and were almost all destroyed: thrown into the sea or burnt. See Grimaldi's despairing letter, 14 March 1727 (*Giannoniana*, pp. 518-520). Grimaldi wrote to his friend Muratori in 1732, 'Long would be the story, and sorrowful, of the adversity suffered by me because of three fearful powers: the court of Rome, the Jesuits, and Cardinal Althann' (Modena Archives, 1 January 1732; quoted by Ajello, in *P.G. e il suo tempo*, p. 105). Vittor Ivo Comparato, who edited Grimaldi's *Memorie di un anticuralist del Settecento*, wrote: 'Grimaldi, and before him Giannone, was willing to sacrifice his own spiritual serenity and safety to defend both the rights of sovranty and those of individual freedom' (intro, pp. xiv-xv).

62 G. writes to Carlo of servants throwing away unposted letters in order to keep the money for the postage: 'For four or five *grossi* to spend at an inn... They are capable of committing these crimes because, being brutish, they do not understand what it means to throw the letters down the toilet' (7 July 1725: *Epist*., p. 263). He then suspects that his mail has been intercepted, that it was not his servant's fault, but that the nunciature would be interested in his mail. He suggests that Carlo write to him under the name of Matteo Micaglia (15 September 1725*: Epist.,* p. 287). He lodges a protest with Rialp and Sintzendorf (29 September 1725: *Epist*., p. 290).

He died in October 1724 at Perchtoldsdorf, leaving the poor widow Leichsenhoffen, who was his step-daughter,[63] with the three young women who were her daughters, since another, the eldest, was already married, and a son had embarked on a military career. The afflicted woman with her three daughters, having lost her husband and now her step-father, had as her only means of support a small allowance provided by Princess Montecuccoli[64] in gratitude to the memory of, and the favours received from, the old Ploikner when he was flourishing, and a small pension assigned to them later by the emperor in the Chamber of Vienna. And although Ploikner had left a son already established, who was a councillor of the Chamber, there was no hope of his assistance because, as he had taken a wife and had children, he could provide only for his own family.

It was decided, therefore, to lease a spacious house in Italienischestrasse with separate rooms, to avoid any inconvenience or uneasiness on either side, and we lived together and shared table. This took effect at the beginning of May of that year, and I provided the rent for my rooms and whatever was necessary for service and board. I found that, although there was no saving and it cost me the same as being by myself,[65] I was treated better than if I were in my own home in Naples, made truly comfortable and properly served. Above all, I was glad to be of great benefit and comfort to those unhappy women, who were most grateful for anything which I did to help them, and treated me with indescribable affection and cordiality.

Among my many persecutions and misfortunes,[66] it seems that

63 On Ploikner and his step-daughter, see Chapter Five.

64 The wife of the count of Montecuccoli, Ercole Pio (1664-1729), field-marshal of the emperor (B., p. 136.1).

65 In Vienna, 80,000 people were crammed into 1,000 houses. Aristocrats, therefore, took in boarders (Charles Ingrao, *The Habsburg Monarchy* (Cambridge 1994), p. 126). G. wrote to Carlo that rent was approximately 200 florins per annum, added to which was the cost of a servant at some 144 florins per year; that the cost of living and especially of clothing oneself was high, so that a florin in Vienna was of much less value than in Naples (Vienna, 13 April 1726: *Epist.*, p. 347).

66 The stress of such a life is reflected in a letter to Carlo: '... a thousand of the warmest embraces to very dear Sig. Mela, but what can he hope for me when I am sailing a sea as deep as it is perilous, and my ship is broken to pieces, and contrary winds certainly cannot promise a safe harbour'. In comparison with the privileged and unscrupulous at the Viennese court, 'I have no hope except the favour of my few protectors and some relief which I draw from the clemency of His Majesty' (20 July 1726: *Epist.*, p. 378).

divine providence had reserved this sole consolation and comfort for me, of having found in Vienna persons so loving and affectionate that I could hardly have found their equal among my dear ones in Naples.[67] The mother Leichsenhoffen was a woman whose advanced age was commensurate with her upright, devout, and virtuous ways. She passed her time whether in churches or at home praying continually to God and the saints. She was charitable to the poor, to whom she used to give tonics made by herself, her skill in this being customary in some German households where the women applied themselves voluntarily to such labours. She was never heard to say anything not modest and wise. She was hostile to the new, slack usages currently being introduced into Vienna, and rigidly observed the old ways. Her virtues shone even more, however, in the way in which she brought up her three daughters, who were kind, modest, discreet, well mannered and saintly, and attracted the benevolence and love of all who had dealings with them.

The middle sister, Ernestina von Leichsenhoffen, however, stood out from the others. With her integrity, modesty and civility and other heroic virtues beautifying her, she approached everything with great diligence, sincerity, acuity and prudence, and above all, as she was discreet and thrifty to such a perfect degree, old Ploikner, her grandfather, had entrusted her when she was still a young girl with his domestic affairs. She attended to the household with such wisdom, astuteness and solicitude, that the good old man used to say to me that without Fräulein Ernestina running his home, the years of his old age would have been much worse, and that God had left him at least the comfort of someone as faithful as she was affectionate, who took precise care not only of him physically but also of all his family and domestic matters. This wise young woman, therefore, made herself responsible for my domestic affairs, for everything concerned with clothes, furniture and whatever else I needed, and did it with such affection, loyalty and exactness, that I was relieved of many troublesome cares for which I

67 Perhaps typical of the slander levelled at G. is that repeated to him by Carlo that Silvestro Tosques, an acquaintance of G. in Vienna, was spreading reports in Naples: 'That in Vienna you are hated and despised by everyone, that you are wretchedly dressed, and that you maintain a public concubinage in the midst of many women, whom you support by spending all you have on them.... If he were not considered a slandering imposter, these slanders could certainly have an effect, but he is too well known here' (Carlo to Pietro, Naples, 18 November 1735: *Giannoniana*, p. 441).

was inept and impatient, especially in a foreign country, and delivered me from the tricks and cunning of servants. As a result, from then on, I devoted myself wholly to my studies and to obtaining the speedy fulfillment of what had been promised to me in the Imperial decree.

As I was so comfortable and in the midst of Germans, everyone will expect me to have learnt their language perfectly, and in truth such were the efforts of my companions at table, who did their utmost to make me learn it, that I should have succeeded. The opposite, however, happened, because instead of my learning German they learnt Italian. Excluding the mother, who was of a very advanced age, the three daughters, and especially Ernestina, had in a short time learnt it so perfectly that they then spoke it fluently. It thus happened that I no longer worried about learning German, and having made almost the whole house Italian, I always spoke in my language and was well understood. My advanced age, moreover, made me unfit to concentrate on such a vast and intricate tongue, the words of which being composed of many consonants and few vowels, made it ill-suited to the pronunciation of Italians. In addition, because of the great number of Italians[68] in Vienna, with whom I used to converse, and because both French and Italian were spoken and understood in the homes of the German nobility, there was not that necessity, which is the greatest teacher of language, to force me to learn it. And in reference to books, the most learned and wise writers when publishing, in order to be read. did not avail themselves of German but more of Latin.

I thus continued my stay in Vienna in greater comfort and made myself known both to the illustrious personages of the German court and to foreigners who were living there, either employed by the public magistracy in the service of some prince, or for private interests. Some of them, when a matter of grave concern to them had to be treated in

68 There was a significant Italian colony in Vienna made up of government officials, the clergy, artisans, artists and soldiers. Italian had been spoken at court until around 1720. The first Viennese Gazette in 1672 was published in Italian, and official reports were written in Latin or Italian until c.1740 (Jean Bérenger, *Histoire de l'Empire des Habsbourgs* (Paris 1990), pp. 450, 454). G. continued to be able to practise his profession in a Vienna 'infested with expatriate Catalans and adventurers of all sorts', despite his inability to speak German, because appeals there, also on behalf of Italians resident in Vienna, were conducted through written submissions and interviews with officials, and not by oral discussion in the actual courtroom (P. Luigi Rovito, in *P.G. e il suo tempo*, p. 284).

the courts, did not fail to request my legal representation, knowing that I was a lawyer by profession. And as it is the custom in all Vienna's councils and courts not to speak on the cases in the *Ruota*, but only to write on the controversial clauses and report on them to the magistrates in their homes, I was often asked, especially by Italians, to represent them in their law-suits.

When the Imperial consul Mariconi,[69] agent for His Imperial Majesty in Genoa, therefore, had a lawsuit with some Catalan merchants, Monsignor Mariconi, his brother, who lived in Vienna, asked me to undertake his defence. This I did, and drew up some arguments[70] which proved the baselessness of the Catalans' claims. The duke of Saponara, a Sicilian, who was decorated with the title of Prince of the Empire, also availed himself of my work in his defence when involved in a serious dispute in the Conference of the Post over the office of courier-general for the post in Sicily. The dispute was finally settled by an amicable agreement, whereby he kept the office and a compromise was reached on the claims of the Treasury by paying out a considerable sum of money.[71]

I was later asked by the marquis di Corese, Maffeo Barberini,[72] a Roman, to write up a case which he had with Cardinal Barberini on interpreting the will of Urban VIII.[73] He argued for the exclusion of female beneficiaries succeeding to the stipulated trusts, because there

69 Baron Bartolomeo Mariconi. G. was assisted in this case by Francesco Mela. See the letter to Carlo (10 August 1726: *Epist.*, p. 383) and subsequent letters in August and October, and that of 16 November, in which the matter is discussed in detail (*Epist.*, pp. 412-413).

70 The submission relating to this case is in TAS, *Mss. Giannone*: *Giannoniana*, p. 426; B., p. 139.

71 This case was brought by Vincenzo Di Giovanni e Zappata, duke della Saponara, prince of the Holy Roman Empire and member of the Council of Spain. This is not the same as the case for Girolamo Capece, the marquis di Rofrano: for this case see TAS, *Mss. Giannone*: *Giannoniana*, p. 426; G. asked Francesco Mela for assistance (Vienna, 19 July: *Epist.*, p. 471; B., p. 139).

72 Maffeo Barberini was the natural son of Urbano (1644-1722), third Prince of Palestrina. He sought an opinion in the dispute with Cardinal Francesco Barberini (1662-1738). Panzini (*Vita*, p. 72) states that the case was, in fact, between Marquis Maffeo and the legitimate daughter of Urbano, Cornelia. The cardinal appealed to Charles VI in favour of his niece Cornelia (B., p. 139). *Ragioni del marchese D. Maffeo Barberini sopra la successione della casa Barberini derivanti dalle disposizioni del pontefice Urbano VIII* (Vienna 1726), reprinted in *Opere postume*, 2, pp. 332-374; B., p. 139.

73 Maffeo Barberini (1568-1644), who became Urban VIII (1623-1644); opponent of Jansenism, patron of Bernini.

were natural male beneficiaries, albeit illegitimate. I wrote a brief on the matter in which I substantiated not only the marquis' appeal that the women be excluded, but also the old pre-eminences and sovereign powers of monarchs over the marriages of illustrious persons, who were their subjects or vassals, which was the other article to be examined in the dispute. And I was also asked by the Genoans, through Marquis Clemente Doria, to defend some of their cases.[74]

From Naples the lawyers who were my friends did not fail to entrust me with the defence of some serious cases of their clients, which had to be treated in the Council of Spain. In this way I received the case on the special investigation instituted against the president of the Camera, Lione.[75] The other case later entrusted to me was to defend the duke of Maddaloni,[76] who was charged with having ordered and been party to the murder in Naples of a notary. And there were other cases of various aristocrats, such as that of the princess and later the prince of Tarsia,[77] her nephew, the prince of Montemiletto,[78] the duke of Sant' Agapito,

74 Bertelli cannot trace these cases, but refers to Panzini (*Vita*, p. 73) who mentions a case, for which Doria called on G., of *fideicommissum* (a trust) on behalf of the duchess of Nevers. For material on Marquis Doria in the TAS, see *Mss. Giannone*: *Giannoniana*, p. 423; B., p. 139.

75 G.'s involvement in the case can be traced through four of his letters: 9 November 1726 (*Epist.*, p. 410), where he refers to Rialp's approval at his undertaking it and the possible influence it might have on the emperor's favour; 20 September 1727 (p. 485) and 4 December 1728 (pp. 581-582), in which he expresses in passing his loving gratitude to his dear and faithful friend Pietro Contegna, and finally, after having written at least two petitions on Lione's behalf, on 14 April 1731 (p. 793), G. announces Lione's death. He remained unpaid for his work.

76 Marzio Carafa. G. was persuaded to undertake the defence of the duke against his will (Vienna, 29 March 1727: *Epist.*, p. 447) in order to please Pietro Contegna (letters of October and November 1727).

77 Alessandro Riccardi, on his fateful visit to Italy and Naples, mentioned that the prince of Tarsia was among the few in Naples who remained his friend (letter to Nicola Forlosia of 19 January 1725: Vienna Nat. Lib., quoted by Ricuperati, 'Alessandro Riccardi', *RSI*, 81 (1969), 745-777, p. 765). There are many references in G.'s correspondence (dating from 20 July 1726) to the case of the princess of Tarsia against Count della Cerra. G.'s letters reveal that he, nevertheless, was not paid for his services, as happened also in other cases where his services were sought.

78 Prince d'Acaya e Montemiletto, Leonardo di Tocco. Material on his case is in the TAS, *Mss. Giannone: Giannoniana*, p. 421; for his *Supplica... a S.M.C. affinché interponga il suo real assenso per la vendita di Fontanarosa e Torre delle Nocelle, Mss. Giannone*: *Giannoniana*, p. 418; B., p. 140.3). Benedikt refers also to cases for the marquise Cristina di Balestrino, the count of Cerbellon, the princess of Feroleto, the prince della Scalea, the prince of Avellino, and the marquis of Villanueva. In 1730, he wrote a petition for Garelli (Benedikt, *Königreich Neapel*, pp. 549-550). In the TAS

and others on behalf of barons and communities and other cities of the kingdom, which in the following years, as the occasion arose, were entrusted to me. From the emoluments and acknowledgements given me for my labours I could not only furnish my rooms with the best furniture, but also occasionally buy some books, so that in time I was able to build up a small library. By putting aside some cash, however, I saved the sum of 1,000 florins, and in order that it not remain idle, in December of the following year, 1727, I deposited it in the bank of the city of Vienna at a profit of fifty florins per annum.[79]

[1727]

In this new year, 1727, I was working on the law-suits of the consul Mariconi, President Lione, and the duke of Saponara, for whose defence I had to write up some briefs, and when the court had as usual been transferred at the end of April to Laxenburg, I decided to prepare them more at my ease by going to Perchtoldsdorf with the family. They were not only esteemed and respected there, but also had every comfort and convenience, so that I was still there in May. It is undeniable that the holiday was not only opportune for completing my labours there in peace and quiet, but also very useful in restoring my health. We did not return to the city until the beginning of July, and on my arrival an opportunity arose which, had men's conceit, envy and ambition not blocked me, would, through the new merit stemming from it, have facilitated the fulfilment of the promise made to me by His Majesty in his Imperial decree.

When the court of Rome saw that the emperor and the Council of

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are numerous documents representing the recourses and appeals conducted by G. as procurator in the central courts of Vienna, especially the Council of Spain for cases originating from the courts of Naples (*Giannoniana*, p. 393).

79 In spite of the measure of security and satisfaction which G. had found in Vienna, Rome remained unrelenting in its persecution of him. Nicolò Maria Lercari (secretary of state) wrote to the nuncio Grimaldi on 12 October 1726, and after announcing that Costantino Grimaldi's books had been condemned, stated that G., 'on the pretext of writing *The Civil History of Naples,* had included chapters on ecclesiastical subjects full of impiety and poison, without sparing the Church or the saints or Jesus Christ himself, with the sole aim of veiling the eyes of Catholic princes and alienating them from the respect due to the Church' (Marini, *Mezzogiorno*, pp. 204, 273-274 (doc. 11)). For Costantino Grimaldi's letter to G. requesting G.'s support (unsigned, dated 14 March 1727: Florence National Library: *Giannoniana*, pp. 518-520), see Chapter Six: Appendix [61].

Spain were determined not to allow any innovation in Sicily regarding the court of the Monarchy, and not to have the pope's bulls recognized there, it proposed with subtle cunning to end the controversy on the court of the Monarchy by an amicable arrangement. In Rome the pope's curials and the emperor's ministers, especially Cardinal Cienfuegos,[80]equally took part, all of them, the pontifical magistrates from the court of Rome and the Imperial magistrates of Vienna, anticipating ample prizes and grants if through them such a scabrous and serious affair, which had been a matter of contention for long years, were ended amicably and by a Concordat. The curials, however, would not have achieved their purpose, if they had not succeeded in drawing over to their side the two main ministers then governing the court of Vienna: the lord chancellor of the Court, Count von Sintzendorf, and the marquis of Rialp. It was easy to draw them over, the former by the cardinalate already granted to his son, the latter by the cardinalate which he hoped to have conferred on his brother, apart from the high hopes conceived for his son, whom he kept in Rome well on the way to a career in the prelacy.[81] These two men strove to obtain the emperor's consent to have the treaty of accord inaugurated in Rome, deceiving him that by having on their side Cardinal Coscia,[82] who was so much the pope's favourite, that the outcome could not fail to be to the emperor's advantage. They took care, moreover, to involve the Council of Spain in this, fearing that it might render vain all their schemes.

When Cardinal Cienfuegos, therefore, was appointed to negotiate it

80 Pastor states, however, that the 'Emperor's representative Cardinal Cienfuegos... bitterly reproached the Pope, alleging that in making this innovation, he had been badly advised, that he upset the whole of Sicily, regardless of the Emperor of whose attachment he had received so many tokens' (34, p. 135).

81 His son, nevertheless, suffered an early death.

82 Niccolò Coscia (1682-1755), the notorious favourite of Benedict XIII, into whose hands Benedict virtually surrendered the important diplomatic and administrative business of the papal court. He rose from being secretary to the archbishop of Benevento, Pietro Francesco Orsini, to become cardinal and favourite to Orsini as Pope Benedict XIII. G. had written to Carlo that friends who come from Rome assure him 'Cardinal Coscia is said not to be as harshly against my books as some Neapolitans who are here' (25 August 1725: *Epist*., p. 282). Two years later he wrote to Carlo that Coscia's 'abominations make me more grateful for my residing here, not seeing them but hearing about them from afar and in a safe place' (1 February 1727: *Epist.,* p. 433). Coscia's notorious period of ascendancy ended the day after Benedict died on 21 Feb. 1730, when he was driven from the pontifical palace and eventually imprisoned in Castel Sant' Angelo (*DBI* 20, pp. 6-12: F. Petrucci).

and he availed himself of men who were in his view able and suitable, it was truly both laughable and pitiful. In a matter of such gravity and so scabrous and vast, the cardinal, who was not himself able, did not avail himself of experienced, learned and informed magistrates, by having them come, if need be, from Palermo, since they would have been best informed there, or also from Naples, which did not lack men most knowledgeable on such royal prerogatives. He placed the matter instead in the charge of some monks[83] and other individuals who did not know what the court of the Monarchy[84] was or the nature of it, and in

83 They were, on the contrary, Prospero Lambertini, the future Benedict XIV, who was to be known as 'the scholar pope', then bishop of Theodosia and secretary of the Congregazione del Concilio at Rome, and Celestino Galiani, then procurator general of the Celestine religious order at Rome. Their labours on the Concordat were generally and dispassionately described as anything but pro-curialist. The irony which rankled with G., however, was that they were both ecclesiastics, and yet were appointed to right what Vienna considered ecclesiastical injustice. Prospero Lambertini had the same privileged education as Domenico Passionei. He had been the close associate of the marquis d'Ormea (see below), in the Concordat made between Rome and Turin, which was accepted by Benedict XIII, but rejected outright by Clement XII as the 'work of courtiers'. As 'the scholar pope' he remained silent on the fate (and also deaf to the petition) of the ageing, forsaken, unjustly imprisoned scholar in the Citadel of Turin who, even in his own day, was acclaimed in Europe as one of its greatest intellectuals. He remained deaf also to the pleas of G.'s son Giovanni, and those recommending him, in his attempts to obtain honourable employment after his brutal imprisonment. Galiani, although a moderate, had nevertheless loyally protected Riccardi on his way through Rome to Naples (Raffaele Ajello, 'Vico e Riccardi nella crisi politica del 1726', *Boll. Centro di Studi Vichiani*, 3 (1973), 82-131, p, 89). As he had been the private tutor of Harrach's sons, Galiani was favoured by Viceroy Harrach in his candidature for the post of *cappellano maggiore* (chief chaplain) in the kingdom of Naples, striven for also by G.'s close friend Biagio Garofalo. He was, moreover, a fervent defender of G. (Fausto Nicolini, *Un grande educatore italiano*, *Celestino Galiani*, p. 26), and would certainly have assisted G. if he had returned to Naples. His anti-curialist sympathies must have made him suspect to Rome, so that he was never raised to a cardinalate.

84 On the Court of the Monarchy, G. held that the kings of Sicily had had jurisdiction over it for some 600 years. It originated not from the bull of Urban II (1088-1099), but from the time when the kings of Sicily succeeded in Sicily (1130) to the Byzantine emperors, and no one had ever denied them this right to intervene in the exterior jurisdiction of the churches dependent on the throne of Constantine, 'a thesis which is historically and legally very correct' (Nicolini, *Celestino Galiani* (Naples 1951), pp. 55-56). Pastor (34, p. 136) wrote that, following Cienfuegos' advice, Charles VI, by a decree of 5 December 1725, 'ordered the Sicilians to help him uphold the Tribunal of the Monarchy... and not to yield in the slightest degree. The Governor was instructed to expel at once any Bishop who ventured to make the slightest innovation, and he had every copy of Clement's Bull confiscated'. Pastor (15, pp. 515-521) wrote also that Cienfuegos 'made much more of the interests of the Emperor than those of the Pope'. For further reading, Bertelli (*Giannoniana*, p.

particular in the charge of one Perrelli.[85] He was a foolish and uncultured man, ignorant even of the terminology, appointed solely because he was on familiar terms with Cardinal Coscia, who was considered by him the most effective instrument to bring negotiations to a successful conclusion.

The shrewd and cunning pontifical ministers wanted nothing more in order to deal with them as they wanted. By negotiating with such inexperienced persons who had willingly embarked on the matter to find more favour with the pope, from whom they hoped for greater recompense than from the emperor, it was easy for them with their quibbling and tricks not only to make them do what they wished, but also to make them feel that the conclusion of negotiations, as they had conducted them, was more advantageous to the emperor than to Rome. And instead of a Concordat, the matter was reduced to a

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142.1) suggests Gaetano Catalano, *Le ultime vicende della Legazia Apostolica di Sicilia* (Catania 1950), and Francesco Scaduto, *Stato e Chiesa nelle Due Sicilie* (Palermo 1969).

85 Pietro Perrelli, duke of Monasterace (d.1736). His father Domenico, was a self-made businessman and a friend of Cardinal Coscia, whose favour facilitated successful careers for his seven sons. He purchased the dukedom of Monasterace and entered the ranks of the barons. His liberality to the Church made him much favoured. His eldest son, Pietro, became a judge in the Vicaria and was constantly called upon by the magistracy to negotiate with the Curia (Benedikt, *Königreich Neapel*, p. 452). Bertelli ascribes G.'s animosity towards Perrelli to the fact that G. and his party had not been included in the negotiations (*Giannoniana*, p. 132). Elsewhere he surmises that, while G.'s indignation was directed more at the 'treaty' than at Perrelli himself, G. must have scorned the impression given by Perrelli of seeking a more direct path to the Imperial court via 'the more malleable and corruptible ministers of Rialp's Catalan court'. 'L'incartamento originale', *Il Pensiero politico*, 1 (1968), 16-38, p. 20; see also Bertelli for bibliography and for Perrelli's own account of the lack of experience and enthusiasm, in fact apathy and reluctance, of Naples' prominent magistrates to collaborate with him in his research (*Giannoniana*, p. 142.2). Perrelli, in a report presented to the emperor on 1 January 1729, claimed:
'As soon as I arrived in Naples... I began to gather the necessary information, and many excellent intellectuals were suggested to me by the Viceroy and the President of the Council. I wanted also to speak, but always with much reserve, to a few regents of the Collateral, but in many of them, from the reports which I had already received, I found either little experience in similar matters, or too much obstinacy in not wanting to cooperate, and also, in some, much inclination for the part of Rome. By comparing these observations, therefore, with information gathered from wise men, without letting them know the object of my researches, I realized that a good settlement could not be expected if the plan of the treaty were communicated to the said regents or were even only guessed by them'(Biblioteca della Società napoletana di Storia patria; a copy of the report is filed with Galiani's papers: *Giannoniana*, p. 132).

constitution to be drawn up by the pope, which would give a new form and method to regulate future ecclesiastical cases in the kingdom of Sicily. They therefore drew up a draft of that constitution which, when seen, annotated and examined in Rome by the champions chosen by Cardinal Cienfuegos to represent the emperor, seemed acceptable to them, and not to give cause for a moment's delay in publishing it. It was so advantageous, it should be published before the pontifical curials realized that it was to their disadvantage. When they had convinced that good and simple cardinal of this,[86] he sent Perrelli[87] to Vienna by stagecoach with the draft of the planned bull. Perrelli then went about everywhere shouting: 'Victory, victory!', as though bearing news of the defeat in battle of some numerous enemy army or the successful attack on a vital and impregnable town. And he went to the marquis of Rialp and Count von Sintzendorf and gave it to them as though everything were concluded to the emperor's advantage. They, not being expert in such matters, read the draft, believing it to be as Perrelli praised it. And they went to rejoice about it to the emperor, telling him of the great success of the agreement with Rome, according to the draft which had been sent, and that nothing more was required, and that His Majesty might order Cardinal Cienfuegos (who had also written to him in the same tone in which Perrelli was boasting) to have the pope draw up the bull and send it to Sicily. The emperor expressed his satisfaction, but decided that the draft first be sent to the Council of Spain for examination, in case some other matter needed attention. As the marquis of Rialp and Count von Sintzendorf were convinced of its being advantageous and

86 The prisoner of Miolans revels in his scorn.

87 Perrelli arrived in Vienna 5 September 1727 (B., p. 143.1). Pastor provides a vivid account of Perrelli's negotiations with the emperor: Perrelli
'gave the Emperor a personal account of the negotiations. On this occasion he exhibited the original of a letter of the Archbishop of Palermo to the Pope in which the Archbishop, in answer to the second papal Brief, assures the Pontiff that with regard to [the] Bull of abolition of Clement XI, he would strictly comply with His Holiness' orders, for he was resolved to give his very blood for the freedom of the Church and to defy every violence that the secular Power might have recourse to. This letter had reached neither the Pope nor the Secretary of State, for the imperialists had intercepted it. Perrelli now made use of it as a proof of the Bishop's determination to obey the Pope, thereby offering the Emperor the alternative either of promptly terminating the dispute on the basis of the negotiations hitherto pursued, or of upholding the Monarchy by force of arms. In spite of this strong pressure the Emperor put off his decision...' (34, p. 41).

that the Council would have nothing either to add or remove, and that everything in it would be approved and commended, they made no objection and enthusiastically sent it to be examined by the Council.

When the draft was read in the Council, everyone and especially the provincial regents of Sicily, Almarz and Perlongo, were taken aback that, instead of a Concordat, the matter had been reduced in Rome to a constitution. In it the pope gave the impression not of revoking the bull of Clement XI [1700-1721], which abolished the court, but rather of confirming it; that disregarding the ancient royal pre-eminences and ancient modes and usages of the court, it seemed that the pope himself wanted fundamentally again to control and give Sicily a new system for treating ecclesiastical cases; and that he conceded nothing to the emperor except the nomination and election of the judge, who was constituted as such by the pope by virtue of the bull's giving him jurisdiction and limiting in certain cases. It was required above all that the judge, who was never called judge of the Monarchy, obey the decrees signed by His Holiness and in any dispute carry out whatever they ordered. The council noted also the subtle artifice to trick those simple and inexperienced men with whom the draft was arranged in Rome. In order not to make them aware of these most serious prejudices inflicted on the royal prerogatives, dust was thrown in their eyes by certain new powers conceded to the judge, which were described in splendid terms as great, so that the agreement would be considered advantageous. In reality, however, apart from being subject to appeal, careful investigation revealed that such powers were trivial and Rome lost nothing by conceding them, and it would have mattered little whether the judge had them or not.

The Council, which was unanimous, did not neglect to represent to His Majesty the emperor the very considerable damage and great harm which acceptance of the draft would inflict on the tribunal of the Monarchy; that therefore all negotiations with Rome should be rejected and broken off; that it could result only in even greater ruin of that court; that His Majesty, who was properly able to do so in his own right, should order Sicily not to observe any innovation, and the court should be preserved in the form in which it had been used by the kings of Spain, his predecessors, without begging for any further assistance from Rome.

When the marquis of Rialp and Count von Sintzendorf saw that,

contrary to all their expectations, the Council was ruining all their schemes, they alerted the emperor. This made him think that the Council, because it resented the fact that negotiations had been opened in Rome without its participation,[88] was motivated by great animosity and the intention to destroy everything done there; that it was not necessary, nevertheless, to lose such an opportunity; and that if something in the draft could be better explained and modified, it should be done, but not by breaking off all negotiations. They knew of no other way to quieten that kingdom and the consciences of the Sicilians than by a papal bull which was fair and moderate and thus not prejudicial to the royal rights and other prerogatives upheld in that kingdom; that the draft could surely be recalled for a new examination and that four regents who were jurists be appointed from the Council of Spain to examine it with the president and note what had to be added, changed or quashed; and since Cardinal Cienfuegos had sent Perrelli, who was well-informed in this affair, he could attend the sessions to inform them better of all that had happened in Rome.

A special committee, therefore, was set up, composed of the president (who by this time had been appointed to replace the deceased president, who was the same count of Montesanto, who had presided over it before as dean), and four regents: the two provincials Almarz and Perlongo and the regents Positano and Bolaños. There was then witnessed in Vienna something as monstrous as it was ridiculous. This committee, which met in the president's home, was attended by Perrelli, who discussed with the regents matters of which he did not understand even the terms. They moreover had to listen patiently to so much nonsense, trivia, and rodomontade. And great efforts were made to ensure that he was content, albeit reluctantly, with the place appointed to him, because he was claiming that it should have been on a par with that of the regents, since among Perrelli's various gifts was his remarkable ability to imitate the part of a valiant Thraso.[89]

The regents with the president remained steadfast and firm in their original sentiments and were all agreed to reject the draft. And if His Majesty did not wish to break off the negotiations, a different draft had

88 It was also Galiani's view that this caused the unfavourable assessment (*Vita*, ed. Nicolini, p. 160).

89 The braggart soldier in Terence's *Eunuch*.

to be dictated in the form of a Concordat and not a constitution. In spite of this, Perrelli, apart from complaining about not having been given equal footing, boasted to marquis Rialp and count von Sintzendorf and others that it was all due to their obstinacy and pertinacity, since he, with clear proofs, had convinced and confused those little doctors (*dottorelli*), as he called the regents, who had nothing with which to reply to him.[90] Some wags, therefore, judging him to be boastful and disposed to take seriously what was in fact mockery, would chant whenever they saw him:

> Long live the great Perrelli
> who confused the little doctors (*dottorelli*)

When finally the two ministers realized that they could hardly achieve their aim if the Council had a part in this affair, they contrived to exclude the Council completely and persuade the emperor to entrust it to the Conference of State, which was to ensure that it ended in complete accord and amicable compromise. The Conference was composed of Prince Eugene, count von Sintzendorf, marquis Rialp and a few Germans[91] who had no intention of becoming involved in these intrigues. And as Prince Eugene was occupied by other important and grave matters, this was the least of his worries, and the matter was thus left to the other two, the count and the marquis, which was what they had wanted, to arrange in accordance with the draft and the dictates of Rome.

When I returned to the city from the summer holidays at Perchtoldsdorf and became aware of the silent mutterings and complaints of the committee's regents, who had first been condemned to discuss the tribunal of the Monarchy with Perrelli and then excluded from the affair by its being submitted to the Conference, which essentially meant Sintzendorf and Rialp, I told the Sicilians that, in fact, both sides seemed to be arguing from false and erroneous premises. Until then

90 Bertelli states that this was not so. The regents sent Perrelli to Rome at the beginning of February, requesting that the actual introduction by Benedict XIII to the bull be modified. Celestino Galiani then prepared a new draft, which was sent to Vienna on 27 March 1727 (B., p. 146).

91 Galiani names Prince Guido Staremberg Sicking (1657-1737), field-marshal (whose sick-bed G. visited in Vienna, and who predicted the catastrophe in Naples: Vienna 1 May 1734: *Epist*., p. 1047) and Friedrich Schönborn (1674-1746), Imperial vice-chancellor (*Vita*, ed. Nicolini, p. 162.1).

the foundation of the tribunal and its true origin were unknown, since everyone believed that it was based on the bull of Pope Urban II,[92] which provided the popes with the weapons, their other bulls, to ruin, modify, and dispose of the tribunal as they wished.[93] The matter was, however, very different, and by revealing the true origins and just and legitimate titles from which the kings of Sicily derived the jurisdiction exercised by them in that tribunal, all contention would cease if His Majesty were vigorously to enforce his titles, which he could justly do without any need of Rome.

My observations aroused the curiosity of the regents and others who heard me. Much had been written on it and was circulating throughout Vienna, and, as it was based on the usual arguments, was thought to demolish Rome's prescriptions. It was not, however, much to their satisfaction, and urged by friends and especially the regent Almarz, I was finally so goaded and roused that I promised to try to demonstrate them in a work of my own, even though the evil circumstances then prevailing meant that little could be gained from it. As Prince Eugene, nevertheless, was in the Conference, I would have presented it to him to make what use of it he thought best, my only hope being that they could be induced to read it. I knew that, as they were committed to the agreement, their ears would be blocked and their eyes closed, so as not to hear or see any possible obstacle or impediment.

I wrote the text in less than two months in the form of a representation to His Majesty. In it I treated *De' veri e legitimi titoli delle reali preminenze che i re di Sicilia esercitano nel tribunale detto della Monarchia* (The True and Legitimate Right to the Royal Pre-eminences Exercised by the

92 Urban II Blessed (1088-1099), Odo of Lagery, prior of the monastery of Cluny (*ODCC*, p. 1668). The three main problems of his reign were the antipope, simony and corruption of the clergy, and the interference of the secular princes in the matter of 'investiture': the claim of the princes to invest bishops and abbots with the ring and staff before consecration. He initiated the First Crusade. He pursued the policies of reform of Gregory VII, and in gratitude to Roger I, count of Sicily, for having recovered Sicily from the Greeks and Muslims in 1091, he granted religious toleration to Greeks, Muslims, and Jews as well as Christians, and granted Roger and his heirs apostolic legateship.

93 The above privilege conferred by Urban II had been referred to in the drafts sent to Vienna, even though the curialists disputed its authenticity. G., however, in an unpublished discussion of the claim (included in his *Opere postume*, The Hague, 1756; Panzini, *Vita*, p. 72) based his case on the authority of Marc' Antonio De Dominis (1566-1624) and asserted the independence of royal power (B., p. 147).

Kings of Sicily in the So-called Court of the Monarchy),[94] showing that they did not originate with the bull of Urban II, but were exercised *iure imperii* (by right of rule) by the kings as successors of the Eastern emperors, under whom Sicily had long remained until the Greeks were driven out by the Normans [1072]. And as they had succeeded to the emperors of Constantinople, the same pre-eminences were maintained in reference to external ecclesiastical jurisdiction in all the churches subject to the throne of Constantinople, among which were those of Sicily and Calabria; that the two codes, Theodosian and Justinianic, proved with evidence the supreme rights and other pre-eminences which the emperors of Constantinople had in the Eastern Church. This was shown more fully by the *Novels* of the emperor Justinian and even more by those of the emperor Leo the Philosopher, and above all by the arrangement of the throne of Constantinople and the churches subject to it and their hierarchy, which was decreed by Leo's constitution, and can be read in Leunclavius.[95] In this, special note was made on the churches of Sicily, at that time all subject to the metropolitan of Syracuse, of their being subject not to the Roman throne but to that of Constantinople. In the Greek church of the East neither the *Decretum* nor the *Decretales* ever set foot, and the new canon law which invaded and occupied the churches of the Western empire was unknown. The Normans, counts and then kings of Sicily, would have been able as successors to the Greek emperors to exercise greater prerogatives, and that all those could be read in the *Novels* of Justinian and Leo. Many prerogatives, however, were not exercised, as they were the prerogatives which the churches of Sicily were endeavouring to restore to the Roman throne. Since these princes retained the Greek chancellery, dictating their diplomas and bulls in that language, they also retained the same care of both the external jurisdiction and government of those churches, and the Greek rite and many other usages, ranks, names and customs of the Greek

94 This was edited by Pierantoni with the altered title *Il tribunale della Monarchia di Sicilia* (Rome 1892). The original can be found in TAS, *Mss. Giannone* (*Giannoniana*, p. 427) dated Vienna, 12 November 1727. In the same file is a *Memoria intorno agli abusi della potestà ecclesiastica* (*Giannoniana*, p. 430) to be dated after 1727, which is, in fact, a strong attack on Perrelli (B., p. 148).

95 Johannis Löwenklau (Lat. Leunclavius) (1533-1593), German humanist, historian, and jurist: *LX librorum Basilikon, it est, universi iuris romani, auctoritate principum Romanorum in graecam linguam traducti ecloge sive synopsis* (Basel 1575) (B., p. 148).

Church of the East.

It was shown that the bull of Urban II on the Legation benefited Count Roger[96] of Sicily by not depriving him of these prerogatives, not that it gave them to him. Roger exercised them, therefore, before this bull, as is shown by the diplomas and bulls of that prince, the building of cathedrals, the exemptions and immunities granted to churches and monasteries and the jurisdiction granted to them, and many other similar acts. These were exercised before Urban, as shown by the diplomas themselves, to which reference is made by Ughelli, Pirri,[97] and other Sicilian writers. These diplomas were, in fact, in conformity with those of the other Roger, duke of Calabria,[98] who certainly did not have any legation from Pope Urban, and exercised the same jurisdiction and prerogatives also in the churches of Calabria, with no other title to them than what was his by right of rule (*iure imperi*), because the same authority for those same reasons passed down to him in Calabria, which was exercised by the emperors of the East. Urban's bull benefited the count of Sicily in that it did not cause him to lose the old prerogatives, as they were lost in Calabria, on the supposition, even though wrong, that the churches of Calabria were not included in Urban's bull, which was conceded solely to the count of Sicily.

It was finally shown that all the agreements attempted with Rome concerning this tribunal were either ineffectual or prejudicial to royal prerogatives, and that this last agreement was the most ruinous. His Majesty could of himself, however, without any need of Rome, establish

96 Ruler and 'Great Count of Sicily' (1031-1101). After freeing Sicily from the Muslims in 1091, Roger granted religious freedom to Greek Christians, Jews, and Muslims, and retained Muslim civil servants in the administration of the island. In return for having restored Christianity, Urban II made him and his heirs apostolic legates. 'He was a youth of the greatest beauty, of lofty stature, of graceful shape, most eloquent in speech and cool in counsel. He was farseeing in arranging all his actions' (Goffredo Malaterra, *De rebus gestis Rogerii Calabriae et Siciliae comitis,* quoted in *EB* 23, p. 453, and now translated by Kenneth Wolf, *The Deeds of Count Roger of Calabria* (Ann Arbor 2005)).

97 Ferdinando Ughelli (1596-1670), a Cistercian; he wrote the celebrated *Italia sacra,* 9 vols (Rome 1647), a history of Italian dioceses with biographical notes on bishops, as well as unpublished documents and notes (B., p. 149). Rocco Pirri (1577-1651), Sicilian scholar, who graduated in theology and law, and embarked on a career in the Church. In 1643 he was appointed historian to Philip IV; author of *Sicilia Sacra*, 2 vols (Palermo 1733) (*DBI* 97, pp. 387-390:).

98 Roger (c.1060-1111), duke of Puglia (not of Calabria), son of Robert Guiscard, and therefore nephew of Roger, count of Sicily (*NBG* 42, p. 503).

what he thought more advisable for the direction and order of that tribunal. If Rome wished to disregard Urban's bull and ordinance, and the many centuries in which the preceding kings of Spain and Sicily had exercised peaceful possession, His Majesty might well take matters in hand. Let him do away with every bull and prescription and return matters to the pristine state of the churches of Sicily under the emperors Justinian and Leo, who were most Catholic and godly emperors, and other Eastern emperors whose functions and prerogatives he represented as king of Sicily, and it will be clear whether in this way he will win or lose.

These were briefly the main points of the text which, when I had copied it, I had transcribed in a good hand. Before the others read it, I presented it to Prince Eugene, telling him that, given the general stir over this dispute on the Sicilian tribunal of the Monarchy, I also, like Diogenes, had wanted to move my barrel lest, while others were working, I alone were thought idle and lazy, as though unconcerned about preserving the supreme rights and old prerogatives held by His Majesty in that kingdom. I had, therefore, written this article which I humbly presented to him in order that, if his grave occupations ever permitted him to glance at it, he would learn the way indicated in it to emerge from every labyrinth and all the intrigues of the court of Rome. This was very simple and short; even if he did not wish to try, matters could at least be left as they were, rather than rushing with a new bull, as the Concordat was termed, to destroy the old tribunal preserved by the preceding kings of Spain with such jealousy and diligence as the most precious jewel in their crown.

Although the prince courteously accepted the article, he could not disguise the tedium and boredom which this affair caused him. He told me that they had burdened him with so many volumes of articles on it that it would take many entire months to read them; that the regents' views in particular were so copious that Perlongo's alone took half a ream of paper, and he had no time to waste on such things. On my replying that such a painstaking examination was unnecessary, since it was impossible, and that it would be enough to leave matters in Sicily as they were, he told me that therein lay the difficulty, that it was desired at all costs to settle the affair amicably with the pontifical bull, because otherwise, it seemed, the tender, delicate consciences of the

Sicilians would not be placated. As he told me this with a grimace, I was emboldened to reply that the tender delicacy of the consciences of those islanders was truly known and evident to all, and it was to be feared that the mere laws of their sovereign would not be enough to restrain and placate them.

When I perceived from this the prince's sentiments and that he was unwilling to be involved, I realized that the whole affair would fall into the lap of the count and the marquis, as events revealed. By their deliberately not mentioning it again and letting a long time elapse until people stopped talking about it, when everyone's attention was elsewhere, it was learnt that all the writings from the Conference had passed into the hands of marquis Rialp, who set about arranging the matter as he thought fit. And although some expressions were reduced in the draft,[99] they were replaced by others with the same meaning, and in this way, without any participation from the Council of Spain, Rome was advised in writing that Pope Benedict might draw up and publish the bull,[100] as was done, and it was in that form, when printed, that many copies were sent to Vienna and Sicily.

When it had been read by the magistrates of the Council of Spain (to

99 The submission of the Imperial Chancellery of 2 June 1728, with the requested modifications, is in the Archives of the Austrian ambassador to the Holy See (B., p. 151).

100 For the text of the bull see G. Catalano *Le ultime vicende della Legazia Apostolica di Sicilia* (Catania 1950), p. 179; B., p. 151. In Pastor's account (34, p. 145):
'The Bull *Fideli* contains no confirmation of the original privilege of the *Monarchia Sicula*, neither does it revoke Clement XI's Bull of abolition; on the contrary, it expressly mentions it in the introduction, but adds that the Emperor Charles VI had explained to the Pope that the rights of the Apostolic Legation in Sicily were his and his successors' in virtue of a privilege of Urban II, and that these rights which had been granted to Roger Duke of Normandy, and his successors, had always been in vigour and practice throughout six centuries. Though the Pope knew that these arguments had failed to convince his predecessors, and though he himself had subscribed to Clement XI's Bull whilst still a Cardinal, he was determined to put an end to disputes which had done so much injury to souls and to the tranquility of the State. Hence he decreed that in future only the most important ecclesiastical affairs of Sicily would be reserved to the Pope and that the sovereign of Sicily was empowered to appoint a supreme judge, who would pronounce in the third instance on all other ecclesiastical matters, by virtue of the Apostolic authority.
Though there can be no doubt that the Bull does not recognize the legantine rights of the Sovereign of Sicily, and that it makes no concession by which Clement's Bull of suppression would be compromised, the fact remains that, contrary to the attitude hitherto observed by the Curia, it drops the demand for a fresh and express confirmation of Clement's constitution'.

some of whom I had with much caution and secrecy shown my text), and by other upright, learned, and wise men, they could only lament the miserable state into which matters had fallen, seeing that, as in Rome in the times of Tarquin the Proud, who, as Livy relates, did away with the custom 'of having to consult the senate on all matters, and governed the State with a few private advisers' (1.49.7), so in Vienna the kingdoms and states of Italy were administered by the private advice of men whose only purpose was the aggrandisement of their own houses with honours and riches, and of the Spanish magistrates themselves and those of their own countrymen. After I had carefully considered the bull and noted the damage and many disadvantages inflicted on royal prerogatives, I set them out one by one in another brief discussion which, when read by the few to whom I had confided it, proved to them that the bull was ruinous and prejudicial to that tribunal, which could be said to be new and quite different from the old tribunal, every vestige of which had been effectively abolished. Later, however, no mention could be made of the matter. My articles were therefore left in a profound silence, as I did not risk showing them any more to anyone, because the blacksmiths in whose forge the work had been done considered it a crime to disparage it. They wanted, on the contrary, everyone to applaud it, and that the 'constitution' termed by them the 'Concordat'[101] be thought advantageous to the emperor, who had obtained what Philip II, king of Spain, could never have achieved. And to make the illusion more effective, Rome's courtiers with subtle artifice feigned discontent, and deliberately spread the rumour that the bull was highly prejudicial to the Holy See. They claimed that the emperor's ministers had been fortunate to deal with a good and simple pope, who willingly let himself be led by the nose by his favourites, Cardinal Coscia and the other Beneventans, and that the emperor certainly would not have obtained it from other popes.

These rumours greatly delighted Perrelli and the others whom Cardinal Cienfuegos had used as ministers to engineer it in Rome, and they exaggerated and spread them. They thereby obtained ample prizes from the courts of Vienna and Rome, accustomed as they were to wolf down such prizes and thus aggrandize themselves and their families. On the other hand, anyone who, by examining the essential

101 The bull is known as *Concordia benedettina* (B., p. 152).

truth, tried to reveal it and detect the tricks and frauds concealed under false appearances was disliked and unwelcome and kept away from all appointments, so as not to constitute any obstacle or impediment to their own interests and the unbounded ambition nurtured in their breasts.

Appendix (Chapter Six)

[2]

G. on Pietro of Verona:

> Innocent, having made Choice of Pietro di Verona of the Order of Preaching Friars to be Inquisitor of Milan; this Man, in order to extirpate from that City some infected with Heresy, who called themselves Believers, was very sedulous in punishing them. He imprisoned some..., others he banished, but he delivered up the Obstinate to the secular Magistrate and caused them to be burnt alive... The Execution of the rest was deferred till after Easter. These Processes... so terrified some of the chief Men of the Milanese, against whom these Processes were levelled, that they combined together and resolved to be beforehand with the Inquisitor by putting him to Death.
>
> Innocent, looking upon the Inquisitor as a Martyr, on the Third Day of Lent in the following Year of 1253, with Great Solemnity Canonized him and enrolled him in the Catalogue of Saints with the Name of Peter Martyr of Verona.[102]

[61]

Costantino Grimaldi to G., 14 March 1727:

> Most illustrious Sir, my honoured patron.
>
> I reply to your most honourable letter of the first of March thanking you for the favours which Your Excellency bestows on me, and must continue to do so, because I am in need of them. I therefore implore most earnestly the protection of Sig. Garelli, to whom I am not writing separately so as not to worry him, and also of Sig. Francesco Tosques, to whom you may tell everything.
>
> As a letter most favourable to me arrived from Cardinal Coscia for the viceroy, I have had it sent to you via the secretary of war. The viceroy was taken aback by it, seeing an organ of the pope involved in my favour whereas he, on the contrary, is continually solicited on behalf of the pope

102 *Civil History*, bk 19, ch.4, sect.4=Ogilvie, 2, pp. 60-61.

by the nuncio of Naples to ban my works and punish me personally, since he perseveres in the charge that the reprinting was done by me after the banning by His Eminence [of private printing presses], even though he has had checks and comparisons made, as I have recounted in my other letters. And notwithstanding all the re-examination which he has had conducted, he wishes obstinately to maintain the terrible accusation in reference to my reprinting, as the secretary has told me. The viceroy appears confused, therefore, by these contrary impulses from Rome, since he leans completely their way.

When I heard of the pertinacity of the nuncio, I felt that what had been told me was true, that he was a servile disciple of the Jesuits, and more Jesuit than Christian, and was out to do me even greater harm.

I laugh at his request for my punishment, because being in your protective hands there, it is only here that I am afraid…

I would have had to have the spirit of prophecy to know that those books were to be lost in the sea, in order to consider reprinting the others. It would otherwise be too much money and it would be ruined by the expense...[103]

103 Florence National Library: *Giannoniana*, pp. 518-520.

Chapter Seven: 1728-1730: Vienna

I

With these strange events we had already entered the year 1728 and were well advanced into it. At the beginning of May I had moved with my hosts to a more convenient area near the Jesuits' religious house in the street called Il Piccolo Parigi. When the house was furnished and set in order, we moved at the end of the month to Perchtoldsdorf to the usual summer retreat. Since the other councillors used to follow the emperor when he went to hunt herons at Laxenburg, in this year the new president, the count of Montesanto,[1] obtained permission from the emperor for the Council of Spain to do the same, as its councillors were not of lower rank. On the surrounding villages, therefore, the new burden was imposed of providing for each of the councillors, regents, secretaries and officials of the Spanish secretariat. And in Mödling the president was assigned a spacious lodging in which, apart from the rooms where he lived, the Council could be held. And as Mödling was not sufficient to provide lodgings for so many, the other regents and secretaries and officials were distributed among the neighbouring villages in order to be at Mödling in the morning to attend the Council.

The late president[2] had not thought of this because he never had the Council leave the city, since he had a garden and house in the Josephstadt quarter where he used to go and live when the emperor left for Laxenburg, and remain there until October. The count of Montesanto, however, who did not have this convenience, decided to arrange his own summer holidays also in this way. And some regents regretted

1 Count of Montesanto: Joseph Villasor: see above, Chapter Five, n.109.
2 The archbishop of Valencia, Antonio Folch de Cardona (1657-1724).

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the change in the first year because of the inconvenience which they imagined they would have to suffer, but were later well accommodated in Mödling and realized the salutary effect of living in those villages at such a time. President Montesanto in subsequent years decided to establish a more comfortable inn there, because of an opportunity which we shall relate. Marquis Stella was the nephew and heir of Count Stella,[3] who had been such a great favourite of the emperor, who had given him a palace at Mödling, which he then magnificently restored. Marquis Stella owned the edifice after the uncle's death, and as it was useless to him, he decided to sell it. He profited greatly from the desire of the count of Montesanto to buy it for his and the Council's use, as he had not found anyone wanting to buy it or at a price as high as he was asking. With the president, who did not have to spend his own money, he found the means of being paid as much as he wanted, which was the sum of 8,000 florins.[4] The difficulty was to find the money, and this was soon remedied. La Casa dell'Annunziata[5] in Naples had been struggling in vain to obtain royal approval for a contract drawn up with its creditors, because of the many difficulties and obstacles raised against it by the Council. The need for money was immediately met. The difficulties and all misgivings relating to the dispute were quickly resolved and consent given, and from a tax imposed equal to the sum of the rights of dispatch and seal, which was increased to more than the price of the palace at Mödling, the 8,000 florins were disbursed and paid to Marquis Stella. He transferred ownership to the president in the name of the Council which bought it, and from then on the Council stayed there. Each year the president moved there with all his family, not only while the emperor was at Laxenburg but also for the whole summer, as he had furnished it with his own furniture, leaving only two rooms for the Council's use.

This move turned out to be very convenient for me and made my

3 Rocco Stella (1661-1720), son of a physician in Modugno in the province of Bari; he ran away from home, and joined the Imperial army, where his brilliant career brought him to the attention of first Leopold I, then his son, the archduke Charles, whose aide-de-camp and close friend he became. He was at first councillor for war in the Council of Italy and then regent for the kingdom of Naples.

4 This sum was the equivalent of eight years of G.'s pension.

5 La Casa dell'Annunziata was an orphanage.

summer holidays at Perchtoldsdorf more valuable and agreeable, not only for my ease in consulting the regents on any matter, as they were near at hand, but also for enjoyable meetings with the regent Almarza and other friends, who often came to Vienna to visit him on business. It was even more pleasant because the lodgings assigned to the regent Almarza were in the village at Bruun, near Perchtoldsdorf, and in the mornings and evenings on my usual walks I used to set his house as the limit at which I would rest, and I was often invited to stay to lunch with him and other friends. In those two months, therefore, I enjoyed not only the pleasantness of the country, but also the company both of the Germans and our Italians, and above all I had a few hours in the day, especially in the morning, of solitude and quiet to devote to my studies, which were not obligatory, but voluntary, and both serious and enjoyable.

Since in these times my *Civil History* was becoming increasingly known throughout the provinces of Germany, I began to become acquainted with many men of letters, Germans, Westfalians, Saxons, Swedes, and those from other free Imperial cities. They had the courtesy not only to write me very kind letters, asking for some historical information on Italian affairs and especially on the last Roman council held by Pope Benedict XIII, and for the reasons why the *History* was not accepted in the kingdom of Naples, but also, when publishing some work of their own, they would quote mine and make respectful reference to me.[6] I was

6 Panzini (*Vita*, p. 120) refers to a letter of G. to Friedrich Otto Mencke of 23 February 1730, which identifies one such scholar as Johann Erhard Kapp (1693-1756) from Leipzig. In Kapp's work on the Lateran Council (*Historia Concilii Lateranensis a Benedicto XIII P.M. 1725 Romae celebrati* (Leipzig 1731)), for which he asked G.'s assistance, Kapp praised G. and in gratitude published G.'s account of Sanfelice. Ricuperati observes that the publicizing of his case in Kapp and his reviews in the *Acta eruditorum lipsiensium* gave G. important recognition in Protestant circles in France, as well as in Holland and Britain (*L'esperienza*, p. 348). Recognition came also from G.'s fellow Neapolitans in Vienna. After reading the *Civil History*, as well as many of G.'s fellow Neapolitans living in Vienna, Marquis Flamingo, Francesco Spinelli duke of Castellaccia, Tiberio Carafa prince of Chiusano, and Muzio Carafa apologized for having spoken against G. Apostolo Zeno, to make amends for his initial disdain for it, took G.'s part everywhere, so that G. wrote to Carlo on 8 April 1729: 'I owe much to that man of letters, who, apart from praising my work at court and among friends, in thanks for which I presented him with a copy of it, has presented me with the works of Friar Paolo Sarpi which I so wanted. He has also greatly comforted me by sending me the *Pandette* of Brenkmann' (Panzini, *Vita*, p.

acquainted, through their most courteous letters with the two Mencke, father[7] and son, to whom I sent in reply much information on the life of Angelo Poliziano,[8] which the son[9] was intending to publish. In the

74). This was an edition of the *Digest* by Hendrik Brenkmann. Zeno later no longer acknowledged his support for G.

7 The two Mencke referred to here are Johann Burchard (1674-1732) and Friedrich Otto (1708-1754). Johann Burchard (see Fig. 15) was born in Leipzig, studied Philosophy and Theology, and later Law, and travelled in Holland and England, where he was welcomed by his father's friends. He was appointed professor of History in Leipzig, and became the historian of Friedrich Augustus, Elector of Saxony. He took over the *Acta* from 1707 to 1732, thirty-three volumes, including an index and supplements. He was also a poet: among his works are *Gedichte* in four volumes.

8 Angelo Poliziano (1454-1494), Angelo Ambriogini, of great erudition, was a classicist, and writer of Greek and Latin verse. He dominated Italian literature before Boccaccio and Ariosto, and gave perfect voice to the Italian concept of Humanism. He was of towering importance as a poet of the vernacular. G.'s notes on Poliziano, a biography of him by Lorenzo Acampora, and the draft of a letter to Friedrich Otto Mencke, 28 July 1728 (B., p. 155) are in TAS, *Mss. Giannone*. In a letter from Vienna to Carlo (7 August 1728: *Epist*., p. 558), G. wrote of his great respect and gratitude for his friend Acampora, and of his wish to work with him on a new edition of Pier delle Vigne (d.1240); the letter includes G.'s notes. For his moving account of the tragic end of delle Vigne, who had been accused of trying to poison Emperor Frederick II, see *Civil History*, bk 17 ch.3=Ogilvie, 1, p. 723. G.'s burning sense of the necessity to defend himself and his work from his detractors meant that he did not ever develop his great love of literature.

9 Friedrich Otto Mencke (1708-1745) (see Fig. 16) was born and died at Leipzig. He travelled in Germany, and was appointed to the chair of History held by his grandfather and father at Leipzig; was made aulic councillor by the Elector of Saxony and continued the *Acta* until his early death from hydropsy. He edited *Respublica jurisconsultorum* by Giuseppe Aurelio di Gennaro (Leipzig 1733) and *Opera selecta of Antonio Campani* (Leipzig 1734). His works include *De Vita, Moribus, Scriptis, Meritisque Hier. Fracastorii* (Leipzig 1731): *Acta* 1731, 198 (Ricuperati, *L'esperienza*, pp. 309-310), and *Historia vitae et in litteras meritorum Angeli Politiani* (Leipzig 1736). Friedrich Otto was the last editor of the *Acta* and G.'s active and affectionate correspondent, 1728-1735. G. was to refer to the *Acta* the works of many important Italian writers. Thanks to the scholarship of Giuseppe Ricuperati, we are able to trace G.'s intellectual development through his friendship with the Mencke, father and son. The fruit of his involvement and collaboration with the *Acta* was to culminate in his greatest work, the *Triregno*. For the books reviewed by the *Acta eruditorum lipsiensium*, which appear in his writings, see the Introduction. Friedrich Otto Mencke wrote in thanks for G.'s research with other writers in order to assist him: 'Through the initiative and influence of the most excellent Giannone what I myself would never have dared ask from these very famous men was thus brought about, which they offered exceedingly freely and conscientiously and sent us letters full of excellent material, exhibiting in all this such care and industry as though they were engaged in their own affairs. Scarcely more could have been asked of them'. He thus fulsomely acknowledges the help of G. and his 'very distinguished' friends (Lorenzo Acampora, Giovanni Bottari, Bartolomeo Intieri, Lorenzo Ciccarelli,

same way I made the acquaintance of the famous antiquarian Siegmund Liebe[10] and other learned men, who had become famous through their published work. It was even my pleasure to have travellers, whether German, Flemish, or other nationalities, who, when passing through Vienna were curious enough, to come and visit me. All this esteem which foreigners had for me, however, was of no benefit to me with the Spaniards and our countrymen.

In the meantime with time passing and my losing hope of being employed in Vienna in some post (since the Spaniards anticipated me by filling all of them, and the bad offices directed against me by the court of Rome served as a pretext to exclude me from them), I resolved to direct elsewhere the good offices and intercession of my friends and protectors. This was in order that at least I might be able to return to Naples with a post appropriate to my standing as a lawyer and obtain it in the same courts, either that of a councillor of Santa Chiara or president of the Camera,[11] in which I had practised as a lawyer. After I

Alessandro Rinuccini, Biagio Garafolo, Nicolo Carpasso, and other friends, as well as Giambattista Panagia (1672-1730), Neapolitan; director of the Imperial Museum from 1727). He found for G. the two medals which Friedrich Otto placed on the frontispiece of his work on Poliziano. He also saw to the illustration of the coins used in the French edition of the *Civil History* (Benedikt, *Königreich Neapel*, p. 608). See Friedrich Otto's *Historia vitae et in literas meritorum Angeli Politiani, ortu Ambrogini* (Leipzig 1736). Friedrich Otto wrote in the *Acta* (September 1729, p. 194) a most moving tribute to G.:

'One of these is a very famous man, born for every honour and solely intent on augmenting the honour of letters, who at an appropriate time became my friend. In return for the many very uncommon benefits offered to me on this occasion, I can do no more than ask myself to record this public tribute of a grateful mind... He is Pietro Giannone, the most remarkable ornament once of the Neapolitan State, now a most successful orator in the causes of the Venetian Republic, who has won by those outstanding commentaries of the History of Naples notable fame for his excellent learning. They have long experienced his special zeal in acquiring merit above all those who devote themselves to letters, as often as they had the opportunity to approach him, to their very great benefit and delight'.

G.'s correspondence (unfortunately lost) with the Mencke, father and son, continued with the son when G. went to Venice in 1735. Panzini wrote: 'Their letters attest to us their high esteem for Giannone and their favourable opinion of his writings. Those of Giannone, the drafts of which I possess, reveal his veneration for Mencke the father and his respect for the learning of Otto the son' (*Vita*, p. 88).

10 Christian Siegmund Liebe (1687-1736), German scholar and numismatist, produced numerous articles distinguished by their excellent Latin for the *Acta eruditorum*. Liebe is not in *NDB*.

11 Regia Camera della Sommaria, termed also Real Patrimonio, was a semi-advisory body which dealt with the kingdom's finance, and had jurisdiction over all cases

had requested it many times, the marquis of Rialp appeared not to have any objections, especially since I had suggested that, by sending me back to Naples with a post, His Majesty would save each year the 1,000 florins given for my support, which could be put to other uses to gratify other deserving subjects. Since provision for the posts, however, depended on the nominations of the persons which the viceroys of Naples sent to the Court during the vacation, the marquis told me that the viceroy would have to nominate me among the others in order to give him the opening to propose me to His Majesty and facilitate the provision.

Fate seemed to favour these beginnings, because the emperor had decided to remove Cardinal Althann[12] from the government of Naples

involving the royal finances and disputes involving the *baroni* (feudal lords) or the *università* (local communities) (Anna Maria Rao, in *Naples in the Eighteenth Century*, ed. Girolamo Imbruglia (Cambridge 2000), pp. 102, 109). On 21 May 1728, G. wrote a petition to Charles VI, requesting appointment in Naples (*Giannoniana*, pp. 433-434): Chapter Seven: Appendix.

12 There is stark evidence of Althann's failing grip:
Althann to Rialp, 18 October 1726, on the magistrates of Naples:
'They think that they earn merit by proving themselves, under the specious title of zealots for royal jurisdiction, and as persecutors of the Church... Every day there is clear evidence [of their Giannonian views] as much in meetings or representations made to me, as in the reports and private writings which they send to the court; and their votes given in the Collateral illustrate it, being full of resentment and poison against the Church, and indignation at anyone who professes truly Catholic sentiments. It has come to such a pass that, if a stop is not put to this mode of writing and speaking, we must in all reason fear some severe punishment from God...' (Vienna State Archives: Ricuperati, *L'esperienza*, pp. 282-283).
On 8 November, Althann again wrote to Rialp: 'that in Naples things are heading towards a republic, and the haughtiness of the pretentions of the Collateral on the authority of the viceroy confirms it...' (Ricuperati, *L'esperienza*, pp. 282-283). Althann eventually refused to attend the sittings of the Collateral 'of which anyway he is the head, and the reason which he gives is that the Regents who compose it speak with too much liberty against the ecclesiastics and the Roman Court' (Naples State Archives, 28 October 1727; quoted by Ajello, *Il problema della riforma giudiziaria e legislativa nel Regno di Napoli* (Naples 1961), p. 48). And in his inevitable tirade to Charles VI, against the authors of the *Civil History* (repeating the slander current in Naples that G.'s history was not his own work), he wrote:
'if in the modern civil history of Naples by Pietro Giannone the authors [sic] of this *History* refer to the Roman pontificate with even more contempt than did the heretics, as is the case today in heretical provinces, they will basically do the same against the principate. And if there is no mercy shown to the most venerated popes, there will also be no mercy shown to the most glorious predecessors of Your Majesty'. (Rappresentanza fatta a Sua Maestà Cesarea e Cattolica dal signor Cardinal D'Althann, Naples 12 August 1727: Vienna, Osterreichisches Archiv: Ricuperati, *L'esperienza*, p. 254).

and send as his successor Count Harrach, with whom and his worthy sons I had become familiar. I thought that with Harrach in Naples I would be able to arrange that he not forget me when making the nominations. Althann greatly delayed his departure, thus enabling the marquis d'Almenara,[13] who had been brought from Sicily to Naples, to carry on the government on an interim basis for more than six months after the cardinal had left. In the time that Harrach remained in Vienna, I therefore arranged for Prince Eugene to speak to him on my behalf, which he did with great effectiveness.[14] And I did not neglect to recommend myself to Count Harrach[15] before he left by presenting him with a copy of my work, asking him to glance at a few pages of the fourth volume, where he would find described all the governments of

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Althann's career as viceroy ended in debacle: 'at the beginning of the government of Count d'Harrach, His Majesty was obliged to abrogate and annul with a Royal Dispatch all the actions of the Cardinal which were prejudicial to Royal Jurisdiction, by having them repealed in the Registers of the Collateral Council' (*Memoria al viceré Visconti*, ms.21-4-7, in the Library of the Società napoletana di Storia patria, quoted in Grimaldi, *Memorie di un anti-curialista del Settecento*, ed. Comparato (Florence 1964), p. 123). Althann's end was characterized by his inglorious departure, the lack of gratitude towards him by the court of Rome, his return to his diocese of Waitzen on the Danube (which incorporated Budapest), and his early death aged only forty-eight, five years later.

13 Marquis d'Almenara y Palma, Joaquin Fernandes Portocarrero (1681-1760).

14 Eugene's influence, however, seems to have been waning. In 1729 the English minister in Vienna, James earl of Waldegrave, wrote in his dispatches of Prince Eugene: 'I did not know him formerly, but by what appears now, I should not have taken him to be the great man he has been thought upon occasions. This gives him the weight he bears here, which consists more in obstructing what he does not like than promoting any scheme of his own' (26 February 1729: Derek McKay, *Prince Eugene* (London 1977), p. 217).

15 Alyois Thomas Raimond, Count Harrach (1665-1727). G. wrote of Harrach to Carlo: 'being new, he will always have to be careful and on guard given all the different reports he had from these dregs of Neapolitans here who almost drove him out of his mind'. G. added in the same letter that he had still no word from all who agreed to speak on his behalf to the new viceroy. 'One nevertheless has to praise them, because they use charity with great moderation. They want to know about their own concerns, but care little about anyone else. Anyway we shall wait and see' (5 February 1729: *Epist*., pp. 597-598). More than three months later, he wrote to Carlo: '...perhaps we shall have to be eternally obligated to the house of Harrach' (23 July 1729: *Epist*., p. 642). Both G. and Prince Eugene recommended Carlo to Harrach, who, soon after his arrival in Naples, granted him an audience (5 February 1729: *Epist.,* p. 597). Michele Dell'Aquila reflects on the sorrowful difference in tone between G.'s enthusiastic reports to Carlo in his letters of the recommendations made on his behalf to the emperor by Prince Eugene and Garelli, and G.'s recounting them in the *Vita* 'in which expectations and disappointments succeed each other in a pitiless chronicle' (*P.G., il pensatore, il persegiutato, l'esule* (Fasano 2002), p. 64).

the preceding viceroys in Naples, from which he could perhaps draw some profit by imitating the good and wise and shunning the bad and pernicious. He thanked me profusely and most courteously expressed his readiness to favour me in the matter, and the prince sent his secretary to him a few days before his departure to remind him and make a note of me among the others recommended to him. Harrach finally left Vienna in November of that year 1728, and on his arrival in Naples began his government with the renown of a minister who was wise, uncorrupted, and did not take into any consideration the court of Rome, even though he had a son embarked on a career in the Church,[16] whom we later saw a judge in the *Ruota*, and if death had not claimed him, we would have seen also a cardinal.

II

[1729]

At the end of this year and beginning of the new year, 1729,[17] I received news that finally after six years a refutation of the *Civil History* had appeared in Rome, in two quarto volumes, written by Fr Sanfelice, a Neapolitan Jesuit,[18] who after having long worked on it in Naples

16 Johann Ernst Harrach.

17 In this year G. himself received many requests for the *Civil History* from Milan and Venice (Vienna, 19 March 1729: *Epist*., p. 608). G. had bemoaned in a letter to Carlo the loss of three crates of the *Civil History*, sent to him by Carlo, which had been stolen without any hope of compensation (Vienna, 10 February 1725: *Epist.*, p. 222). In 1733, he writes that the price per set of twenty florins 'does not seem high for some, and they would have paid more' (22 August 1733, *Epist*., p. 998). Antonio Conti on 20 January 1729 wrote of G.:

> '.. his History has become very rare. If you wish to read a good book in Italian, it can be borrowed through Abate Oliva, the librarian of Cardinal de Rohan, who will regard it as a great honour and pleasure to do you this service. The author saved himself from Naples, since they wanted to burn him as they did his book. This History is very enjoyable because of the diversity of erudition and profundity of maxims. It has just been translated into English and is being translated into French' (Conti, *Epistolario*, ed. Celestino Garibotto; quoted by Nicola Badaloni in *Antonio Conti* (Milan 1968), p. 270).

18 Giuseppe Sanfelice (1665-1737), Jesuit, illegitimate son of the Neapolitan Cavaliere Alfonso Sanfelice (B., p. 157). A close relative of Sanfelice, Cavaliere Ferdinando Sanfelice, was a neighbour of G. at Due Porta and had even helped Carlo with repairs there. He interceded without avail with Giuseppe to persuade him to cease his detractions against the *Civil History* and its author (Vienna, 4 October 1727: *Epist*., p. 489; 27 December 1727: *Epist*., p. 509).

had gone to Rome to have it printed. There had been a rumour before that the Jesuit was working on it, but because he was not considered qualified and the burden was thought not suitable for his shoulders, it was not widely believed. It was then learnt, however, that he often went to Rome, and on confiding his plan to his friends, who were perforce of his ilk, he was applauded and even more encouraged, so that he continued the work with greater alacrity, and especially when they gave him to understand that it would find much favour with the pope. And Cardinal Pico della Mirandola[19] was convinced that something good might come out of it and that it might discredit both the *History* and its author, so that in the future it would no longer be read or respected. Rumour had it that even Cardinal Cienfuegos[20] had been involved who, being a Jesuit, was highly pleased, since he did not trust the other friars and monks[21] around the pope, that finally a Jesuit had appeared who had merit and might ruin the whole cabal. It was said that the cost of the printing had been provided by Cardinal Pico, seeing that there was no attempt to economize, and a work which could have been condensed with a medium-sized type-face into a small volume had been printed in two quarto volumes using a pontifical type-face[22] on paper with very wide margins. It came out under the pseudonym of Eusebio Filopatro, and although printed in Rome and, as could be read in it, 'with the permission of superiors', it had Cologne as the place of publication.

The Jesuit Sanfelice, using the form of several letters, introduces various friends who write to each other, in whose letters this wretched civil historian is treated with as much affability and mildness as Apollo

19 Ludovico Pico della Mirandola (1669-1743), bishop *in partibus* of Constantinople from 1706, cardinal in 1712, prefect of the Apostolic Palaces and therefore of the Sacra Congregazione delle indulgenze (B., p. 158). G. wrote to Carlo, 'Apart from Cardinal Pico, whose simple-mindedness is only too well known, and a few like him, no one could have imagined such nonsense and doltishness' (18 June 1729: *Epist*., p. 633).

20 Alvarez Cienfuegos (1657-1739).

21 Bertelli (B., p. 158) suggests that this is perhaps an allusion to Giovanni Antonio Bianchi (see above, Chapter Six, n.9) of the Order of the Minor Observants. When his work was finally published in 1743, Nicolo Fraggianni wrote an exhaustive refutation by means of which 'the intrigues of the apostolic nuncio of Naples' were quashed 'and Bianchi's work was banned in the Kingdom and the copies introduced there were confiscated' (Società Napoletana di Storia Patria: Nicolini, *Scritti*, p. 107; below, n.44).

22 It was printed in the very large letters used for liturgical books (B., p. 158).

used when flaying Marsyas.[23] The *History* is not held in great esteem, and little attempt is made to reply to it, but they pitilessly rage against the author whom they would like tortured and dead. Every conceivable contumely, opprobrium, scorn and insult, however grave, is used. They call him a heretic, a rascal, one who keeps a concubine both *in iure* and *in facto*, a boor, a charlatan, and a pettifogger.[24] The customary adjectives frequently added are impious, wicked, arch-diabolical, atheistic, godless and crucifix-less. In his *History*, moreover, he wants not only to teach atheism, he also wants to teach Mohammedanism. They imagine him to be an Epicurean[25] who denies divine providence, which they assume without revealing the reason. At the end of the letters written to each other by imaginary friends, Sanfelice addresses three other letters personally to the author of the *Civil History*, in which with all his strength he exhorts him to abandon the philosophy of Epicurus and Lucretius and confine himself to sound belief. And adopting the part of a garrulous, dull preacher, he urges him to abandon the theories followed hitherto and to cling to those demonstrated by him, Sanfelice, in the letters, and to study the maxims, especially of the papacy and the specific devotions to the saints of the many religious orders of which he considers the church's hierarchy is composed, on which he so insists. He tries in these last three letters to appear no less a clever philosopher than he had shown himself, in the preceding letters, a consummate theologian and a moralist. The title of his book, therefore, is *Riflessioni morali e teologiche*.[26]

23 In Greek mythology Marsyas was a satyr whose excellence on the flute was voted greater than that of Apollo, who, in a jealous rage, had him tied to a tree and flayed alive.

24 G. draws attention to Sanfelice's dishonesty in claiming Cologne as the place of publication for his *Reflections*. 'Although you are in the centre of Rome, when printing your *Reflections* you lied about the place of publication, making it appear to have been published in Cologne. And what is more, without putting your name, you invented the name of Eusebio Filopatro (the pious one who loves his father). That, moreover, was foolish, because of your not being able to show who was your father, since, as our lawyers say, *nuptiae patrem demonstrant* (marriage proves the father).'(*Opere postume*, 1 (1770), p. 415). To retaliate against Sanfelice's relentless attack in this matter, after making enquiries, G. emphasizes in the *Profession of Faith*, that Sanfelice was born of 'adultery' (Vienna, 19 February 1729: *Epist.*, p. 601; *Opere postume*, 1, 415).

25 Sanfelice's last three letters of the *Reflections* attack G.'s adherence to Epicurus.

26 *Riflessioni morali e teologiche sopra l'Istoria civile del regno di Napoli. Esposte al pubblico in più lettere familiari di due amici da Eusebio Filopatro* (Moral and Theological Reflections

More stupefying than surprising, however, is that while posing as the reformer of customs and morals, he employs such evil calumnies and deceptions, that even Hell's blackest devils would not lie to such an extent. His ubiquitous mendacity, mangling of the sense and words of the *Civil History*, mutilating, spoiling and falsifying it, and his impudence and insolence are such that he does not refrain from quoting pages, even though it is certain that the readers on checking them would easily become aware of the falsehood and deception. And to give the ultimate proof of this, an index[27] is added at the end of the second volume, in which the propositions which he claims to have noted in the books of the *Civil History* are divided into several groups. These are described under various sub-headings, according to his whim, as heretical, impious, schismatic and scandalous, injurious, rash, wrong, erroneous, et cetera. And although this index was always supposed to be attached to the work, he detached it and sent it round separately, so that anyone reading it was at least left uncertain, not being able to check with the work whether the accusations and imputations noted there were true or false.

Many copies of this work by the Jesuit Sanfelice were sent from Rome to Naples, and sold there in the porter's lodge of the Jesuits' main college. Since buyers, however, were rare, it was decided to put them on sale in the shops of booksellers, and to let people know, the bookseller was indicated in the public *Avvisi*,[28] which used to be printed in Naples, and as a greater inducement to the people it was declared to be a work written against the *Civil History* of Giannone. Friends did not fail to send

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on the *Civil History of the Kingdom of Naples,* Made Public in Several Intimate Letters of Two Friends by Eusebio Filopatro) (Cologne/Rome 1728); B., p. 159.

27 *Indice delle proposizioni che nella Storia Civile più spiccano meritevoli di censura e che si ribattano a suo luogo* (Index of the Propositions Which in the *Civil History* Stand Out as Deserving of Censure, Which Will Be Refuted in Turn). The pagination of the index is different from that of the *Reflections*, because it was meant to circulate separately, as G. states (B., p. 160).

28 The Jesuits of Naples brought in hundreds of copies of Sanfelice's *Riflessioni* and had them sold publicly in bookshops and advertised in the *Gazzetta di Napoli*. Argento did nothing. Harrach at last looked through a copy and wrote directly to the emperor on 18 March 1729 (Nicolini, *Uomini di spada* (Milan 1940), p. 347). The bookshop referred to in G.'s petition to Prince Eugene (see n. 42) was that of Francesco Forastieri (TAS, *Mss. Giannone*: *Giannoniana*, p. 435). Copies were then confiscated from the bookshops of Luca Valerio and Nicolo Monaco (Benedikt, *Königreich Neapel*, p. 380).

me a copy in Vienna as soon as they could, and their sending it was very opportune. It not only freed me from the distress of waiting for it, believing that after six years something had at last come out which was worthy of note, not so fatuous, dull and ridiculous, but also because the work itself had not been sent from Rome to Vienna, but only packets containing the pages of the index. When these fell into the hands of some Neapolitan and Sicilian Jesuits in Vienna (since the Germans did not interfere), they went round showing them to our Italians, and with false, pharisaical zeal as though pitying the unhappy state into which I had fallen, owing to the discovery in me of so many errors and heresies, and they pretended to wish that I mend my ways and turn back from the wrong path to the right one leading to salvation. From Sanfelice's actual book, however, which I alone had and for this purpose offered to everyone to read, the calumnies and deceptions were easily revealed, since the pages quoted in the index proved nothing of what was claimed, and were no more than gossip, sermons and vain exclamations. The work was universally considered no more than a most rabid libel replete with shameless contumely and impudent insults.[29] It was, moreover, full of maxims injurious to the power of princes and most prejudicial to royal jurisdiction, so amplifying papal jurisdiction as to have it come directly and immediately from God, whereas that of the princes came indirectly by means of the pope, through whom earth's kings and princes ruled and administered justice.

As the work was universally considered as fatuous and ridiculous as it was insulting to the power of princes, there was no lack of those zealous in the cause of royal interests and good customs to write to the viceroy in Naples, Count Harrach, and to his secretary of state and war,[30] expressing amazement at how they could allow to circulate freely in Naples books of such a nature, which were nothing but defamatory libel and so insulting to princes, and how magistrates, on whom it was incumbent to be vigilant

29 The Viennese nunzio, Girolamo Grimaldi, wrote to the secretary of state on 6 August 1729 that he had heard in Vienna that 'more than one disapproves of the too ardent manner, as they say, with which Sanfelice has expressed himself in his book against Giannone personally, and of the outspokenness with which they claim he stretches some statements to mean sometimes more than what his words mean in themselves' (AAV, *Germania*: Marini, *Mezzogiorno,* p. 67).

30 Juan Tomás de Peralta, served as secretary of war in Barcelona. Before being appointed to Naples, he served on the Council of Spain. 'He was a diligent and competent official, but corruptible' (Benedikt, *Königreich Neapel*, pp. 397-399).

and suppress them, could appear to be so negligent and half-asleep. When the viceroy had been advised by Vienna of what he needed to know in Naples, and especially by the delegate of the royal jurisdiction [Argento], he ordered that the secretary of state (who had a copy from the booksellers), write a note forthwith to the said delegate, sending him the book and expressing amazement that it had been allowed to circulate in Naples until finally he had had to be informed of it by Vienna, since no one there in Naples had told him about it. He ordered him to examine it and raise the matter in the Collateral Council, in order to have the necessary provision made for it.[31] And to confront and shake him even more out of his lethargy, he sent him a new *Office*,[32] printed in Naples, of Gregory VII [Hildebrand, 1073-1085], whom Benedict XIII wanted to have revered as a saint throughout the whole world, in which could be read three lessons insulting the power of kings and emperors and most prejudicial to royal jurisdiction. Although this *Office* had not been accepted in France, Germany and other kingdoms, Naples was full of it. People were even going through the courts hawking it in a loud voice, and the delegate of jurisdiction, Argento, who was also president of the Council of Santa Chiara, was closing his eyes and blocking his ears as though it were no concern of his.

What made me even more aware, however, of the depths of immoderate ambition in human breasts and the width of the net with which Rome catches and involves everyone was my experience with

31 Gaetano Argento. See Benedikt, *Königreich Neapel*, pp. 555 for the viceroy's letter to Argento (18 March 1729) and to the president of the Council of Spain (5 April). Argento's unwillingness to become involved is expressed in his reply to the viceroy's letter: 'I will carry out what I am obliged and committed to do with the greatest exactness... [but] I reserve the right to attend to my own interests. After giving the matter the most mature thought and when it is proposed and discussed in the Collateral, the most appropriate decision will be made' (Biblioteca della Società napoletana di Storia patria, Ms 27A.7, ff.215-218).

32 In a letter to Carlo its contents were described by G. as being 'those same inept, puerile lessons which once Paul V [1605-1621] sent to the archbishop of Salerno... and now they want to have it put in the directories and breviaries of Germany. Among the lessons there is one which exaggerates and elevates the power of that pope and his strength in having deposed emperors, absolved subjects from obedience to their princes, and such things... That pope is not considered a saint in Germany; on the contrary, all writers give him a seat as glorious as that of Lucifer' (Vienna, 12 February 1729: *Epist*., p. 600); see G.'s account of the Office of St. Gregory (*Giannoniana*, pp. 67-69), and also G.'s depiction of Gregory VII in the *Civil History*: Chapter Seven: Appendix.

the regent Ventura,[33] Argento's nephew. In Naples and when I was in Vienna, he kept up a great friendship with me which was formed in our youth, when we served together under the patronage of his uncle. Whereas no week passed without his writing to me, even of trivial events in the kingdom of Naples, he did not mention a word about Sanfelice's libellous and contumelious book, and had I not been informed of it by other friends,[34] I would have been ignorant of it for a long time. And what is more, when it was to be dealt with in the Collateral Council, he sought various pretexts not to intervene,[35] so as not to be involved in the provision made for it, which he clearly foresaw would incur great displeasure at the court of Rome. This was because he had urged his uncle to send one of his half-brothers to Rome, for whom they already had high hopes of posts and honours to make their house illustrious, not only with civil posts on the emperor's part, but also ecclesiastical rank by way of the pope. They did not wish, therefore, to give the slightest offence to the Roman court, from which great emoluments were expected. President Argento himself, moreover, had lost his initial vigour and become very different from how he was at the beginning. This may have been because, having been induced to send to Rome that nephew, the son of his sister, he was hoping to advance him in the

33 Francesco Ventura (1680-1759), judge of the Vicaria and auditor-general of the army in 1715, councillor of the Sacro Real Consiglio in 1717, regent of the Collateral in 1725; he was removed from all posts in 1734, but then made president of the Supremo Tribunale del Commercio (Supreme Court of Commerce) in 1739. He and G. had been fellow-students and friends in Argento's academy; G. had once referred to him (and Muzio di Majo) as 'the repositories of my most secret negotiations' (Vienna, 10 July, 1723; *Epist.*, p. 63) (B., p. 162).

34 It is not known who told G. On 1 January 1729 (*Epist.*, p. 589) he wrote to Carlo requesting that he ask Biagio Garofalo to send him a summary of Sanfelice's book. The summary arrived in mid-February. Nicola Capasso then sent him another: Chapter Seven: Appendix. G. wrote from Vienna on 16 September 1730 for Carlo to tell Capasso of his intercession with Solanes on Ciccarelli's behalf (*Epist.*, pp. 742-743). On 9 December 1730, G. sent the message through Carlo to 'our Sig. Capasso who will have been pleased to hear of his Fr Ciccarelli, who is archbishop of Lanciano, and now he will be free of complaints and nagging' (NBN: *Giannoniana*, pp. 74-78).

35 Many were absent, because the decree banning the book was signed by only three regents: Tommaso Mazzaccara duke of Castel Arignano, the duke of Lauria Adriano Calá de Lanzina y Ulloa, and Domenico Castelli (Naples State Archives: *Notamenti del Collaterale*, vol.142; written by Nicolo Fraggianni, secretary of the kingdom on the session of 4 April 1729, vol.9, January-June 1729, pp. 479-495: *Giannoniana*, pp. 48-54).

prelacy, since already through Cardinal Coscia he was maintained there at the expense of the Apostolic Camera and had been made a canon. It may, on the other hand, have been due to Argento's being of an advanced age and frail, subject to apoplectic fits (by which he was assailed in the following year, when he died). It may also have been due to his always having at his side Father Cillis,[36] his confessor, who was employed by the archbishop Cardinal Pignatelli to keep him half-asleep and lethargic. As this time, however, he was unable to evade the viceroy's pressure to examine the book and refer it to the Collateral Council, and he finally raised the matter there, albeit unwillingly. And if it had not been for the councillor Grimaldi[37] and Abate Biagio Garofalo,[38] who listed all the clauses[39] offensive to the power of the princes which they had noted in Sanfelice's work, Argento would certainly not have taken steps to acknowledge them. Councillor Grimaldi wrote to me that Argento seemed so reluctant and cold, that whenever Grimaldi spoke to him and pointed out the impudence and the many shameless insults and lies of

36 See above, in particular Chapter Five, p. 151, for his influence on Argento.

37 Costantino Grimaldi (1667-1750): above, Chapter Four, n.16.

38 Biagio Garofalo (1677-1762), Neapolitan intellectual and antiquarian, who fled from Rome, where he was in the service of the Borghese family, in fear of the Inquisition. He eventually went to Vienna, where he entered the service of Prince Eugene, as his expert on valuable manuscripts (Max Braubach, *Prinz Eugen von Savoyen*, 5 vols (Munich 1963-1965), 5, p. 429). The secretary of state, Antonio Banchieri, on 13 September 1732 wrote to Passionei:

> '...when speaking to the other magistrates, bring always to their attention his bad attitude towards the Church and this Holy See; how everything suggests that he be kept away from posts where he could exercise it in prejudice of the service of God, public quiet and the good understanding between the Priesthood and the Empire' (AAV, *Germania:* Marini, *Mezzogiorno*, pp. 117, 230).

Garofalo was by then in Vienna under the protection of Prince Eugene and Garelli, thanks to G.'s patronage. One of the posts for which Garafolo had applied was that of Cappellano Maggiore, the head of the chapel of the royal palace, and in charge of all the other chapels of the kingdom; this was awarded to Galiani. See his intimate letter from Naples to G., 4 January 1732: Chapter Seven: Appendix. Garofalo's letters to G. of 4 and 18 January and 22 February 1732 from Naples refer to the son of Costantino Grimaldi, Gregorio Grimaldi, who wrote *Istoria delle leggi a de' magistrate del regno de Napoli*, which was a modest version of the *Istoria civile*, but did not acknowledge G.'s inspiration (*Giannoniana*, pp. 520-44). It would seem that G.'s intercession was, in part, effective, because Garofalo shortly after went to Vienna, and ended his days there.

39 Included in the *Opere postume*, 2 (1766), 233-262 are Biagio Garofalo's 'Osservazioni critiche sopra le Riflessioni morali e teologiche esposte in più lettere da Eusebio Filopatro' (Critical Observations on the *Moral, Theological Reflections* Presented in Several letters by Eusebio Filopatro). Garofalo wrote on eighteen of the letters.

which the work was full, he seemed bewildered and made no reply but pulled a face, to use Grimaldi's words, like that of a cow pissing.[40]

As, meanwhile, the books had been read by others and Argento heard them universally described as defamatory libel, fatuous, impudent, and insulting to royal authority, he was roused by the opinions of so many and set to work to read them carefully and seriously, and on discovering the real truth of what had been said of them, finally, on the day set by the Collateral Council for the report, gave a most exact account of them before the viceroy and the regents of the Council. They were astounded and surprised to learn of such abuse and insults heaped not only on the author of the *Civil History*, but also on the Commune of Naples and, above all, how the authority of princes had been maltreated, and that the books were nothing but defamatory libel and endless travesty. By the unanimous votes of the whole Collateral, by the decree imposed on 13 April[41] of that year, 1729, Sanfelice's volumes were declared defamatory libel and insulting to princes, and it was strictly forbidden to read, keep, sell or in any way possess them, even in manuscript, because of their mockery of good customs and royal authority. The penalties imposed on transgressors were for aristocrats three years' exile, and for non-aristocrats three years in the galleys.[42] It was also ordered that these proscriptions were to be issued by public edict and proclamation and published in the city of Naples and the entire kingdom, and in the Gran Corte della Vicaria [High Court of the Vicaria] and all royal provincial courts, and that penalties would be imposed irremediably on transgressors.[43]

The viceroy was of the view that the work should be burnt by the executioner in the presence of the people, but he was dissuaded from this

40 In Ricuperati's meticulous account, he suggests that Argento's reserve expressed his prudence, because he could not have believed 'that the Collateral, which had not defended the works of Grimaldi, Riccardi, and his own, would bestir itself for Giannone' (*L'esperienza*, p. 278).

41 The Council met on 4 April 1729. See the minutes of the session by the secretary of the Kingdom, Nicolo Fraggianni (*Giannoniana*, pp. 48-54). The severity of the Collateral Council which condemned Sanfelice fell, however, not on Sanfelice and the Curia, but, as in the case of the *Istoria civile*, on the original bookseller, whom it ordered to be arrested (Nicolini, *Uomini di spada*, p. 348).

42 Transgressors were to serve as rowers in the galleys of the Imperial fleet (B., p. 164). Such a penalty was, in reality, equivalent to the death penalty.

43 G. gives an account of the meeting of the Council in his petition to Prince Eugene: Chapter Seven: Appendix.

by the regents, in order not to provoke new trouble with Rome, where the book had originated and been published, by such sensationalist methods. It was, however, decided that the viceroy write a strong letter to Cardinal Cienfuegos, enclosing the decree of the proscription and ban, directing him to inform Fr Sanfelice who was living in Rome, through the Jesuits' general superior or other channels, that he was banished and was never again to set foot in Naples, the kingdom, or in any of the emperor's dominions. This was carried out precisely by the viceroy. In execution of the said decree, when the edict was drawn up and officially printed,[44] it was publicly declaimed throughout the customary places in the city and kingdom to the blast of a trumpet. When printed copies of this had been circulated everywhere to inform everyone, searches were made of booksellers for any copies of the work, and all found or disclosed were taken and confiscated. There were also private individuals who, to escape the initial rigour of the threatened penalties, went voluntarily to present their copies to the secretary of the kingdom,[45] who placed them in the royal chancellery according to the ban's ruling. And since Sanfelice's work had been printed in Rome and introduced into the kingdom without permission, in contravention of many rulings prohibiting the introduction without permission into the kingdom of books printed outside, this brought into effect a new ruling which, by renewing the old one, rigorously ordered its observance and exact implementation. When all this was done, the viceroy made a faithful report on it to the emperor and his Imperial Court,[46] and sent to Vienna the complete text of Sanfelice with the decree of banishment, the ban and new ruling, with information on everything which had been written to Cardinal Cienfuegos in Rome. This wise decision was

44 The text can be found dated 16 April 1729 in *Opere postume*, 1 (1770), 437-440.

45 The secretary, Nicolo Fraggianni, one of Naples' most respected magistrates and a lifelong protector, defender and friend of G., reintroduced the matter at the session of the Collateral of 12 April 1729 (*Giannoniana*, pp. 54-55). He later sent G. a copy of the ban, written by himself, which proscribed the work of the Franciscan Giovanni Antonio Bianchi (Vienna, 20 June 1733: *Epist.*, p. 985). After Argento's sudden death on 31 May 1730, it was the more precise Fraggianni whom Harrach appointed as temporary president of the Collateral Council in his place, until Francesco Solanes was appointed to the post of president on 30 September 1730.

46 Bertelli (B., p. 165) draws attention to a letter of G. from Vienna to Carlo of 9 April 1729 (*Epist.*, p. 612), where he refers to the emperor's awareness of how slow the magistrates in Naples were to act.

applauded and commended the more Sanfelice's work was read, and it was universally considered deserving not only of this, but of other more severe punishment.[47]

Given the dullness and fatuity of the work, no one would have searched for it, much less read it. The uproar, however, excited the curiosity of some to look at it, and it was found that among the other inane lies, the author had with unprecedented impudence written that the court of the Sant' Ufficio (Holy Office) or Inquisition[48] was not universally abhorred by Neapolitans but that only some few free-thinkers hated it, and that the emperor had in no way rendered it extinct with his edicts. This was both wrong and all too sensitive an issue for the City's deputies, who kept a close watch over that matter. As soon as they heard about it, they joined forces with the City, represented by its Elect in San Lorenzo, and it

47 G. wrote to Carlo that, in the face of so much corruption, this was no mean achievement, and that in Vienna the decision had been universally commended and applauded (Vienna, 30 April 1729: *Epist*., p. 620). On 1 August the Neapolitan nuncio, Vincenzo Alemanni, had written to the cardinal secretary of state, Antonio Banchieri, enclosing a copy of the *Professione di fede* (see below, ns.57-58). Even the Viennese nuncio Girolamo Grimaldi wrote to Rome that there was considerable disapproval in Vienna over Sanfelice's personal attack on G. and his distortion of what G. had written: 'more than one here disapproves of Sanfelice's work against G...' (6 August 1729: AAV, *Germania*: Marini, *Mezzogiorno*, p. 67). Panzini (*Vita*, p. 95) relates that the emperor and his magistrates, especially Prince Eugene, wrote to thank Viceroy Harrach, and that Vincenzo d'Ippolito, Domenico Castelli, and Nicolo Fraggianni all sent G. congratulatory letters.

48 G. wrote extensively on the history of the Inquisition in the *Civil History:* Chapter Seven: Appendix. Naples rebelled against the institution of the court of the so-called Spanish Inquisition in 1547 and 1564. In 1661, a permanent commission of vigilance was set up to combat the danger of the establishment of the court in Naples. Given G.'s account, 'in a tone strongly suggestive of the Enlightenment', it is understandable that Sanfelice should attack him also on that matter (B., p. 166). The tribunal of the Inquisition, however, as Ajello observes, ultimately survived or was reborn in a muted or hidden form (*Il problema della riforma* (Naples 1961), p. 54). For a history of the Inquisition in Naples, see also Marini, *P.G. e il giannonianismo* (Bari 1950), p. 48; Jemolo, *Stato e Chiesa* (Naples 1972), p. 160; and in particular the article by Romeo de Maio, 'G. e la fabbrica di S.Pietro', in *P.G. e il suo tempo*, pp. 321-341. G. attempted in Vienna to publish Giuseppe Valletta's (1636-1714) amplified work: *Historia Inquisitionis Regni Neapolitani*, which had hitherto circulated in manuscript. It had also been translated into French (see Salvo Mastellone, 'Osservazioni sulle origini seicentesche dell'anticurialismo meridionale', in *Critica storica*, 4 (1965), 1-13). At the time, however, Imperial and papal interests coincided, and for political reasons Sintzendorf and Rialp saw to it that it was not published. The priest Sebastiano Paoli, G.'s false friend, who was ordered by Benedict XIII to block its publication, succeeded completely (Marini, *Mezzogiorno*, p. 232). Valletta's history was successfully republished by Girrolamo Tartarotti in 1732.

was decided at a public meeting that the treacherous author be refuted.[49] The city's Elect were to betake themselves to the viceroy and declare to His Excellency that the hatred and abomination aroused by that court was universal and not confined to some few Neapolitans. They were also to render their profuse thanks to the viceroy for banning such a pernicious book, a step which had been most proper and necessary and redounded to the great benefit of the public. And they appointed the prince of Valle Piccolomini[50] as speaker who, accompanied publicly by the Elect, went to the viceroy and most eloquently rendered thanks to him on their behalf for the banning, and testified to the universal horror felt by Neapolitans, handed down to them as a legacy from their elders, for the court of the Holy Office. The viceroy courteously received them, praised their zeal both for royal authority and public welfare, and pledged always to uphold and cherish the privileges and prerogatives granted by His Majesty the emperor with such justice and clemency to the City and his most faithful kingdom.

All these propitious events, and the fact that the Jesuit's work did not merit a reply, freed me from the obligation of preparing one. Friends advised me not to reply,[51] not only because the banning which declared it defamatory libel was sufficient reply, but also because there was nothing substantial in it. Everything was reduced to empty twaddle, obvious slander, contumely, and falsification of passages and words which even the blind could see; that it was even less necessary to reply, since it was censured and derided by all; that even from Rome people were writing that the cardinals themselves, the prelates and all the judicious and learned men of that city considered it fatuous and dull. They were extremely indignant that, after six years, such a ridiculous reply should come from Rome, almost as though no one else could have

49 The text of the resolution is in *Opere postume*, 1 (1770), pp. 437-440.

50 A member of the family of the Piccolomini d'Aragona, princes of Valle (B., p. 167).

51 It is easy to understand the anxiety of G.'s friends that a reply from G. to Sanfelice would renew the Curia's persecution. Garofalo had written much in G.'s defence: 'Osservazioni critiche sopra i Reflessioni morali e teologiche' (Critical Observations on the Moral & Theological Reflections), and Capasso had written a review of Sanfelice in Latin for the *Acta eruditorum lipsiensium*. Mencke altered the review somewhat, but it was published in September 1729 (Letters to Carlo, 7 May 1729: *Epist.*, p. 621, and 30 July: *Epist.*, p. 643; Bertelli, 'Appunti e osservazioni', p. 206). Only when G. had received Sanfelice's book and had read it, however, did he decide that it was necessary to make a reply.

done it more worthily, and a blockhead and prodigious ignoramus had been chosen. And Marquis Almenara, who had stayed for a few weeks in Rome when returning to Vienna on the arrival of Count Harrach in Naples, told me that, in conversation with some cardinals and prelates, they showed their dissatisfaction, and complained that those around the pope were thought fit and capable subjects, when a plough would be more appropriate in their hands than a pen.

Given these powerful reasons I had no intention of making a reply. I went nevertheless to the marquis of Rialp, protesting that Rome wanted everyone else to remain silent while it allowed defamatory libels rather than books to be published by the Vatican, ill-using the reputation, honour and esteem of upright and honest men. This revealed how little my presence in the Imperial Court, my reception by His Majesty with such clemency, and my enjoyment of his noble protection mattered in Rome. All that was thought nothing and I was abused with the most atrocious and grave contumely ever hurled at the lowest and most loathsome men on earth. The marquis who did not want to spoil his business at the court of Rome [52] with such matters, which in his view were trivial and unimportant, smiled ironically and told me not to be upset but to laugh and make light of it, especially since it had been appropriately punished by the viceroy. I replied that I would do so, and especially because Sanfelice's books were too fatuous to warrant a reply.

At this point, however, more packets were sent from Rome to Vienna, addressed to the nuncio and other public figures, which contained many copies of a new work written by Sanfelice and printed in Rome.[53] In it with unprecedented impudence and arrogance, not only were the same insults and ridicule repeated, but the royal decree was attacked and the regents of the Collateral Council of Naples maltreated so harshly and insultingly that the impudent man did not refrain from calling them calumniators, fools and ignoramuses. And although his work had been universally derided and considered wrong, acrimonious and slanderous, he remained firm and constant in his delirium and raged against everyone, threatening other letters which would make people

52 Above, p. 261.

53 It comprised four pages entitled: 'Difesa del libro delle *Riflessioni* sopra *l'Istoria* of P.G. dalle censure fatteli contro in Napoli' (Defence of the *Reflections on the History of P.G.* from the Censures Issued against It in Naples) (B., p. 168).

aware how he had spared the authority of the princes in the previous ones; that the royal edict and ban had brought more harm and infamy to those proclaiming them than to him, because it had not harmed a hair of his head; and that he laughed at it and disregarded it, since he was undaunted by any authority and destitute of reason.

When I read this other shameless work, which not even the nuncio could stomach, I realized that such madness would have to be treated at its head, there being no certainty that, as he had done with the Council, he would not make some outburst against the Elect of the City who had also publicly rebutted him and on the people's behalf expressed their thanks to the viceroy for the ban. When I went on my usual summer holidays in Perchtoldsdorf in May of that year 1729, in that solitude, far from the city's clamour, I decided, therefore, to write an essay to try to rid him of his madness, and thus calm him.[54] And my only way of curing such serious, stubborn sickness was by pretending to be convinced by his preachings, and especially his last three philosophical letters addressed to me; that, won over by his strong, persuasive arguments, I was converted and had embraced the faith inculcated by him in his *Riflessioni morali e teologiche sopra l'Istoria civile* (Moral and Theological Reflections on the *Civil History*).

I extracted from it the maxims on the papal monarchy and the absolute rule which he claimed for it over both the spiritual and temporal rule of the princes, and the belief in, devotion to, and concept of, the particular devotions of the religious orders which he felt all should have, and were confirmed by the many miracles related by him. And similarly, as in France, there was no lack of noble and resourceful minds to extract from the works of the Jesuit Pallavicino, later cardinal, and especially from the *Histoire du Concile de Trente* (History of the Council of Trent), an *Evangile nouveau* (New Gospel) compiled from his new maxims to be found throughout his books. These, when collected into a small book printed in Paris,[55] had promulgated this new teaching to the world. I

54 Around this time G. wrote to Carlo: 'I tell you that you do well to dissemble everything there, as I do here' (Vienna, 7 May 1729: *Epist*., p. 621). And a fortnight later, when planning the counter-attack on Sanfelice, he tells Carlo: 'In the meantime bear yourself there with indifference, maintaining the same attitude as before, as I shall endeavour to do here' (21 May 1729: *Epist*., p. 624).

55 J. le Noir: *Les nouvelles lumières politiques pour le gouvernement de l'Église, ou l'Évangile nouveau du cardinal Pallavicin, révélées par lui dans son Histoire du Concile de Trente*

tried therefore to extract from Sanfelice's work a new *Profession of Faith*. In twelve fundamental clauses I professed the belief which he and the Roman writers of his ilk wished one to have about the pope and his unlimited power. In another nine secondary clauses I professed belief in all those amazing and portentous miracles which, to confirm the particular devotions of the religious orders, were read in many legends and especially in the *Conformità franciscane*[56] (Franciscan Conformities) on the cord of St Francis, and in the *Chronicles* of St Antony[57] on that of the Dominicans' rosary.

I added to this *Profession of Faith* several *Dubbi intorno alla morale* (doubts on morality) which I observed were proposed by Sanfelice in his book. These I examined to decide whether someone who held the faith preached by him, which I had already professed in the preceding clauses, was at liberty, without being accused of sinning, to malign his neighbour to the prince and his highest magistrates in order to ruin him; whether one could slander him with impunity by deception, falsehood and other base and infamous arts; whether it were lawful to falsify passages and words and distort in an evil sense the ideas of writers; whether one could hurl grave and horrible insults at one's neighbour, and whether such insults, appearing not only in writing but in print,

(Paris 1676). Panzini (*Vita*, p. 99) writes that G. was inspired also by *La Confession Catholique du Sieur de Sancy, et Déclaration des causes tant d'état que de Religion, qui l'ont mêu à se remettre au giron de l'Église Romaine* (Paris 1693), 'a book full of satire and slander published in France in the time of Henry IV, directed at Cardinal du Perron, bishop of Evreux, by Theodore-Agrippa d'Aubigné, a Huguenot, to ridicule that cardinal and other renowned personages of the Catholic Communion, among whom in particular was Nicolet d'Harlay, lord of Sancy, state councillor to Henry IV, who had changed religion as many times as it suited him, and finally through the work of Cardinal Duperron had become a Catholic'. *La Confession* appeared in *Recueil de diverses pièces servant à l'histoire de Henry III roi de France* (Cologne 1693) (*Giannoniana*, pp. 535-536).

56 Bartolomeo di Rinonico: *De conformitate vitae Beati Francisci ad vitam Domini Iesu*, 1390, but written before 1385, of which the modern critical edition is in *Analecta Franciscana ad Claras Acquas* (Quaracchi, near Florence 1906-1912). On the sources of the *Profession of Faith* see G.'s letter from Vienna (8 October 1729: *Epist*., 658; B.170).

57 Antoninus, saint (1389-1459), archbishop of Florence; he joined the Dominican order at the age of sixteen, and studied with Fra' Angelico. He urged the return to the primitive rule, and established the famous Convent of San Marco in Florence. Among his writings are *Summa theologica moralis* and a general history of the world. He justified the earning of interest from money invested in business, and was renowned for his integrity and wisdom, and his care of the sick and the poor.

since they were employed by such believers in their writings, were to be considered defamatory libel; whether, moreover, such a belief allowed one to lie with impunity, and although most ignorant, to seem learned and become presumptuous, arrogant and proud.

According to the doubts to which they referred, I classified all the slanders, execrations, deceptions, duplicity, lies, cavilling, insults and serious contumely scattered throughout the whole work, which I indicated and placed in the final evidence. And in particular, in the matters where he claimed to correct me from error or misbelief, I revealed the extent of his prodigious ignorance, not harshly but derisively, as was appropriate with such a fatuous and inane writer. In the last part I informed him and declared that I was sending him my *Profession* and the *Doubts* in manuscript, so that they were not read by others and were solely for his use, and so that he might rejoice in my conversion. For this I was beholden to his learned and powerful letters which he had written to me in confidence, in order that his correction be fraternal and charitable between only us two, although I did not know why I had been able to read them only in print and after they had been published everywhere, in Rome and elsewhere.

On completing this work in the solitude of Perchtoldsdorf, I returned to the city in July and showed it to some friends, who liked it exceedingly and urged me to have it printed. I remained firm, however, in not permitting this, and although, through some friends who had read it, it came to the notice of the emperor and, after they had praised it highly to him, they advised me to publish it, I remained adamant. It was finally decided to send only one copy to Rome and arrange for it to be put into Sanfelice's own hands. This was done by addressing it to him and, to make certain, it was enclosed in an envelope directed to the rector of the Jesuits in the college or religious house where he lived. Arrangements were made for another copy to go to the Neapolitan and Sicilian Jesuits in Vienna, to whom Father Sanfelice had addressed the packets of his index and the last article written against the royal decree banning his work.[58]

58 Still fresh in the mind of the prisoner of Miolans is his relief and sense of triumph at the success of the carefully planned drama of the *Profession of Faith* (for the text see *Opere di P.G.*, ed. Bertelli and Ricuperati, pp. 484-504). Not only had he

Another copy was sent to friends in Naples, and with their tirelessly reading and re-reading it to others, because of the extreme pleasure which it gave them,[59] this alone sufficed for it to circulate throughout the whole city and, unrestricted by these limits, to fly to Rome, where

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reconciled Capasso to it, by agreeing, it seems, not to publish it, Capasso, in fact, with Garofalo, revised it: Appendix. Carlo successfully executed the plan, and G. specifically requested that not even Costantino Grimaldi be admitted into this secret (Vienna, 6 August 1729: *Epist*., p. 645; 3 September: pp. 651-652; 12 November: pp. 664-665; 19 November: p. 666). The Jesuits at first thought that G.'s *Professione* was serious. Bertelli (B., p. 134) describes it as G.'s 'fatal Rubicon'. From attacks based on jurisdiction, G. mounted here an attack against the corruption of the Church, which ended in his destruction (*Opere di P.G.*, p. 481).

59 G. had been much disappointed, in fact, at the lack of enthusiasm of his friends in Naples, especially at Capasso's negative reaction, and wrote testily back to Carlo: 'On what you state also about the sentiments of Sig. Capasso, it is certainly a surprise, but as he had probably just been with criminals [in the Criminal Court—La Gran Corte della Vicaria], everything seems criminal to him' (Venice, 8 October 1729: *Epist*., p. 658; for Capasso's undated letter, NBN; *Giannoniana*, pp. 78-80, see Chapter Seven: Appendix). It should also be noted that the vote of the viceroy Count Harrach had been the casting vote in the Collateral Council to implement action against Sanfelice. Harrach's convictions were evident, when the Neapolitan nuncio presented him with a copy of the *Profession of Faith*. Harrach, after reading it, told him that he found nothing reprehensible in it, and did not mention it in his dispatches (Benedikt, *Königreich Neapel*, p. 559). In the *Racconto di varie notizie* (Naples 1997), p. 191, the matter is reported:

> 'In May of the current year (1729) an essay appeared in Naples in reply... to Sanfelice which, it was revealed, had been sent from Vienna by Pietro Giannone, but was generally believed to have been written by Councillor Costantino Grimaldi, a very close friend of Pietro Giannone, and in part by Giannone... By more veracious, objective persons, however, it is thought to have been written by Giannone himself; and that he had received various thoughts on it from both Grimaldi and Argento, then president of the Council, and from other men of letters who are his friends'.

As Bertelli observes, G.'s reply to Sanfelice seems to have opposed the radical wing of his group in Vienna to the moderate wing in Naples. Unity was then restored, and G. remained adamant in refusing permission to publish the *Profession of Faith*. The nuncio of Naples, Vincenzo Alamanni, had also tried to ensure that it not be published (see letter of 1 August 1730), and the new nuncio of Naples, Ranieri Simonetti, on 21 February 1731 was instructed 'by order of His Beatitude' to put pressure on the viceroy 'to prevent its ever being published' (AAV, *Napoli*: *Giannoniana*, p. 13). Until 1735 it had circulated only in manuscript (*Giannoniana*, p. 15). Nicolini states that it was eventually published in Venice in 1735, and suggests that Pitteri was the publisher (*Scritti*, p. 22). The circulation of manuscripts was normal in those times, not only for works considered 'dangerous', but also for those with a limited readership. Most of Leibniz's works remained in manuscript during his life-time, yet they earned him an international reputation. Newton's writings, and even the poetry of John Donne, also circulated in manuscript (Harold Stone, *Vico's Cultural History* (Leiden 1997), p. 53). Most Italian libraries contain a copy in manuscript of the *Profession of Faith*.

numerous copies were made of it. I was infinitely displeased to hear this, for fear that, with the manuscript in circulation, it might be altered and ruined and, above all, that the envious and malevolent might deform and spoil it by adding some blasphemy. For this purpose, I had a most correct copy transcribed and presented it in book-form to the cavaliere Garelli, librarian to His Majesty, to have it placed in the Imperial library, where it could be consulted as the original, in case other copies were found altered or spoilt. I received letters from Naples that some people were most eager to publish it, but I continued to forbid this, and wrote immediately to my friends to prevent it at all costs, which they did. This was in order that people might understand that I for my part had kept my promise, and that, although it was Rome's privilege to give permission for printing defamatory libels within that city, Naples and Vienna had no wish to imitate it, even though my essay were only to defend myself by indicating the slanders, deceptions and prodigious ignorance of my adversary. Although it was possible to prevent its printing, it was not possible to prevent copies circulating in manuscript.[60] As the conflict became widely known and also the fatuity of Sanfelice's books was revealed, the compilers of the *Acta eruditorum* of Leipzig[61] did not fail to report it, as did the literary journals of Holland, France and England.[62] When, therefore, the Jesuits saw that from all sides their society was regarded as outrageous, ridiculous and ignorant, they sought to remedy this as best they could

60 See Lino Marini 'Altri codici per un' edizione critica delli giannoniane *Apologia dell'Istoria civile* e *Professione di fede*', *Annali d. Scuola Normale Superiore di Pisa*, 21 (1952), 104-113, pp. 112-113.

61 G. with Garelli had asked Capasso to write an account of Sanfelice's attack in Latin, but the *Acta eruditorum* published it in a version revised by its editors without consulting G. G. then had to reassure Capasso, and sent him the letter of one of the editors, Johann Burchard Mencke, explaining why it had been revised (Vienna, 26 November 1729: *Epist.*, p. 667). In the letter of 7 January 1730 (*Epist.*, p. 679), G. expresses his pleasure in hearing that Capasso had accepted the changes as 'just and legitimate'.

62 Archibald Bower, the editor of the journal *Historia literaria* or *An Exact Account of the Most Valuable Books Published in the Several Parts of Europe*, published a detailed account of G.'s battle with Sanfelice and the *Profession of Faith* in fasc. 5, pp. 347-360; see Bertelli, 'Appunti e osservazioni', pp. 208-209. It was translated into German from the *Opere postume*: *Glaubensbekenntniß des Geschichtsschreibers P.G. an den Jesuiten Joseph Sanfelice*, which appeared in the journal *Der Teutsche Merkur*, Weimar 1784, pp. 4, 9-26 and 137-150. See also the letter of the Dominican Alberto Foscarini to Matteo Egizio on the *Professione* (Chapter Seven: Appendix).

by having Sanfelice's work reviewed by the journalists of Trévoix,[63] who were of their ilk, who abridged fatuous books rejected by others. By shortening Sanfelice's work and making it look different from how it actually was, they contrived to make it seem less perverted. Since no one, however, thought highly of the journalists of Trévoix, and as they are blockheads (*sciocchi*), and everyone knows that the compilers are employed and paid by the Jesuits, Sanfelice's books were left in the contempt and perpetual oblivion which they deserved. Even Rome so tired of them that it forgot all about them.[64]

III

[1730]

In the meantime, while occupied by this and other activities relating to the defence of the cases entrusted to me by Marquis Clement Doria, especially some of his own, the year 1729 ended and we had entered

63 *Mémoires de Trévoux* was the journal of the Jesuits which was often devoted to book reviews. In the journals for 1730 there appeared three articles: the first their review of the *Civil History* (pp. 5-11), the second on Sanfelice's *Riflessioni* (pp. 12-68), and the third on Sanfelice's subsequent *Difesa* (Defence) in reply to Garofalo's *Osservazioni* (pp. 69-71) (B., p. 172). It is intriguing that in his letter to Bianchieri of 24 September 1732, Passionei reported that he had heard that 'indirectly' Cardinal Armand Rohan (1674-1749, cardinal 1712, Grand Almoner 1713, member of the Regency Council 1722) had asked for a copy of the *Professione*. 'Knowing, as I do, how attached Cardinal de Rohan is to the Holy See, I find it hard to believe that he has taken this step, and, on the other hand, I cannot doubt that Giannoni [*sic*] has boasted of this request, as I have been told again by a person of great probity' (Marini, *Mezzogiorno*, pp. 279-281 (doc.17)). Rohan certainly had a copy of the *History*, which he willingly lent out (Nicola Badaloni, *Antonio Conti, un abate libero pensatore tra Newton e Voltaire* (Milan 1968), p. 270).

64 The indignation of the Curia over the *Istoria civile* and its militant reaction had in no way abated from the sentiments expressed in the letter of Giusto Fontanini of 8 May 1723 to the redoubtable Domenico Passionei (Chapter Seven: Appendix). Apart from Sanfelice, there were other attacks on the *Civil History* by erudite opponents. See that of the 'Zibaldone' (miscellany): Chapter Seven: Appendix; 'Idea dell'opere scritte contro Pietro Giannone' (Bibl. Società napoletana di Storia patria: *Giannoniana*, pp. 99-100 (Chapter Seven: Appendix); and the attack dedicated to Benedict XIV by Giuseppe Francesco Novara, 'Della *Storia civile di Napoli*...' (*Giannoniana*, pp. 506-514; Bertelli's intro, *ibid*., pp. 502-503) (Chapter Seven: Appendix). For the reactions of the Curia, see Guido Rispoli's 'Antigiannoniana', in *Studi in onore di F. Torraca* (Naples 1922); also *Giannoniana*, pp. 30-37.

1730.[65] I received a letter from the regent Castelli[66] of the Collateral Council of Naples, my friend, to whom I was greatly obliged for his warm personal support in Sanfelice's banishment. He asked me to send him a precise account of all the councils and courts in the city of Vienna,[67] with details on their origins, jurisdiction, and the number and rank of the magistrates who composed them. I wrote it in my summer

65 At the end of 1729, G. included in his letter to Carlo a note to Capasso on his ever present anxiety, despite that busy year, about the danger of war: 'And what is worse is that the kingdoms most exposed will be Naples and Sicily. You, therefore, no less than I, will have reason to fear; but with this sole difference that you have put a lot of straw under yourself and I nothing... But God will help. Love me as much as I love you' (Vienna, 24 December 1729: *Epist*., p. 675).

66 As well as regent, Domenico Castelli became interim president of the Giunta de' Veleni (Committee on Poisons). From an investigation of the Neapolitan magistracy in 1734, he was described as 'a Neapolitan of mediocre learning but good morals, precise and uncorrupted. His only connection with the court of Vienna is his having bought from it his post of regent. He is not at all loved by the public because of his slowness in making decisions and because he adjusts his position according to the way the wind blows' (Naples State Archives *Segretaria di Giustizia, Biografii di magistrate*: B., p. 173). He remained, nevertheless, a loyal friend to G.

67 *La breve relazione de' consigli e dicasteri della città di Vienna* (Brief Account of Councils and Ministries in the City of Vienna: *Opere postume*, 2 (1766), pp. 225-281). G.'s account is divided into four parts in which there are many chapters. Part I describes the courts and the Supreme Imperial councils conducted in Vienna at the emperor's main residence. In Part II, he refers to the courts under the emperor's authority and jurisdiction as the king of Bohemia, Hungary, Croatia, Slovenia, and Serbia, and as prince of Transylvania. In Part III, he describes the courts and their judgements in reference to Vienna as the seat of the Austrian archduchies for the government of the whole of Austria and all the states and provinces inherited by the House of Austria. Part IV is a description of the councils and tribunals which administer the states of Italy and Flanders, passed to Vienna from Spain after the Treaty of Utrecht (Panzini, *Vita*, p. 108). G. had it translated into Latin by his friend Niccola Forlosia, custodian in the Palatine Library, and sent it to be published in Leipzig by his friend Friedrich Otto Mencke. The royal censor there, however, claimed that it contained 'propositions prejudicial to the Protestant religion and the Elector of Saxony, to the honour of the Spaniards living in Vienna, and to the rights of the Empire and the emperor'. It seems then to have been published in Venice by Francesco Pitteri (who later published Goldoni) between 1733 and 1735; G. signed it with the name under which he wrote about the snow on Vesuvius, Giano Perentino (Nicolini, *Scritti*, p. 24). It contained also an account of the repressive tribunal of the Nunciatura, described in such a way that when published it was immediately placed on the *Index,* on 17 August 1735 (Bertelli, 'Appunti e osservazioni', pp. 202-204). It was still listed in the last edition of the Index of 1948. With the personal involvement of Clement XII, it instituted a new and bitter wave of persecution against the author. One notes the careful choice of words referring to it by the prisoner of Miolans.

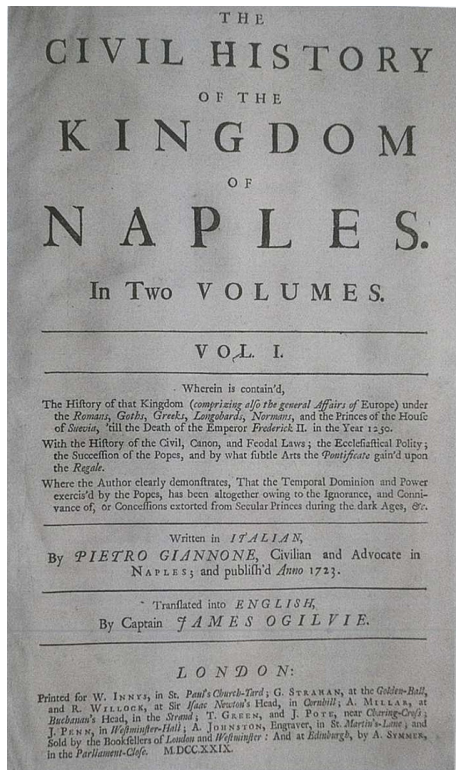
holidays that year[68] at Perchtoldsdorf, but because some necessary books were lacking at the villa, I completed it on returning to the city. I sent it to him in manuscript, to be used solely for his information and that of some lawyers, his and my friends, who showed an interest in it, and on condition that that they were not permitted to make any other use of it by showing it to others. As it was much liked, however, it went from hand to hand till it came to the notice of Count Ferdinand d'Harrach, the viceroy's son, who was living in Naples with his father. He spoke about it to others and had me in Vienna asked for a copy through some Germans who were not Viennese but Saxons. I could not refuse when they told me that no author had written about such councils and courts, and that I would do them a great favour by letting them have a precise account of them. I finally gave it to them on their promise to use it only for their information. I learnt later that after a few years they had it translated into Latin and printed in 1732 at Hala di Magdemburg under the anagrammatical name of Giano Perentino. I certainly could not have imagined that this booklet would later have so pained the nuncio Passionei,[69] who had succeeded Grimaldi, as to make him raise such uproar over it, which was all aimed at ruining me, as will be recorded in its time and place, and that the Spaniards at Vienna, as I learned after my departure from Vienna, when staying in Venice, had complained so much about it to others and to the emperor

68 G. wrote in delight to Carlo: 'Here in the village in the country there are the same conveniences as in the city. When I am in the company of gay and gentle women, I can joke without danger, since my age or perhaps the climate cannot push me into anything more than gathering herbs and flowers' (Vienna, 12 August 1730: *Epist*., p. 734).

69 Domenico Passionei (1682-1761). *DBI* 81, pp. 666-669: Stefania Nanni. G. wrote to Carlo: 'The uproar which the Nuncio [Passionei] makes here to see his Curia painted in its true colours has served only to tempt others, and so the demand for it has grown, and the merchant bookshops of The Hague provide the Viennese with bundles of copies' (Venice, 7 May 1735: *Epist*., p. 1092). Passionei replaced Girolamo Grimaldi as nuncio in Vienna on 31 March 1731 (for the letter of Antonio Banchier Bianchieri, secretary of state, to Passionei, of 28 January 1731 from Rome with instructions and advice, see Chapter Seven: Appendix). It seems to have been Giusto Fontanini who introduced G. to Passionei by means of the *Civil History*. Fontanini was already embittered by his lack of recognition for defending the rights of the Church against the brilliant counter-defence by Ludovico Antonio Muratori in the territorial dispute over the Valle di Comacchio; see Fontanini's letter of 8 May 1723 (British Library, Add. Mss. 8527ff., 176-177; Bertelli, 'Appunti e osservazioni', pp. 181-182). Passionei's persecution of G. remains chillingly iniquitous.

himself.

In this year [1730], Mencke, the father, sent me from Leipzig the English translation of my *Istoria civile*, which had been printed in London in the previous year 1729 in two folio volumes comprising the four volumes of the Neapolitan edition (see Fig. 18).[70] Although I did not understand the language, I was able to have those who knew it translate some passages to me which, not being in conformity with the Anglican Church, I feared had been cut or altered. They were, however, complete and in the original, so that I was able to expect a fair and faithful translation, all the more so because the names of cities and provinces were left intact as were other proper terms in Latin and Italian.



THE
CIVIL HISTORY
OF THE
KINGDOM
OF
NAPLES.
In Two VOLUMES.

VOL. I.

Wherein is contain'd,
The Hiſtory of that Kingdom (*comprizing alſo the general Affairs of* Europe) under the *Romans*, *Goths*, *Greeks*, *Longobards*, *Normans*, and the Princes of the Houſe of *Suevia*, 'till the Death of the Emperor *Frederick* II. in the Year 1250.
With the Hiſtory of the Civil, Canon, and Feodal Laws; the Eccleſiaſtical Polity; the Succeſſion of the Popes, and by what ſubtle Arts the *Pontificate* gain'd upon the *Regale*.
Where the Author clearly demonſtrates, That the Temporal Dominion and Power exercis'd by the Popes, has been altogether owing to the Ignorance, and Connivance of, or Conceſſions extorted from Secular Princes during the dark Ages, &c.

Written in *ITALIAN*,
By *PIETRO GIANNONE*, Civilian and Advocate in NAPLES; and publiſh'd *Anno* 1723.

Tranſlated into *ENGLISH*,
By Captain *JAMES OGILVIE*.

LONDON:
Printed for W. INNYS, in St. *Paul's Church-Yard*; G. STRAHAN, at the *Golden-Ball*, and R. WILLOCK, at Sir *Iſaac Newton's* Head, in *Cornhill*; A. MILLAR, at *Buchanan's* Head, in the *Strand*; T. GREEN, and J. POTE, near *Charing-Croſs*; J. PENN, in *Weſtminſter-Hall*; A. JOHNSTON, Engraver, in St. *Martin's-Lane*; and Sold by the Bookſellers of *London* and *Weſtminſter*: And at *Edinburgh*, by A. SYMMER, in the *Parliament-Cloſe*. MDCCXXIX.

Fig. 18 The English translation of the *Istoria civile*, trans. by Captain Robert Ogilvie, 2 vols folio (London 1729), title-page (translator's copy).

70 For James Ogilvie's translation of the *Istoria civile* into English, see Chapter Seven: Appendix.

I was astonished to see the large number of those who had subscribed to assist the printing, and their rank, there being no lack of lords, archbishops, bishops, and other illustrious and literary persons. And among them there were some who had extended their subscription to four and some to six copies, and the number was so great that a long list in alphabetical order had to be made of the names, which filled many pages. On the title page, furthermore, not one but seven bookshops in London were indicated with their names where buyers might go, and the streets where libraries were to be found and their signboards.

I cannot deny that it gave me immense pleasure to find that in England, where at the present time the sciences and humanities are so flourishing, as is evident from the learned and precious books currently published there, my *History* had been so well received and my name made so renowned and celebrated. And I was especially pleased to learn that, as a society of wise and erudite men there had undertaken the task of publishing a new literary journal[71] in which works published in the

71 This was Archibald Bower's *Historia literaria* or 'An Exact and Early Account of the most Valuable Books Published in the Several Parts of Europe' (B., p. 176). It gave a summary of the first volume of the *Civil History* (fasc. I, pp. 1-16), and of the other three volumes in the following fascicles (pp. 82-98; 167-187; 251-272). It was referred to as 'the most perfect History of Naples which is extant in any language' (p. 272). Bertelli: 'Appunti e osservazioni', pp. 208-209; Paul Monod, 'P.G. and the Nonjuring Contribution to the Separation of Church and State', *J.Brit.Stud*, 59 (2020), 713-736, pp. 716-717. The first reference to the *Civil History* in England, however, was that by Richard Rawlinson in *A New Method of Studying History* (London 1728), 2, p. 407 (B., p. 176). Rawlinson (1699-1755), topographer, son of Sir Thomas Rawlinson; of Eton and St John's College Oxford, was ordained non-juring priest in 1716; he travelled widely; was made bishop in 1728 (*ODNB* 46, pp. 162-64). He was a loyal Jacobite and lived in Rome for some four years as a guide for English tourists, and came, therefore, to know of G. and the furore of Rome's ecclesiastical hierarchy directed at the *Civil History* (John Ingamells, *Dictionary of British and Irish Travellers to Italy 1701-1800* (New Haven 1997), pp. 801-803). Two volumes covering June to October 1723 of Rawlinson's journal are unfortunately missing from the collection of his papers in Oxford's Bodleian Library; for his travels see *Mss. Rawlinson D*. 1180-7. Rawlinson visited Malta, at that time under the rule of the Knights Hospitalers, and saw on the door of the church of John the Baptist, the cathedral of the Knights, a copy of the bull condemning and banning the *Civil History*. This he detached to add to his collection. The next day when he visited the church, he found another notice in its place in the name of the Grand Master of the Order and the nuncio, offering a reward for the apprehension of the thief. For the bull, see Chapter Five: Appendix [70]. Rawlinson was later (in 1738) to translate *Méthode pour êtudier l'histoire*, by Nicolas Lenglet de Fresnoy, from the Italian translation by Sabastiano Coleti (Venice 1722). It referred to G.'s brilliant *Professione di fede*, written against Sanfelice, then circulating in manuscript. Rawlinson then acquired his own fine copy of G.'s

kingdom were briefly noted in their language, they had initiated it with my work. The first four small volumes to come out were summaries of the four volumes of my *Civil History*, and they had not omitted in the fifth volume to discuss, as it deserved, the impudence, ignorance and arrogance of the Jesuit Father Sanfelice. Every Englishman of note, therefore, when travelling or when business took him to Vienna, used to visit me to become acquainted by sight with one known by reputation. And when the famous Buckley[72] was in London to publish a new and magnificent edition of the *Historiae* of President de Thou,[73] for which he was mainly responsible, he wrote to the cavalier Garelli, the emperor's librarian, asking for any manuscripts which might be found in the Imperial library, or other information relating to the *Historiae*, so that nothing was omitted from the new edition being prepared. Garelli did not fail to send him all he could find in the manuscripts of codices. When he asked me also for some assistance with Buckley's worthy desiderata, I willingly consented, and especially drew attention for this reprinting to the variant readings observed between the first printing of the histories and the Geneva edition of 1620 (although some copies show the place of publication as Orléans) in reference to the gold coin of Louis XII, king of France, which bears the inscription: *perdam babillonis nomen* (may

manuscript (Bodleian Library, *Mss. Rawlinson*, D. 551; Trevor-Roper, 'P.G. and Great Britain', pp. 660-661; Paul Monod, 'P.G. and the Nonjuring Contribution to the Separation of Church and State', *J.Brit.Stud*., 59 (2020), 714-716).

72 Thanks to Ricuperati, we know that Samuel Buckley was an official in the 'state secretariat' (*L'esperienza*, p. 375). His collaborator was his friend Thomas Carte, who had lived for a long time in France (*ibid.*). Buckley's name does not appear in the great English biographical indexes.

73 Jacques-Auguste de Thou (1553-1617), French magistrate and historian; born at Paris, he studied law also under Jacques Cujas and François Hotman, entered the Church, but left it for the magistracy, married and became an active public servant and statesman. His work was *Historiarum sui temporis* in 23 vols (Paris 1604-1608). Those subscribing had subscribed also to the *Civil History*. Among the foreign names were Garelli, Prince Eugene and Count von Sintzendorf (Ricuperati, *L'esperienza*, pp. 375-376). G.'s first biographer, Michele Maria Vecchioni, described de Thou's *Historia* as G.'s most treasured book (*Vita*, p. 9). De Thou's work remained a source of inspiration for G. To quote Ricuperati (*L'esperienza*, p. 377): 'he will think of it as a model of moral dignity when reflecting in Turin's prison on his own work'. As the exhausted outcast laid down his pen at the end of his history of Gregory the Great (*La Chiesa sotto il pontificato di Gregorio il Grande:* see the magnificent edition by Chiara Peyrani (Turin 2011)), he recalled his illustrious mentors: Cicero, Livy, and the Elder Pliny, and in such company he turned to de Thou's history.

I destroy the name of Babylon).[74] De Thou stated in the first book of his histories that it had been coined in Naples and bore the insignia of Naples, as could be read in the early editions. This was then emended in other later editions, so that the coin did not bear the insignia of Naples and was not coined in Naples. And this was a point to be properly checked and not overlooked, because by accepting the first editions one would confirm the arbitrary interpretation of the inscription given by the Jesuit Fr Hardouin[75], that Louis may not have meant Babylon to be interpreted as Rome, but as Cairo in Egypt, which is also called Babylon.

The truth was, however, that the coin had been minted by King Louis to check the pride and rash presumption of Pope Julius II, and that he wanted thereby to threaten Rome, and it was neither coined in Naples, nor did it bear the insignia of Naples, but that of France. Stronger arguments than that stated hitherto, especially by Siegmund Liebe,[76] were necessary, therefore, to refute Hardouin's strange and arbitrary interpretation, and to prove more clearly that Louis, although bearing on the coin the title of king of France and Naples, and tacitly wishing to infer by this that he was also king of Jerusalem, could not have meant Cairo, which was in the possession of the sultan of Egypt, because at that time Jerusalem belonged to the sultan of Damascus and not to the sultan of Egypt. The threats, therefore, must have been directed at the sultan of Damascus, and not, as Hardouin imagined, the sultan of Cairo. And there was much else to note, with such an opportunity, in reference to the many other errors and mistakes made by the Jesuit, to render

74 The epigraph is taken from Isaiah 14.22 '... I shall destroy the name of Babylon...' and the medal refers to the fruitless meeting between Louis XII (1462-1515) and Julius II (1443-1513, pope from 1503) in Pisa in 1511.

75 Jean Hardouin (1646-1729), French theologian and scholar; he wore the Jesuit habit for sixty-seven years, and was most erudite with a vast memory and an inexhaustible imagination. He claimed that all the works of antiquity, except for Homer, Herodotos, Cicero, Pliny the Elder, Virgil's *Georgics*, and Horace's satires and epistles, were written by the monks of the thirteenth century! In his commentary on the *New Testament* he claimed that Jesus and the apostles had always preached in Latin! He was forced by his superiors to retract his errors in 1707. Among his numerous works is the *Histoire Naturelle de Pline* (1685) in five volumes, still highly regarded. Huet wrote that 'he worked endlessly to ruin his own reputation, but was unable to reach that goal' (*NBG* 23, pp. 356-360).

76 *Prodromi reformationis pia memoria recolendae, sive Nummi Ludovici XII, regis Gallorum, epigraphe* [*perdam Babylonis nomen*] *vel* [*perdam Babylonem*], *insignes illustrati et imprimis contra Jo. Harduinum defensi a Christiano Sigismundo Liebe* (Leipzig 1717) (B., p. 177).

his interpretation quite unfounded. As the subject and the opportunity made the trouble worthwhile, I promised to write a dissertation on it, and when written and translated into Latin, it could be sent to Buckley in London that he might pass it on to those savants to make what use they pleased of it. The essay was written, translated into good Latin and sent to Buckley, who wrote that it had been greatly applauded by everyone and would be printed in the last volume, where the other memoria and writings relating both to the *Historiae* and its author had been collected.

When in the following years the printing was finished with great magnificence and accuracy and, because of the new appendices, divided into seven folio volumes, the so-called 'Dissertation' was placed in the seventh volume without mention of the author's name, as they had informed me that it would not be given.[77] To make it more intelligible, the gold coin was published as it appears in many museums. And as well as this coin, the other similar coin was published, which was recorded by Luckh[78] and referred to in the 'Dissertation', on which, by reading the year 1512, the arguments advanced are not only confirmed, but they also make clearer the groundlessness and strangeness of Fr Hardouin's interpretation, as anyone can see for himself by reading about it in the seventh volume referred to of this new edition.

On seeing the English translation of the *Istoria civile*, other countries were led to do the same, and the French were not slow in doing another in French. And some French professors, who had left France and established themselves at the University of Lausanne[79] among the Swiss,

77 Jean-Alphonse de Thou, *Historiarum sui temporis libri:* 'Sylloge Scriptorum varii generis et argumenti', 6, pp. 34-42. G. supported the anti-papal interpretation of the coin, advocated by de Thou and Siegmund Liebe (Benedikt, *Königreich Neapel*, p. 551). Buckley prefaced G.'s contribution thus: 'The following refutation of the explanation by Jean Hardouin SJ of the coin issued by Louis XII, King of France, and its inscription *Perdam Babylonis nomen*, now for the first time published from the manuscript, is very kindly given to us by a foreign nobleman. We do not have the least doubt that all scholars of better note, having read this text, would easily declare him to be felicitously endowed with multifarious learning and exquisite judgement' (*Vita,* ed. Nicolini, p. 200; G.'s original draft in Italian of 2 December 1729 is in TAS, *Mss. Giannone*, mazzo 1, ins.8: *Giannoniana*, pp. 408-409; *Opere postume*, 2 (1766), pp. 403-418).

78 Johann Jacob Luckh (1574-1653). G. refers here to his *Sylloge numismatum elegantiorum quae diversi impp. reges principes comites respublicae diversas ob causas ab anno 1500 ad annum usque 1600 cudi fecerunt, concinnata et historica narratione* (*sed brevi*) *illustrata* (Strasbourg 1620), p. 23 (B., p. 178).

79 These scholars from Lausanne, Neuchâtel, and Geneva included the Calvinists

were occupied in quickly publishing it, since a society of booksellers in Geneva had undertaken the task of printing it, as will be related below. And Mencke, the son, wrote to me from Leipzig that another translation in Germany was being prepared for use of the Germans.[80]

All this welcome news was sweet to my ears, not that it could deliver me from the poverty and hardship in which I found myself this year through the voraciousness and covetousness of the Spaniards, especially the Catalans, in Vienna. They had confused the little given to me for my maintenance each month from the Sicilian rights of dispatch with the Council's money, which resulted in my allowance being delayed in order to meet their needs and quarterly salaries.

The new president, the count of Montesanto, had obtained the emperor's permission to have those rights of dispatch and seal from the Secretariat of Sicily, which were previously separate, mixed with all the other taxes of the Council, as were those of Naples and Milan. When this happened, the person issuing my monthly allowance was changed, and instead of collecting it as before from the secretary of Sicily, I had to apply to the head official of the Secretariat of the Seal. This was an old Catalan named Giovanni Llacuna, the receiver of all the monies coming from the Sicilian dispatches and also those of Naples and Milan, to whom they were given for the disposal of the Council and the president. The receiver's purse for one need or another, which never ceased, was

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Jean-Alphonse Turrettini and Jacques Vernet, later to play a crucial part in G.'s life, as well as Marc-Michel Bousquet, who was the editor of the *Bibliothèque italique*, published in Geneva between 1728 and 1734. In volumes 9 and 10 of the journal appeared a summary of the first volume of the *Civil History*, prepared by Babaud du Lignon at the suggestion of Abbé François Granet in Paris. Charles-Guillaume Loys de Bochat continued the summary, but all came to an end when the journal ceased (Georges Bonnant, 'P.G. à Genève', p. 125). The French translation begun by a lawyer in the Parliament of Paris (identity unknown), mentioned by Panzini (*Vita*, p. 86), also came to nothing. In December 1731, G. wrote to Carlo of a Latin translation which was about to be published in Germany (Vienna, 15 December 1731: *Epist.*, p. 854). No more, however, is heard of it. The year before G. himself had been considering yielding to pressing requests for a new edition, if Carlo's sales of the remaining copies would not be affected (30 September 1730: *Epist.*, p.747).

80 The German translation, *Die Bürgerliche Geschichte des Königreichs Neapel*, was published from 1758 to 1762, the first and second parts having been translated by Otto Christian von Lohenschield, professor of History and Law at Tübingen. The third and fourth parts were more carefully translated by his student, Johann Friedrich Lebret, professor of Geography and Metaphysics at Stuttgart. He was a student of Hegel (Benedikt, *Königreich Neapel*, p. 552).

almost always left empty (because extraordinary financial assistance was given to the Spaniards, not only for the funerals of their dead or for some infirmity, but even for their travel, the expenses of their daughters' weddings if they married, or even for their wives' confinements). On the other hand, because of the Catalan's slowness and indifference in collecting the rights of dispatch from Sicily, whenever I sent to collect the monthly allowance the Catalan would reply: 'No hai dinero' (There is no money).

I suffered for two, three and four months, but as the matter continued and my need was becoming pressing, after complaints made to the president and the regents of the Council were of no avail, I was forced by necessity to appeal to His Majesty.[81] With a full petition I revealed that the combining of the money from the Sicilian taxes with that of Naples and Milan had resulted in my payments being delayed, since the Council was availing itself of all the money; and if any money was left in the dispatches from Milan and Naples, which were more abundant, I was not therefore paid, the reply being that my allowance was to be drawn from the dispatches of Sicily. I therefore begged His Majesty that since the Council was availing itself of the taxes from Sicily, by combining them with the others, my allowance might be extended to draw on those of Naples and Milan. In that way, if the taxes from Sicily were spent, I might thus be recompensed, especially since my grant had plainly been assigned from the taxes of Sicily, which at that time were more secure, but not explicitly, so that I could not have recourse to the other dispatches.

I fully informed the marquis of Rialp, to whom I gave the petition,[82]

81 There remains no trace of this petition (B., p. 180).

82 *G.'s petition to the marquis of Rialp, February-March 1730*

'...The attention of the marquis of Rialp is drawn finally to poor Giannone, who is not only tormented from many sides, but what must oppress him is that the allowance made to him of 80 florins per month on the royal taxes of the Dispatches of Sicily is not being paid. Don Gio. Llacuna, the head of the Secretariat of the Seal, has not paid it for the last three months. He sends him away always with the statement that there is no money because of the great shortage in the dispatches of that Kingdom, which are now not as they previously were. Finding himself, therefore, in such a difficult situation, he renews his petition to His Lordship the Marquis, earnestly asking him not to omit him in the appointments to be made presently in the Council of S. Chiara in Naples.

There, apart from the ordinary position vacated through the death of Councillor Forastiero, and that which it is feared will shortly be vacated, given the very grave

in order that he might implore this justice from His Majesty. And as the marquis was convinced that I was justified, he was not long in obtaining His Majesty's decree, which ordered that to prevent my payment being delayed, the allowance should be drawn also from the Neapolitan and Milanese rights of dispatch, and official note of this was sent directly to the Council.

As the gentlemen comprising the Council were jealous of anyone touching their funds, they replied to the decree by representing to His Majesty that the Neapolitan and Milanese rights of dispatch had been earlier incorporated in the Council as its endowment, and could not be assigned to others, so that my payment must remain restricted solely to the taxes of Sicily. It was not enough for these gentlemen, in order to be sure of their quarterly salaries, to be assigned the major part of royal revenues in the kingdom of Naples and State of Milan. To ensure that they were punctually paid, the money derived each year from saleable offices or the many other taxes and emoluments was also not enough for them. They wanted to keep close watch even on this trifle and bagatelle, as though by letting me into such a minute part of it, which was only a drop in comparison with the vast ocean where they swam, they might eventually run out of water.

When informed of their rancorous and voracious reply, I immediately prepared another petition,[83] representing to His Majesty that the Council was already reluctant and wanted the Neapolitan and Milanese dispatches left untouched, and for the same reason did not want those from Sicily touched on my behalf, although assigned to me, before they were combined and absorbed by the Council. They should not therefore be able to avail themselves of them before I had been paid, and orders

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illness of Councillor Panzuti, of whose life doctors have despaired, appointments still have to be made for the two supernumerary positions which are still vacant. And, moreover, by allowing the regent Paterno to become Regent of the Collateral, another post would be left vacant in the Council of S. Chiara. There would therefore be several opportunities to enable him [G.] to enjoy the beneficence of His Majesty, and at the same time to relieve him from such troubles. This is all that, humbly with all his heart, he must petition him.' ('Memoria per l'Ecc. mo Sig. Marchese di Rialp' [Petition to the Most Excellent marquis of Rialp], Vienna; dateable between February and March 1730, before the election of Clement XII and the death of Argento; TAS, *Mss. Giannone*: *Giannoniana*, pp. 439-440).

The decree was issued on 14 January 1730 (B., p. 180).

83 Text in TAS, *Mss. Giannone*: datable around 1730: *Giannoniana*, p. 434.

for this should be sent to the pay-master Llacuna. My request was thought just by His Majesty and no other reply was permitted. With another decree,[84] therefore, he ordered that I was first to be paid from the Sicilian rights of dispatch and that the Council might not touch them unless my claim on them had been met. And he advised those involved that this was his royal will. The decree was carried out without any further reply, and instructions in conformance with this were sent to the receiver Llacuna. I had great difficulty, however, making them comprehensible to that stupid old man. I was thus paid for the past and present allowances, and from then on, although they were not paid month by month, no more than two months—although sometimes even three—elapsed without payment, because when the dispatches passed through their hands, no one could know how much money was there, and often it was necessary to bow to the terrible voice of the Catalan saying: 'no hai denaro' (you do not have any money)

In those times the Council of Spain was reduced to an empty show, since serious and momentous matters were decided by the secretary of state, and the marquis of Rialp was the arbitrator and the one responsible for them, and left trivial matters to the Council. And if the Council were consulted on serious matters, either it was a mockery, or to see if the Council were in agreement with what the marquis had already decided to do. Each regent in the Council, therefore, thought only of his own interests and advancing his house. And in order that they be satisfied with this and not obstruct with their objections and opposition what he intended to do, the marquis willingly lent them a hand. The least of their concerns, therefore, was their service to the king and the common good. Because of this the judicial appeals and those which did not bear large emoluments were delayed and often completely neglected. As a result it transpired that the provincials of Naples, Sicily, and Milan did not have recourse to it as often as before. The dispatches, therefore, were appreciably diminishing, as were the commissions to the agents, who, with the exception of the few who were in the marquis' favour, were reduced to extreme beggary. I also knew from personal experience that the commissions previously given to me to defend some case were constantly decreasing. And in the following years many more ceased,

84 17 March 1730, Panzini, *Vita*, p. 66.

when the provincials, annoyed by such long delays, settled their affairs as best they could in their cities without making further appeals to Vienna.

The regents took little heed of this, given the superabundant salaries assigned to them on secure funds, and it was already their customary and characteristic style to reply: 'Give us the quarterly stipends and we shall not worry about the rest', and their whole aim was no other than this and to seek personal advantage. They gave clear proof of that, when with the regent Bolaños' move to the Venetian embassy, the regent Alvarez was appointed for Milan to replace him, or later when the regent Solanes[85] was appointed president of the Council of Santa Chiara in Naples, Esmandia was made regent as his successor in Naples. Esmandia had been senator in Milan for many years and was thoroughly familiar with that state, but had never seen Naples or set foot in that part of Italy. Everyone thought that he should have been appointed regent for Milan, thereby to administer with more assurance a region known to him. On the contrary, the regent Alvarez, who had been to Milan only when young, and had been regent of the Collateral Council in Naples for many, many years and was familiar with the city and kingdom should have become regent for Naples. To everyone's amazement the opposite happened: Alvarez went to Milan and Esmandia to Naples.

The curious enquired into the reason, which was found to be simply that Alvarez decided not to move from Milan's regency to that of Naples, so as not to lose the rent paid by Milan to its provincial regents for their house, which was not paid in Naples to its provincial regents in the belief that the 9,000 florins per year which His Majesty paid them would suffice. This was enough to make his reluctance seem reasonable. No account was taken of what would best serve the king or the public, so that the one more familiar with Milan should go to Milan and the other well-informed in Neapolitan affairs should go to Naples, since they had

85 Francesco Solanes (dates unknown), count and jurist, taught Law at the University of Barcelona; a friend of Rialp; councillor of Santa Chiara in 1708. G. had him presented with a set of the *Civil History* (Vienna, 13 May 1724: *Epist*., p. 147). G. later predicted that Solanes would succeed Argento as president of the court of Santa Chiara (29 July 1730: *Epist*., p. 730). G. would have more willingly wished him well as president 'than some other, since in his goodness he shows me every respect, which I do not find from others' (24 June 1730: *Epist*., p. 722; see also 12 May 1731: *Epist.,* p. 800). On Solanes' return to Naples as president, Cirillo more than once restored him to health after grave illness (25 October 1732, 17 January 1733: *Epist*., pp. 924, 945).

newly come, one from Naples and the other from Milan, and knew the people and the condition in which they had left the kingdom and the duchy.

A similar thing happened when Esmandia had gone from the post of fiscal advocate to be regent for Naples and no one was appointed to the post of fiscal advocate, because it was said to be superfluous and useless in the Council, and that the last regent could carry out its duties.[86] The post thus became extinct. This was for no other reason than to allow the sum of 9,000 florins assigned annually to the fiscal advocate to be incorporated in the Council and let the councillors better safeguard their quarterly stipends in order not to go without. The mine of saleable offices, which were mostly not put up for sale but bestowed as rewards on the Spaniards by the secretariat of state and on other favourites by the marquis of Rialp was now exhausted. Without the appeals of the provincials and the dispatches from which previously they had collected great emoluments, and with other revenue drying up through which they used to tap other waters, they wanted by other ways to guard against any reduction or delay in their money; this was their sole aim.

On the other hand, the marquis of Rialp through his secretariat ruled over matters divine and human: appointments, legal posts, royal bishoprics, royal abbeys, benefices of collation or appointment by the crown: everything was dispensed through his hands. And the customary way of dispensing them was this: if Spaniards and nationals competed for the post, the latter were excluded and the former preferred, and when the posts were contested by Spaniards, preference was given to the Catalans. And this used to happen when the post was awarded either for merit or favour, without money changing hands. When, however, the need for money arose, which was constant, either for some dowry needed for Spanish girls or widows, or for some secret assistance to a Spanish favourite to pay for weddings, travel or his other needs, even if not for necessities but for luxuries and ostentation, the legal posts, appointments and other magistracies and employment were given to whoever offered most money.[87] And there were particular brokers,

86 Esmandia thus carried out its duties (Benedikt, *Königreich Neapel*, p. 242).

87 Under Charles Bourbon the sale of major offices was to cease, but not of minor ones (Ajello, *Il problema della riforma* (Naples 1961), p. 703). Posts in the Collateral Council cost 14,000 ducats in the last years (G. received c.1,000 ducats per year

two of whom were our ecclesiastics, Neapolitans, through whom one negotiated. They had become very rich, although they hardly knew how to read and write, and their only capital, as they boasted, was that they had 'the ear of the marquis'; that is, because Rialp willingly heard their requests and the sum of money offered by them. Two days a week were thus set aside, Wednesday and Saturday, to conduct such business. For Naples, therefore, every legal post or magistracy to be filled first had a price set on it by which, through these men, it was offered to claimants. And the need became such that even the deserving, the experienced, the learned and upright, had to pass under the yoke, even if they had been nominated by the viceroy, otherwise they would never have obtained the post. Their sole advantage was that if the sums offered by most people were equal, the most deserving would receive preference.

When I saw matters reduced to this, I began to lose all hope of being accommodated even with some post in Naples. Although having many times reminded the marquis of Rialp that my 1,000 florins a year granted to me by His Majesty could have been put to other use, this was of no benefit to me. When making provision for legal posts the marquis was looking for ready cash, and a considerable amount of it, to meet the needs of his Spanish favourites, for whom my small allowance would not have been enough. With it he could gratify only one of them.

Count Harrach, the viceroy, appeared completely disposed to favour me,[88] and in the belief that he would be asked to nominate candidates to fill the vacant post of fiscal advocate, because of Esmandia's becoming regent, it was made known to some of my friends in Naples that I would be nominated. The viceroy was unaware that the Council was considering abolishing the post, as they did. The only other way left to him was the eventuality of vacancies in the Council of Santa Chiara or even the Camera di Napoli, and he endeavoured to help me by not forgetting me in the nominations. He was advised, however, in Naples[89]

with his allowance). Domenico Castelli, Antonio Maggioco, and Francesco Ventura had paid for their appointments. The last two had brilliant careers under the new regime (Ajello, *Storia di Napoli*, 9 vols (Naples 1967-1972), 7, p. 535).

88 G. included in a letter to Biagio Garofalo a letter of thanks to the viceroy Count Harrach (Vienna, 18 November 1730: *Epist*., pp. 758-760): Chapter Seven: Appendix.. Panzini (*Vita*, pp. 111-112) writes of Harrach's intention to appoint G. to appropriate office in Naples, not only because of Prince Eugene's earnest recommendations before Harrach's departure, but also because of those of Harrach's son, Ferdinand.

89 Panzini (*Vita*, p. 112) observes that G.'s only supporters in Naples were Costantino

that as I was at Court and His Majesty's intentions were not known, before doing so he should be advised from Vienna on how to proceed. He thus wrote to me,[90] explaining that, as he did not know whether His Majesty wished me to return to Naples, in order not to nominate me in vain when others could benefit, I should have the marquis of Rialp or the president, the count of Montesanto, write him a letter assuring him that His Majesty would be content and have no objection.

Although I had the president immediately asked by the regent Almarez, his intimate friend, he did not want to meddle in it, saying that he had never intrigued with the viceroy by writing to him about

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Grimaldi (for his letter of 20 October 1730 relating to his intercession with the viceroy Count Harrach: Chapter Seven: Appendix), Biagio Garofalo (for his letter recounting his visit to Harrach, Naples, undated: *Epist*., pp. 1128-1129: Chapter Seven: Appendix), and Nicolo Fraggianni, whose steadfast loyalty and assistance to G., and later to Giovanni, remain a source of inspiration. Panzini listed Neapolitans with whom he had particular contact: 'G. was the lawyer, whether in court or more often the Council of Spain, for the prince of Montimiletto, the duke of Maddaloni, the prince della Riccia, the duke Provenzale, the tax on the silks of Calabria, the custodians of the city of Capua against the attacks of its archbishop, the City of Gaeta and others.... And he corresponded for those and other matters, in particular with the councillor Grimaldi, the regent Ventura, the councillor Carmignano, the councillor Maggiocco, Sig. Niccolò Capasso, Sig. Vincenzo d'Ippolito, Abate Garofalo, the fiscal procurator Arriani, the lawyer Carlo Franchi, Sig. Stefano de Baldinotti and others' (Panzini, *Vita*, p. 71). Panzini continued (p. 112): 'All these favorable inclinations were, nevertheless, thwarted by ill-wishers who, I do not know in what manner, knew cunningly how to represent to the Viceroy that, after the uproar and tumult excited by the *Civil History* among the People, it would be a dangerous matter to promote the Author to some post, which might satisfy him but not the Public'. G. was later to write to Carlo: 'If I return to Naples, it will be because I have been asked to, in a way which will certainly displease those who would not like me ever to turn up there, so as not to reveal their tricks and most infamous operations to keep me far away. And with Count Harrach's return I discovered many things, especially of some magistrates who called themselves my friends and on the sly were plotting not to have me nominated, making him conceive of vain fears of the people and a thousand other deceptions' (Venice, 4 December 1734: *Epist*., p. 1062).

90 On 15 December 1730; cf. Panzini (*Vita*, p. 112). Nicolini writes of Harrach's lack of courage, of how 'the poor G. was thus sent from Herod to Pilate...' (ed. *Vita*, p. 207). Harrach, however, had embarked on his vice-regency at a time of great unrest, owing to bad harvests, lack of political reform, the imminence of war, and natural calamities, such as the eruption of Vesuvius and an epidemic of pneumonia at the beginning of 1730 (Ricuperati, *Storia di Napoli*, 7, p. 417). From 1730, the financial demands of Vienna to meet the expense of war had reduced Naples at the end of Harrach's term almost to destitution (p. 425), as did also the uncontrollable sale of offices (p. 429). The advent of Charles Bourbon caused a loss of hope in Harrach's government (p. 437).

a nomination, and that others meddled so well, meaning Rialp. At this I turned to the marquis and had the cavalier Garelli ask him, to whom he replied that he would speak to the emperor and be ruled by His Majesty's reply. Garelli went several days later for the reply, which was that on raising the matter with the emperor, he had replied that I be patient for a little longer.

We had foreseen this reply because, when Garelli first spoke to the marquis, he showed little relish for my wanting to obstruct him in the appointments for Naples, which he had destined for those who could pay him for them. Apart from that, he did not want to shock the court of Rome, which would have reacted bitterly to my return to Naples with a post at a time when he was negotiating in Rome to have his son, Abate Perlas, made a clerk of the Camera, in order to move him closer to the cardinalate. His hopes had been dashed of seeing his brother, the archbishop of Salerno,[91] as cardinal. He was fated to die in Naples at the very time when, to earn more merit with Rome, he had been proposed by Vienna, together with the president Argento, to bring an amicable end to some jurisdictional strife relating to the kingdom of Naples. If his brother had lived, he would certainly have settled it to the total ruin and disaster of the royal prerogatives, since as a prize for such worthy work he had been promised the cardinal's hat. The marquis now wanted to make good by this other route the loss caused by his untimely death, and was striving his utmost to have his son made a clerk of the Camera to place him in a better position for the cardinalate. Shrewd Rome, however, protracted his hopes in order to capitalize on them, and understood so well how to procrastinate, that when the recent changes occurred in Italy, it was his fate not to see his vast wishes fulfilled.

What hope, therefore, could I have had of being promoted or that the royal promise might be fulfilled, so that I should be content with that small sustenance until employed in the royal service? I saw this *interim* (period of waiting) prolonged for me in the same way as the *interim* of Charles V.[92] It was thus necessary to be patient and calm myself until God disposed of matters differently, and I prayed to him to put an end to so much monstrousness and indecency, and to check such strange

91 Paul Perlas de Vilhena (1669-1729).

92 This was the agreement with Protestants of 1548 known as the 'Interim of Augusta', whereby a truce was granted to the adherents of the Augustan sect (B., p. 187).

confusion and disorder, since all of us had become heirs of the one house: the marquis of Rialp was the arbiter of all things. He raised up and he humbled. He made black white and white black, the ignorant learned, and the inadequate able and suitable, as was clearly evident in the appointment of the presidency of Naples, left vacant by the sudden death of President Argento.[93]

To provide a successor for such a renowned and learned man, it was certainly necessary to give every consideration to electing an eminent subject who could worthily hold it. Among the claimants the most favoured were four regents of the Council of Spain: the regent Positano, a national, the regent Almarza, born in Naples but of Spanish descent, the regent Alvarez of Salamanca, and the regent Solanes, a Catalan. The first two had for many years held the post of councillor in the same Council where they were now contending for the presidency. Apart from being familiar with the court over which they were to preside, they were well regarded by the Neapolitans for their kind and courteous manner, and in particular Almarza, whose great affability and sincerity made him most amiable. And although in learning they could not compare with Argento, they were in no way inferior in probity, incorruptibility, and unblemished conduct. Of the other two Alvarez was unfortunately

93 G. wrote to Carlo on learning of Argento's demise: 'The news... of the unfortunate death of President Argento has saddened everyone for the great loss of a man profoundly versed and incomparable in the discipline of law' (Vienna, 24 June 1730: *Epist*., p. 721). Argento left to his only child an estate of 150,000 ducats. G. interceded in Vienna for his young widow, Costanza Mirelli Argento, thirty-seven years his junior and estranged from him, for whom Argento had made no provision, and succeeded in having her paid a pension similar to G.'s. Panzini quotes her letter of 10 October 1730, thanking G. (*Vita*, p. 107). G. referred to Argento as 'a martyr to ambition' (17 June 1730: *Epist*., p. 720). Nicolini alludes to Argento's 'vain frenzy' to accumulate public offices, his sense of shame at his humble origins, and his pretention to nobility, his lack of 'logical coherence and sound morality, and his bigotry with its tendency to religious scruples' (*Uomini di spada*, pp. 323-325). With this we may contrast Fraggianni's tribute:

> 'He was an excellent man for his great literary culture and legal knowledge, for the wisdom of his counsel, his incorruptible integrity, and the prodigious quickness of his memory... and he became celebrated throughout Italy and Europe. I have had to render this small testimony of my gratitude to this great magistrate, with whom I was closely bound by an old and tender friendship, from whom I acknowledge in large part good understanding in ecclesiastical and jurisdictional matters and also the beginnings of my modest good fortune' (Naples State Archives, Notamenti del Collateral, vol.143: Ricuperati, *L'esperienza*, p. 316).

See also the tribute of Salvatore Spiriti in the enlightening biography of Argento by Oreste Parisi.

ignorant in literature and law, and liked to play more the cavalier than the magistrate. And although he was well acquainted with Naples from having been regent of the Council of Santa Chiara for many years, he was quite unfamiliar with the methods and ways of treating legal cases there. Because Solanes had had a professorial chair in Barcelona and then for many years was councillor of the same Council, he had acquired some practice in it and was also not so wanting in legal theory. His somewhat rustic and disgusting nature, however, albeit incorrupt and enamoured of justice, made him hardly welcome and acceptable to the Neapolitans. In addition, his advanced age and his being subject to apoplectic fits had left him virtually stupid and lethargic.

Solanes, nevertheless, was elected over the others, and not to avoid the alternative, since Almarza was also Spanish by extraction and as such was regent for Sicily with the Italian Perlongo, but because Solanes was a compatriot of the marquis of Rialp and his friend from when he had a chair at Barcelona, and because the Catalan Aguirre was his lieutenant in the Regia Camera of Naples, in order that another Catalan might preside over the Council of Santa Chiara. The aim, therefore, was to have all the major posts, whether in Naples, Sicily or Milan, filled by Spaniards, and of these if possible by Catalans.[94]

94 In December 1711, Solanes had been appointed Argento's colleague as a councillor in the Sacro Real Consiglio and was now made Argento's successor as its president (Nicolini, *Uomini di spada*, pp. 233, 327). Marini marvels that Charles VI could have let the ancient post of president of the Sacro Regio Consiglio go to an outsider, the Catalan Solanes, but refers to the 'Notizie per il governo del regno di Napoli' (c.1733) which states: 'as the Spaniards in great number have followed the party of His Majesty, by orders of the Court they have been naturalized and are employed in government' (Società napoletana della Storia patria, Ms XXI: Marini, *Mezzogiorno*, p. 9); for example, Joseph Aguirre. G. was told by his friend Almarza about the regent Aguirre, 'that the dowries assigned by His Majesty to his daughters and the magistracies given to their husbands were in very small part compensation for his losses in Barcelona and his infinite merits. And for that reason he (Aguirre) had not asked for anything from His Majesty, because if he had claimed what would have been due to him, he could not have sought less from His Majesty than that he grant him one of the two Hungaries' (Vienna, 26 January 1732: *Epist*., pp. 866-867). Joseph Aguirre, count and president of the Regia Camera from 1726, brother of Count Domingo (Benedikt, *Königreich Neapel*, p. 239); see G.'s letter to Carlo on his appointment (Vienna, 27 May 1730: *Epist*., p. 717), and G.'s reference to his pretensions (Vienna, 26 January 1732: *Epist*., pp. 866-867). Bertelli sees the regent as Joseph's brother (d.1744); Aguirre was 'one of the oldest supporters of Charles VI', since from 1705 he was in the Council of Aragon, then president of Santa Chiara and regent for Sardinia in the Council of Spain in 1713 (B., p. 188). G. liked him and referred to him twenty-two times in the *Epistolario*. Benedikt points out that it

The most curious as well as ridiculous element in this election, however, was that the marquis and the other Catalans urged Solanes to publish a book on law[95] in order to render himself more deserving and distinguished than the other claimants. That poor old blockhead, therefore, quickly made up into a book some old texts on Justinian's *Institutions* which he had taught at the University of Barcelona, had it printed and went to present it to the emperor at a time when he was still doubtful and wavering about the appointment. It was enough to exaggerate to the emperor (who certainly did not have time to look at what the book contained) that it was a remarkable work, among the best to come out of Spain, and that the author was the most learned of his magistrates and the most worthy to fill the post. No more than ten days elapsed after the book was presented to His Majesty before the decree for the election was seen to fall on him. And the Catalans, who were for the most part ignorant, went about commending his election and presenting the book to their friends, so that everyone came to know of it. It astonished everyone and they exclaimed 'all is now lost' (*conclamatum est iam*),[96] since there was never a book so packed with such nonsense, puerility and dull, fatuous and mediocre matters, or so full of solecisms and barbarisms. A child at school could not have made as many errors in grammar or written such inanity as could be read in it, replete on every page. And this book was considered an effective instrument and such a powerful means to overcome the emperor, who was still doubtful, and make him bow to their wishes. Being constantly at his side, they knew how to seize the right moment to make him fall into their nets, even

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was the Spaniards themselves at the Viennese Court who blocked G.'s appointment to any post. They considered the Italian states their property, and thwarted all attempts to appoint Italians to high positions (*Königreich Neapel*, p. 547). Charles' closest associates, apart from his family, were the Spaniards and Italians who had followed him from Spain (McKay, *Prince Eugene*, p. 153). Prince Eugene knew that his favour with Charles was in the hands of the Spaniards, and the German ministers always had to be careful not to criticize the Spaniards (Huldenberg to Bernstorff, 29 January 1715; quoted by McKay, p. 153).

95 *De iure et edicto praetoris* (Vienna 1730). Solanes presented G. with his book, which G. had already read, and written about to Carlo (Vienna, 29 July 1730; *Epist.*, p. 730): 'I strongly suspect that a book now published by the Regent Solanes of seven legal dissertations will be prejudicial to him, rather than obtain for him the presidency, if, of course, the nation [the Spaniards] does not make good all its defects'. Pier Luigi Rovito observes how radical 'was G.'s rejection of the traditional values from which the world of jurists drew life...' (in *P.G. e il suo tempo*, pp. 317-318).

96 Terence, *The Eunuch* 1.348.

though that book alone would have been enough, not simply to exclude him from the post claimed by him, but to make him lose that of regent which he held. On the other hand, it did not inculpate the author as much as those who urged him to write it, which was easy to do with a stupid and foolish old man.

From this everyone was even more convinced that the appointments had no regard for the restoration or improvement of the tribunal by electing suitable and able candidates, or for the service of the king and the public. Everything was ruled, in fact, by national interest and to oblige the persons promoted, not the tribunal. This was seen also in Milan where Mendoza[97] was sent as president, not to re-establish that tribunal, but to give him lucrative employment and greatly add to his ease, in complete disregard for the post's having always been held by members of the legal profession, men who were learned and cultured. Mendoza, however, was a knight of the sword, uncultured and with no knowledge of courts of justice or their practice.

With time the Spaniards' designs on the Italian states were increasingly revealed, of having them as so many purses which were always full to sate their avid cupidity and feed their ostentation and pomp.[98] The many mining operators, therefore, were heard affably and with pleasure when, proposing one plan after another, they offered to discover new mines, whereby the Spaniards could become immensely rich. And although experience had shown their plans to be useless and impertinent, one after another, regardless of how many there were, they continued to be given a hearing. In brief, things had reached the point of both partial and total corruption, since each of the tainted parts was contributing to the disaster and universal ruin. It seemed that all were conspiring to this end, and each one, therefore, was looking after himself, as though the ruin of public affairs were no concern of his and the Italian states could be sold, plundered, and exposed to the greed of

97 Fernandez Mendoza y Alarcon, marquis di Valle Siciliana (B., p. 189), dates unknown.

98 The description of the Spaniards by Saverio Pansuti, *Discorso intorno alla successione della monarchia di Spagna dopo la morte di Carlo II*, in 1704 remained relevant: 'The luxury, agreeableness and delights of the foreign provinces subject to them... enervated their minds, and the superabundant riches drawn from them fired rather than extinguished the immoderate craving for gold in those who administered them' (NBN: quoted by Ricuperati, *L'esperienza*, p. 87).

so many.

Some few mourned with me, foreseeing the fatal and unhappy consequences of this, since all the signs which usually preceded the decline of empires and monarchies were in evidence. As the emperor no longer could hope for male offspring and was virtually tired of ruling, all responsibility had become tedious and disagreeable to him, and his only regular and constant attention was directed to the hunt, leaving those around him free to do what they wished with the reins of government. And what caused even more confusion was that none of them could understand how things were run, and they revealed by their changeable and inconsistent actions that they often wanted what first they had not wanted, hence the wish to find reasons, was truly *cum ratione insanire* (to become mad by reason).[99]

In the midst of the marquis of Rialp's negotiations in Rome for his son to be made clerk of the Camera, Pope Benedict XIII died and in his place was elected Clement XII, who was a fierce prosecutor of Cardinal Coscia, Monsignor Targa his brother, and all the favourites of Clement's predecessor.[100] The marquis defended the Coscia brothers, and by letting it be understood that the emperor had undertaken to protect them, he contrived to alarm the court of Rome into not proceeding with judicial

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99 Terence, *The Eunuch* 1.63. Mauro Fubini, in his review of Sergio Bertelli's edition of the *Vita*, observes that this quote would have been familiar to G. and his contemporaries. It deals with the contradictions of love. 'In the same way G. finds Vienna's system of government uncertain and contradictory, whereby often they want what before they did not want, and it was therefore folly to try to understand it rationally as though it made sense'.

'If you desire to make such uncertain things
certain by reason, you would no more succeed
than if you devoted yourself to becoming
mad by reason'. Terence, *The Eunuch* (1.61-63).

100 Lorenzo Corsini (1652-1740), became pope in July 1730. Pastor wrote:

'The ambassadors were unanimous in acknowledging that the new Pope was most just, prudent, active, affable, straightforward and dispassionate, a gentleman in every way, a lover of splendour and fame, an enemy of flattery, though sensitive to certain attentions, the insincerity of which his upright character prevented him from perceiving. He was no scholar, but a friend to learning... Unfortunately he was seventy-nine years of age and his sight was so weak that by 1732 he became totally blind. He was much tormented by gout in his hands and feet' (34, pp. 330-331).

Clement XII chose as his tomb in the Lateran the fine porphyry sarcophagus from the portico of the Pantheon, which was thought to have been the tomb of Agrippa. Through the willing and able agency of Domenico Passonei, the Viennese nuncio, Clement XII carried out his mission: the persecution of G.

action to punish their enormous crimes perpetrated in the previous pontificate. Even in this vaunted protection, however, the marquis appeared changeable and inconstant, at one moment strong, at another slack, and thus gave scope for much talk. Some interpreted what he did in accordance with the hopes, immediate or distant, held out to him by Rome for the rank of clerk of the Camera for his son, with which he deluded himself. Some interpreted the intensifying or slackening of his protection in terms of the abundance or scarcity of the doubloons of which the Coscia were drained dry, and some suggested other reasons. In short, as the court of Rome was well informed that the emperor's protection was not as strong as Rialp claimed, it went ahead with its prosecutions and convictions. For those who believed the boasts of the marquis, it was thought to be an insult to the emperor that a cardinal protected by him was valued so little, virtually as nothing.[101]

Men's minds were entangled in this confusion, and in this and in every other matter they racked their brains for reasons and aims, unaware that they were looking for order and system in dark chaos and amid perpetual confusion and disorder.[102]

Appendix (Chapter Seven)

[10]

G.'s petition to Charles VI, 21 May 1728:

101 Filippo Coscia (1692-1759), bishop of Targa in Tunisia from 1725 (B., p. 190). When Coscia fled to Naples, Charles VI allowed him to remain there (Pastor, 34, p. 342). In legal proceedings he was found guilty by a unanimous vote, excommunicated (from which only the pope could give absolution), sentenced to ten years' imprisonment in Castel Sant'Angelo; ordered to restore all illicit gains (to be spent on charity) and surrender all rights and privileges and all benefices. When Prospero Lambertini, a friend of Coscia, became Benedict XIV in 1740, Coscia was finally released after seven years of privileged imprisonment, attended by a servant, an aide de camp, and a chaplain (*ibid*., p. 345).

102 G. wrote in the *Triregno*, which he must have been writing when all this was happening, that a study of corruption reveals how 'the nature of man is inclined to evil, and that ultimately men, born of dust and foul mud, will return by their own inclinations to their origins, and are led always to aspire to earthly and worldly things, to honours, pleasure, wealth and empires in this base world. And rare are they whom the hope and contemplation of the kingdom of Heaven hold enthralled and exalted, so that they despise that of earth' (*Triregno*. *Il regno papale*, p. 100).

The lawyer Pietro Giannone, prostrate at the feet of Your Majesty, reverently expounds how in the last five years, since coming to this Imperial Court, he had the honour of placing in your royal hands the *Civil History of the Kingdom of Naples*, written by the suppliant and dedicated to Your Majesty. And because in it he had to champion the regal rights and other prerogatives which you hold in that Kingdom, he could not escape the hatred and malevolence of some who, through the persecutions which they incited against him, obliged him to have recourse to the noble protection of Your Majesty and abandon his profession as a lawyer which he had practised for several years in the supreme courts of that city. And as he has been graciously welcomed by Your Majesty, in that you took into consideration the straitened circumstances to which he was reduced, and that he could not have supported himself for long, you with your imperial decree of 31 October 1724 were pleased most kindly to assign him eighty florins per month on the taxes of the royal dispatches of the Kingdom of Sicily, until the occasion arose to employ him in some post in your royal service. And, although in the space of the following three years there occurred several vacancies, especially in the two supernumerary appointments to the Council of Santa Chiara in Naples, to one of which the suppliant hoped to be promoted, it was necessary to yield to other claimants whose merits perhaps were greater.

At the present time, because of the death of the councillor Carlo Carmignano and that which occurred last year of the councillor Domenico Fiorillo, a space was made for two supernumeraries to pass to the ordinary posts held by the two deceased councillors, namely Ferdinando Porcinari and Francesco Crivelli. Two supernumerary posts in the said Council were therefore vacated, which thus must be appointed by Your Majesty without requiring the Viceroy's nomination. This is especially so, because in the past Your Majesty considered it expedient, given the age and absence of some of the ordinary councillors, to provide the said Tribunal at least with two supernumeraries, as was sometimes the practice also in the times of the Most Serene Austrian Kings, predecessors to Your Majesty, in which those circumstances were not present which now require almost by necessity such a supplement.

The suppliant, therefore, has recourse to the great clemency of Your Majesty, and humbly begs you that, in view of the many years spent in your service exercising the profession of law in the supreme courts of Naples, and the long labour undergone in writing the said work of the *Civil History*, which he has made sufficiently evident to His Majesty and the world is not so lacking in merit, that you deign to confer on him one of the two vacant supernumerary places with tenure and salary, and the succession to the first ordinary post to be vacated. Apart from his being worthy of your justice, he will thus receive from the great benignity of

Your Majesty a most singular favour, as God wishes.[103]

[31]

Gregory VII in the *Civil History*:

> This Year 1085 was likewise remarkable for the Death of the famous Hildebrand in Salerno, a Death very ominous and deplorable to the Church of Rome. She lost a Pope the most daring and intrepid of all that ever had possessed that See; he did not stick at the most evident Dangers, where his Honour or Liberty were at Stake, in order to defend those Prerogatives and Pre-eminences which he reckoned belonged to the Apostolic See, against the greatest Kings and Monarchs of the Earth; and if he was persuaded that what he took in Hand was supported by just Pretentions, he became more bold and forward than the Princes themselves. It was he, who, raising his Crosier above Sceptres and Crowns, as if his being Head of the Universal Church had entitled him to be Monarch of the World, and King of Kings, and Emperor of Emperors, treated Princes, yea the very Emperors, with so much Disdain and Haughtiness, that he did not scruple to excommunicate them, depose them from their Dominions, which he transferred to other Nations, and absolved their Vassals from their Obedience.[104]

[33]

Capasso to G., Naples, 4 February 1729: his summary of Sanfelice's attack on the Civil History:

> Friend and dear Sir,
>
> The censure of Your *History* by Sanfelice, has finally appeared after five to six years. You have kindly asked my advice about it, after I read it. Because of my zeal for your safety and calm, I not only advise but enjoin you to let it go without wasting a single word on it. And to what would you want to reply? To the most rabid, violent libel which has ever come into my hands? To do so, it would be necessary to go beyond the limits of moderation, which would only give him victory. The libel has been written for no other reason, and the author himself does not conceal it, than to make you lose your patron's favour, and bring you to the point of fleeing even from there, and make you lose all means of support. Your tempest has still not abated and remains more turbulent than ever. In what way can you contend with those who have the greatest hold over

103 Draft of petition to the emperor: *Giannoniana*, pp. 4334-4334.
104 *Civil History*, bk 10, ch.6=Ogilvie 1.466.

the people, who are violent and insult anyone, and who change ground in order to save their lives? They have shaped religion to their whims, and construed it in their own interests in whatever way they like, and as such make others think they believe it, that in these matters they have the key to knowledge. Even though a poor man might carry the sun in his hand, he cannot ensure that their censure will not be believed and anyone who opposes it not be considered an atheist. Woe to anyone who experiences their power, of which you have tasted a good deal. I repeat, therefore, leave them be, because one is not on the same level. They argue by means of the police (*sbirri*).

I will tell you frankly what I feel about what I have read: The book is in two volumes and in pontifical type to make it big, and truly, if all the idiocy and little dialogues, and Fabius and Marcellus, and a hundred other banalities were removed, the thing would be reduced to a few pages. And although it claims to be printed in Rome, the place of publication is Cologne, not to let it be seen, I believe, that things are printed there [Rome] which greatly damage the rights of princes.

In the second volume, where he discourses only on jurisdiction, it is wretched and shameful, especially what he has written on the Inquisition, so that there can be no fear that, if prudent men read it, they would like it. He ends with three letters addressed to you to deliver you from impiety, and he disputes with Epicurus and Lucretius as would Friar Cipolla ['Onion', a name given to someone who displays grossness of spirit, and duplicity: Battaglia]. I have, therefore, noticed that the man is of very little intelligence, because with such controversial matters, even by copying [others' work], he could have dealt with them a little better, simply by knowing how to select what can be found in the most ordinary books... What quite amazes me is that in Rome, where there is no lack of worthier men, permission has been given to publish a book so silly and badly written, and that that athlete has been chosen to justify such a famous censure. It is, however, true that the author exceeds the limit of his mandate, because he wants much more than the censure. The most ignominious insults directed at you, which I do not mention because I am not able to stomach them, were therefore not sufficient reason to make the royal magistrates ban this book, which is sold publicly in the porter's lodge at the College, but at least they should do so for the maltreatment of the royal rights.

If, however, I were to tell you something about the language and the style, much vaunted by the author, we could have a good laugh, but there is no time, and it does not deserve it... [F]rom that little which I understand, I well know and could prove that he does not know how either to decline or conjugate, and all his glory is reduced to some Florentine witticism taken from comedy, or some little Boccaccioesque

phrase, so out of place that, in that dirty mess, it seems, as he himself said, like a painting by Titian in a pigsty. But let him off this, since it is not by him or his. That he does not know Latin, however, he who by profession has had to teach it to children, this, it seems to me, would deserve a caning...What else would you like me to tell you? Ponder often on that verse: *Life is a very beautiful virtue*, and leave croaking to anyone who wants. I am of the opinion that this book can only be popular with certain Master Franciscans who go begging for the incarcerated poor and the like at their devotions, but not with men of letters. He reveals great venom against your books when he writes of their being bought up by the Dutch and English, and that many Protestant communities want to reprint them. This frankly I also would not like, because that lot will make a big fuss about it. I would like them to be reprinted in Catholic countries, but this cannot be rectified. 'Enough of the first point; now for the other'.

Father Ciccarelli is my friend... I have never asked you for anything with such fervour as I do now with this, and I implore you to say something to Cavaliere Garelli. And if he wants even to be implored, implore him again in my name, and help this persecuted unfortunate. 'You who are not ignorant of evil, learn to help the wretched'... I hope you will do me this courtesy of taking some trouble for him. And I can do no more while my hand hurts more than the haemorrhoids which torment me...

I ask you to pay my devoted respects to the Cavaliere [Garelli], and I dearly embrace you.[105]

[37]

Biagio Garofalo to G., 4 January 1732, requesting his help:

Naples

I hear that the nuncio makes a great fuss about the appointment to the office of chief chaplain (*Cappellano Maggiore*), which has turned out in favour of Monsignor Galiani...

The President of the Council has received the letter of the Secretariat of Dispatches, in which he is given the task of defending the rights of the person of Cardinal Coscia, who, from what I have been told, has been no little pleased by your essay [*Benevento*], and considers it one of the most precious things he has, regarding it as being indirectly in his favour, and that it has roused these magistrates from their lethargy, to say nothing of the clamour and fracas it has caused in Rome...

I have, however, passed on your regards to Count Ferdinand [Harrach], who pays his devoted respects to you and awaits your

105 NBN: *Giannoniana*, pp. 74-78.

complete appraisal of [Gregorio] Grimaldi's book, of which it is necessary to send an assessment to the gentlemen of Leipzig in order to make clear his plagiarism of your book. Here, on the other hand, the Spanish magistrates praise it to the stars and prefer it to your book, because, as they foolishly say, it does not contain the impiety…

I entrust to you the matter of my pension of six hundred ducats, about which this viceroy wrote, who wants on all accounts to console me with his kindness, inspiring me to write about it to Cavaliere Garelli, so that he speak about it to His Majesty and the marquis of Rialp. It will then be up to him to place it in turn with the bishoprics which fall vacant. It will be used solely to maintain myself with some comfort there at the Royal Court, where I hope to end my days in that quiet and peace not to be found here, and together with the consolation of revering your most illustrious self and Cavaliere Garelli and our other friends. It thus does not seem proper to be left cheated if such favours and benefices are more abundantly granted to the most miserable and ignorant Spaniards. I ask you to bear my very devoted respects to Cavaliere Garelli, and I remain in all obedience to your most illustrious self.[106]

[42]

The meeting of the Collateral Council, 13 April 1729:

A Jesuit named Fr Sanfelice, having written a contumelious book in Naples against the *Civil History* of the lawyer Giannone, went to Rome to publish it, but being unable even there to obtain permission of his superiors to do so, he had it printed secretly, and falsified the place of publication, instead of Rome having placed on the title page *Cologne 1728*. He concealed equally his real name and had it appear under the title: *Moral and Theological Reflections of Eusebius Filopater on the Civil History of the Kingdom of Naples by Pier Giannone*.

He had sent from Rome to Naples many copies, which the Jesuits at first had sold in the porter's lodge of their College, and then dared also display them for sale in a public shop of one of their booksellers named Francesco Forastieri.

The viceroy, Count Harrach, was informed that a book was being sold which was injurious not only to the supreme authority of the Princes and the prerogatives of His Catholic Majesty, but was also contumelious to the author of the *Civil History*, and full of invective against the city of Naples, which he claims was full of sectarians who follow the sentiments of that author, whom he pronounces throughout his whole work an impious and wicked heretic. The viceroy Count Harrach in his great vigilance had the book examined by the Regents of his Collateral Council, and, on

106 Florence Nat. Lib.: *Giannoniana*, pp. 520-522.

finding it even more evil than it had been praised as being, had the matter raised in his presence in that Council, in order to take those measures considered more appropriate and suitable to punish such impudence and audacity. On the fourth of April, it was unanimously decided and ordained by the Viceroy and all the Regents who were present

1. that the said book of Eusebio Filopatro be banned for containing propositions against the authority of the Princes and good customs, and against the honour and esteem of the author of the *Civil History*, and that it be qualified a defamatory libel;

2. that those selling it and the said book-dealer Forastieri, who had had the audacity to sell it publicly in his shop, be imprisoned and all copies withdrawn;

3. that Regulation 5 *de impressione librorum* (on the printing of books) be reviewed, by which it is forbidden to sell or introduce into the Kingdom books printed outside if they are not first identified and granted permission by the relevant Royal Magistrate; that there be enunciated in its preface the reason for such provision made for the said contumelious book of Eusebio Philopatro;

4. that Fr Sanfelice, author of the book, be banned not only from the Kingdom of Naples, but also from all the States of His Majesty, and as he is at present in Rome, Cardinal Cienfuegos be informed that he not be sent a passport for the Kingdom and States of His Majesty; and that he inform the Jesuit Superiors that Fr Sanfelice may not frequent the Kingdom of Naples or any of the Countries subject to His Majesty;

5. that orders be given to the Jesuit Superiors of Naples that he not come and not be received by them, and notice of it be given immediately to the viceroy.

Such an opportunity allowed all the Regents who took part in that Collateral to commend to the viceroy the person of the lawyer Giannone and the usefulness to the Kingdom of his work, in particular in reference to the rigorous defence therein of the supreme rights of His Majesty and his royal jurisdiction over the activities of the court of Rome, and that he deserves to be no longer kept idle, but to hold a post in Naples either as Councillor in the Council di Santa Chiara, or to be promoted to the Tribunale della Regia Camera (Tribunal of the Royal Cabinet) as one of its presidents, in each of which tribunals they were sure that he would be able to carry out his duties with zeal and vigour to the benefit of the public and the advantage of the royal service of His Majesty. For this the viceroy showed every inclination to favour him in the list of nominations which will be presented for His Majesty's attention for some vacancy in one of the above mentioned appointments, ordinary or supernumerary.

And since His Majesty on various occasions has declared his royal mind in the provision of the said appointments, not wishing to depart

from the persons who will be nominated to him by the viceroy:

Your Highness is respectfully asked to write to the viceroy an effective letter recommending to him the person of Giannone, that he include him in every list which is presented for nomination to His Majesty in the said appointments, and to favour him with special phrases relating to his merit and the benefit which could be hoped for from his employing him in the said appointments, both in reference to the Royal Patrimony and the defence of his rights and noble prerogatives.[107]

[47]

G. on the Inquisition in the *Civil History*:

The Court was managed by the Dominicans who, under the pretence of Zeal for Religion, exercised the greatest Cruelties imaginable; banishings, imprisonings, putting to Death, and confiscating, without Mercy. And what raised the greatest Horror were the tragical Methods, the lugubrious Apparatus, the so many Crosses, Piles of Wood for burning the Guilty: So that Death itself was not so terrible as the hideous Apparatus. When any Person was accused, even upon the smallest Suspicion, he was clapt into the dark Dungeon, seen by nobody, and fed with Bread and Water, and very often without knowing what he was accused of. They were not told who had given Evidences against them; for after they were once accused, they were not allowed to exculpate themselves. Their Goods were immediately confiscated, and if they were convicted (according to the severe Laws of that Court) or confessed the Facts laid to their Charge, as some did to avoid the grievous Torments they were put to, although they had never been guilty of the Crimes, then they were condemn'd to be burnt alive. Others were sentenced to perpetual Exile; but all of them forfeited their Estates, and both the Guilty, and also their Heirs, were branded with perpetual Infamy, and doom'd to Beggary.[108]

... the Neapolitans who are naturally so religious as to fall rather into Superstition and too great Credulity... boggle so at the Inquisition, that the very Name of it struck them with Horror... The Abhorrence is so rooted in their Minds by having been derived from Father to Son by a Succession of many Years...[109]

[57]

Capasso to G. (*undated letter*) *on the Profession of Faith:*

107 TAS, *Mss. Giannone*: *Giannoniana*, pp. 435-436.
108 *Civil History*, bk 32, ch.5=Ogilvie, 2, p. 549.
109 *Ibid.*, pp. 546-547.

Friend and dear Sir,

I have read your pages and marvelled at the erudition in them and the wording, and the wit, even though black. To one thing I must avert you; and that is in two places you treat as fable that, at the time of the Apostles, books were burnt, only because our opponent does not quote historical authority. That, however, can be found in the *Acts of the Apostles* (ch.19), where it is recounted that those who had attested to superstition and magic would bring their books to the feet of the Apostles and burn them. Look to it, then, so that you do not give a weapon to the enemy. Although the writing is fine and acute, if you ask me how I feel about it, I shall say, with my customary frankness, that as long as the manuscript is read by as many friends as you like, I have no objection; but if you were wanting to publish it, as far as I am allowed, I do not approve. I learn from your last letter of the great rodomontade of supreme magistrates, personages of great status, and also much more. All these meteors, however, have done nothing but put me in mind of an observation of M. Leclerc [a correction has made the word illegible: Bertelli] which is that in a chapter of the History of Charles V written by Sandoval there is this statement: 'The victorious Spaniards have fled'. I know two things, one from the old proverb which goes: that the mad make the feast and the wise enjoy it. The other I know by experience, is that no one among so many worthy persons who take such delight in your skirmishes has attempted to draw you out of your private state and send you to your homeland with some honourable office. And, on the contrary, the strength of those who wish you ill holds you down. I therefore naturally infer from this that their power is greater. I also was at one time in the same situation, and observed that many were the good friends who took pleasure in the good times, but then, when suffering drew near and 'one was abandoned, everyone fled'. When I, who am more frightened of old age and poor health than criminals, compare your situation with ours, it may be that I am mistaken. On the other hand, perhaps I am not mistaken in being very apprehensive of such people. The scars have still not healed which I bear from the wounds received on your behalf. They constantly warn me. When I consider the present case, where the most sacrosanct clause of Religion, which is the Confession of Faith, is treated as a joke, the power of the pope ridiculed, the morality of the whole Company [the Jesuits] targeted, not to mention the maltreatment of the remains of monasticism, I would think that there might be an attempt made on my life, my livelihood, and that, at the very least, my reputation would be blackened among three-quarters, and half the people, which is as much as to say the ignorant common people, because of my irreligiosity and lack of belief. So little is enough to ruin a man without any of the protection and good sense of the politicians, or, shall we say, men who understand the world,

among whom I counted the regent Biscardi. He left me this motto: that there is nothing more valuable in the world than to be and appear to be a decent man. As you are such a great historian, it is not necessary to remind you about the assassinations, sedition, and conspiracies which those people have plotted, I do not say against mere wretches like us, but against the tallest poppies. Now is there any need to mention François Ravaillac, Jean Chatel, Friar Jacques Clement, [Jean] Guignard, Varede, [Hyacinth] Garnet, Hal [Catholic assassins and conspirators] and so many others whom you know? Remember, however, what can be read in the first volume of the *Moral Practique*, which Cardinal Richelieu relates with astonishment: how when a French gentleman was discoursing with the General of the Jesuits, he learned from him that Richelieu, from his room, ruled not only over Paris but also China, and not only over China but also the whole world, without anyone's knowing how he did it. If your dispute were confined to personal matters with P.S[anfelice] and you were thrice as hard on him as you are, it would be a very dangerous matter, since 'their tails are all joined together' and Fr Aletino stated: 'my name is legion', but it could be tolerated in other ways. To pick a quarrel, however, with a Society which, until now, has destroyed all its enemies, would strike terror in anyone except 'those in whose narrow chest beats a great heart'. And all this would be for no reason, since what more satisfaction could you hope for than that given you by the Collateral? And why should you be so concerned over three brief pages of scribble, which very few have read, and took me only half an hour to read, which no one has enjoyed, much less commended? I have let you know my opinion with that brotherly sincerity, which has always been between us. At any rate, do what you like, as long as you are in a position to receive the best advice. I was forgetting: you bring a counter-charge against me with my translation [into Neapolitan dialect] of Homer, in which I do not deny there are unpleasant things. But I tell you again, that I have, therefore, not only refrained from publishing it, even by public authority, although a good man of our acquaintance wanted to do so to earn a few *quattrini*, but I have also earnestly requested D. Muzio not to give out any copies of it, in fact, not to show it to anyone. And without boasting, I can tell you that many ladies were wanting to have it, but never will. And although by means of your authority, to which everyone yields, you have managed to obtain it, I can tell you that you had it by theft, so that the matter boils down to a little fun for seven or eight friends. Believe me, in my plan of things, quiet and a peaceful life are first base, which nothing can remove.

The emblem which you are looking for is a sword, and a crozier with handles below, which are brought close together with the points, a hand above with a mason's level, which passes straight through the middle,

and the verse: 'In the narrows, Prudence holds to the middle way'.

I recommend to you finally Father Ciccarelli, and whether God or the Devil, do it for whoever is dearer to you. I prostrate myself at the feet of the Cavaliere and devotedly kiss Your hand.[110]

[60]

The Domenican Alberto Foscarini to his friend Matteo Egizio, 30 June 1731 on G.'s Profession of Faith:

I happened to read the Profession of Faith made by Pietro Giannone to Fr Sanfelice, Jesuit. Many are left scandalized by the carelessness of the Jesuit in refuting an enemy of ability with lies and puerility instead of sound, muscular doctrine. On the other hand, however, one must not then close one's eyes to the fact that he, Piero, in that continuous irony in the creed of his primary and secondary articles, does not reveal a pen dipped in ink which is at all favourable to the Roman pontificate. And although some doctors have boldly disputed certain things of some uncertainty, no one whosoever should contest or mock the honour and respect due to the sanctity of the papacy and the majesty of the personage.... Not less has been my pain to note how the aforesaid Piero in the profession of his secondary articles, in the disdain for the religious orders, their holy founders, and in particular their devotions, reveals sentiments which in truth I did not believe [possible]. With pharisaical zeal he refers to the Churches of the Mendicants as shops and customs-houses; because in them it is observed that the religious collect a small amount of alms, without his wishing to know, dissolute that he is, that with those no small number of masses can be celebrated...[111]

[62]

Reactions to the *Civil History*:

Giusto Fontanini to Passionei, 8 May 1723:

Now in Naples one Giannone with the guidance of other sectarians, has published a history of Naples in Italian in four volumes in quarto, full of most horrible, overt mockery of the papacy. It initially created a stir in Naples and here, and the mob caused a small revolution, because the friars began to preach. I hear that the author has fled to the atheists of Vienna, and passed also through here, where, given the rule of making no

110 NBN: *Giannoniana*, pp. 79-80.
111 NBN: *Giannoniana*, pp. 126-127.

reply to evil books, it is thought to remedy it with the decree of banning and thus put an end to all the zeal. I have not seen the work, and the Imperial librarian [identified by Bertelli as Cardinal Renato Imperiali] came and read me the summaries, word for word, which he made of two volumes, and they are frightening. Never before have such things been written on Catholic lands. He goes to the extent of claiming that the pope and the bishops have always used the imposture of religion to dupe the people and the great, and he states and restates that a thousand times here and there in different contexts, quoting with praise the most execrable writers who have written against the Holy See.

Fra Paolo [Sarpi] in the letters to the Huguenots wrote exultantly in particular about Rome's silence in respect to all his innovations. Giannone and others like him still exult over the principle prevailing here. If someone had written well against the libels of Riccardi, Grimaldi and Argento, instead of being content to ban them with a brief, perhaps Giannone would not have dared write... If our elders had had the same maxim current today of not writing, we would not have had any good books to study, since all the books of the Church, which begin with the Gospel of St John, from Athenagoras, Tatian, Aristides, Origen against Celsus, Justin Martyr, et cetera are answered and defended.[112]

'Zibaldone' (Random notes)*: Attack on the Civil History*, dedicated probably to Benedict XIII (1724-1730):

Most Holy Father, the very grave labour, in fact, demanded by the rank of cardinal, borne with such gravity and dignity by Your Holiness before your ascent to the chair of St. Peter, cannot have allowed you to read the *Civil History of the Kingdom of Naples*, written by the Neapolitan jurisconsult Pietro Giannone. Much less could you have had time to do so after Divine Providence decided, for the common good of all Christian people, to burden you with the very grave care of the whole Church, and constitute you Vicar of Jesus Christ. Even if you had been a private person and had abundant leisure, neither the erudition nor the piety of Your Holiness would have long been able to suffer the tedium and horror of such reading, full of very great errors and a rabid slander even against the most renowned saints, and of horrible and sacrilegious disdain for the most sacrosanct matters.

It will not, therefore, come as a surprise if what is to be considered of such a History has been deferred to the judgement of others. One may pity, however, the common lot of the great who, in very many matters, of necessity have to avail themselves of others' work. They are not always

112 British Library, *Add. Mss*. 852ff.; Bertelli, 'Appunti e osservazioni', pp. 181-182.

faithfully served, and are therefore subject to frequent deceptions and neither few nor small treacheries.

Now that great moderation and heroic Christian humility, which the very generous mind of Your Holiness has known how to preserve in the noblest dignity and at the height of honours, not only gives me liberty to speak with priestly candour, but also divests me of any fear of manifesting the least unworthiness, it inspires me with firm confidence of acquiring major favour from the exalted clemency of Your Holiness.

Prostrate, therefore, at your most holy feet (I speak to my Lord, although I am but dust and ashes), I shall pass judgement on the work of Giannone. Your Beatitude has been overthrown by a theologian most partial to that author. Here is the judgement of that theologian on the *Civil History*: 'That it contains many truths which cannot be impugned; that the part which is contaminated discredits itself; that to impugn it would excite the pens of Giannone's companions or his own to hurl new insults at the Church; that at the time a reply could have been made if it had been one to silence opponents. That in the part in which Giannone deals with civil history, the major part, it is a most useful book and has been received with universal applause'. [This is the view probably of Mons. Matteo Scagliosi, secretary of briefs, suggested Bertelli: *Giannoniana*, p. 32—striking evidence of divisions within the Curia over G.'s work.]

Such is the theologian's judgement, expressed almost with the same words. Let us examine it part by part.

That the Civil History contains many truths.

The Koran also contains many truths; that there is only one omnipotent God, creator of all, that he is equally just and merciful, that idolatry is an execrable crime, that the soul is immortal, that there will be the Last Judgement, that there is a heaven and a hell, that there are good angels, that it admits the universal deluge, that it honours the patriarch Abraham, that Moses was a prophet sent by God, and that the Law of Moses and the gospels are divine books. So many beautiful truths! For these, therefore, will the Koran not be considered an impious, sacrilegious book deserving of a thousand flames? For this have they not had to find an antidote against the Koran, so as to prevent any greater expansion of that pestilential sect?

That part which is contaminated discredits itself.

Here is the paralogism of our theologian. The books of Calvin, Luther, and all the other heretics contain many truths. Since that contaminated part discredits itself, are the books of Luther, Calvin and other heretics not to be refuted? Have all the writings of the sainted Fathers and Catholic authors therefore been useless against the heretics? All this is a natural and spontaneous, but necessary and immediate, consequence, following logically from the judgement and view of the father theologian.

To impugn Giannone in the contaminated part would be an incitement to the pens of his companions and his own to hurl new insults at the Church

This proves also that one is not supposed to reply to the books of heretics, who despite any reply made to them, do not cease to disseminate errors. It is, therefore, useless to reply. St Augustine denies it, and teaches that it is necessary to reply to them and refute errors. The experience of the Church through the centuries shows this, since, if there were no reply, the error would gain more ground and silence would be taken as tacit approval. Every man of sense can easily see the need to repress insults with the same kind of weapon with which he is assailed.

At the time one should have replied, if the reply had been one to silence the opponents

The mouth of opponents will be closed on the day of judgement. In the meantime, until the end of centuries, should one permit errors to go snaking along without warning the faithful against them, so that they do not succumb?

That in the part where Giannone deals with the civil history, the major part, his book is most useful and has been received with universal applause

Now if I prove to him that in this same part, where Giannone seems to our theologian an oracle, he has fallen into very serious and potent error, I am convinced that the judgement of the father-theologian will be left convinced of falsehood, and of a too great respect for such a pernicious work. I meanwhile most humbly entreat Your Holiness to suspend judgement on the *Civil History*, and if you wish to trust only yourself, you could in five or six hours over the space of four months (spending a quarter of an hour per week) read those passages in Giannone which are quoted in my following discourse, reading them together with the reflections on those same places marked by me in the discourse.[113]

Bertelli (*Giannoniana*, p. 33) could not identify the author, but Nicolini suggested Filippo Anastasio, bishop of Antioch. Perhaps G. had the answer:

G. in his Petition to Rialp early in 1730 alerts the marquis to this attack:

It must also be brought to the attention of the marquis that it has been discovered in Naples that another Jesuit, one Fr Auria, is publishing a voluminous work in four folio volumes, and from the pages taken from the first volume it has been found to be no less libellous and contumacious than that of Fr Sanfelice. In it he denigrates the most important parts of

113 *Zibaldone*, Biblioteca della Società napoletana di Storia patria, *Fondo Cuomo*: *Giannoniana*, pp. 95-98.

the jurisdiction and privileges of His Majesty. As the Jesuits themselves in Naples are aware of such impudence, they have had recourse to President Argento, delegate of the royal jurisdiction, and petitioned him to order the suppression and withdrawal of the books of the said Fr Auria, and promised to reimburse the publisher, Felice Mosca, in order that he not proceed with publication and hand over the pages already printed. And as it is feared that this recourse of the Jesuits is not what it seems, in order to deceive the delegate, and in the meantime secretly to proceed with publication, it is requested that you write to the viceroy and President Argento to advise them to be extremely vigilant in this matter, by making a report to His Majesty on the truth of what has happened.[114]

Anon., *An Idea of the Works Written against Pietro Giannone:*

Whoever reads the *Civil History of the Kingdom of Naples* by Pietro Giannone will see clearly that the sole aim of this author in writing it is to excite public hatred and envy against the entire ecclesiastical order, and especially against the Holy Roman Church and its Popes. He depicts the ecclesiastics as avid, usurping, rapacious men, disturbers of public peace, and enemies of civil power and the lay princes. He has gone to infinite pains searching, and has gathered together all the worst things which could be said of the prelates and ministers of the Church, and has omitted no argument considered by him valid to undermine the authority of, and respect for, the priesthood. His main intention is to show that the ecclesiastics are immensely rich, and that the priesthood has built its greatness on the ruins of the Empire. He would like, in sum, the people and the lay princes to strip the ecclesiastics (as they have done to the heretics) of temporal property and drive them from their states.

The intention of the writer against Giannone is to prove precisely the opposite! He has woven another history of the Kingdom of Naples, in which he shows that the only change introduced there by the ecclesiastics is that so necessary one of Religion. To the ecclesiastics, and especially the Roman Pontiffs, we owe every temporal and spiritual benefit in the kingdom, since they were the main instruments chosen by God to ensure that it did not fall into the hands of the Saracens, who invaded it so often, and to ensure that it did not remain infected with heresy, and that the arts were preserved there, and with them civilization and every kind of culture. One shows that we would all have been barbarians if the ecclesiastics, not only in the kingdom of Naples but all over the world, had not preserved all forms of literature. One reveals that the

114 G. to Rialp, Vienna, datable between February and March 1730, before the election of Clement and the death of Argento: TAS, *Mss. Giannone*, mazzo 2, ins.15:C4: *Giannoniana*, p. 439.

Western Empire would have been extinct like that of the East, if the Roman Church had not supported it. The Church's just title to owning temporal property is indicated, and it would be shown how the rulers of the ecclesiastics not only did not weaken the political state of the princes, but also marvellously fortified and stabilized it. All this is to be shown, not with subtle reasons and arguments, but with powerful proofs taken from history and experience.

Since it was not possible in the course of the historical narrative to make the many long digressions to reveal Giannone's errors in a fundamental way, a collection of critical observations has been made separately on his history, which will be more than enough to discredit it and disabuse the world, which has generally received his books with applause (at least in what pertains to history), as can be seen from the high price to which it has risen.

Finally, apologies will be made to all those men, illustrious for their sanctity and learning, who have been so cruelly clawed and lacerated by Giannone, such as Gregory VII and others.[115]

Giuseppe Francesco Novara on the Civil History:

Most Holy Father

Giannone's main scope in the *Civil History of the Kingdom of Naples* consists of two subtle propositions, which drive the whole of its grindstone. The first is to reverse the high esteem and veneration in which the priesthood is deservedly held. This he undertakes to represent to the whole world solely in political terms, and as adapted merely to hold in check the tumultuous and seditious plebeians, representing it as having exceeded the limits of its natural power, and entered by cunning and fraud within the limits of royal, temporal domination. Not only has he attempted to overthrow the Empire, he has also thrown into confusion and ruin that beautiful order which firmly supported the state and civil dominion. And the second proposition consists of, and is directed at, making the secular princes aware, so that they appreciate those rights and that power which God wished to place in their hands. They must be 'watchful (he states) of all which the priesthood embraces of human matters, and being very much on guard, both they and the people in their own affairs and everything which pertains to them, make sure not to have the priests interfere, because what they first accept as courtesy, they later claim as necessity, in fact, with great ingratitude, they refuse to acknowledge it as being from them'.[116] And although he affects a

115 'Idea dell'opere scritte contro Pietro Giannone': Società Napoletana di Storia Patria, *Fondo Cuomo*: *Giannoniana*, pp. 98-100. Bertelli can offer neither author nor date.

116 *Civil History*, quotation untraceable.

constant inclination for the temporal, he actually reveals himself to be fundamentally averse to, slanderous of, and hostile to, both one and the other, like those who, by excessively crushing one and excessively exalting the other, ultimately ruin support for both.

And because that author, given his rare and singular erudition and also his wide learning (which is so abused), is pestiferously eloquent, able to persuade, and by persuading to insinuate in the minds of men his folly and raving, he resembles the writer who with more facility abandons himself to believing in vice rather than virtue. It has thus been necessary, even indispensable, for the welfare of the Christian Republic, to clarify the errors and malice of such a pernicious and detestable writer,[117] in order more easily to be able to flee and shun them.

The most suitable method, therefore, to accomplish a similarly necessary refutation has seemed to be that of replying to all the chapters distinguished by him [Giannone] with the heading 'Ecclesiastical system of government', in which the ungodly man directly confronts the priesthood, presenting maxims which are divided and placed by him, as they occur, at the end of almost every one of the forty books into which he is pleased to divide his civil history. Placed in one of the two columns, therefore, is his text, and opposite on every page the refutation of his erroneous maxims, to which are added the Historiographical, Theological, Political Observations, which are also divided equally into two columns. These exact and rigorous criteria are perfectly set out by the most accurate writers and critics, not only of the Roman Communions and the orthodox, but also by those who, as Protestants and reformers, feign the name (of orthodox), but are truly heterodox. They come with their authority and irrefutable testimony to support the text of the above-mentioned refutation, since they are able, if required, to draw attention to the historian's most advanced and impious passages. They can also point out to the readers whence and from which sources he drew his pernicious sentiments. Without the slightest dissimulation, and with the same hostile spirit, he inveighs against the Roman Pontifex and Priesthood, and charges the Christian Religion with evil and impropriety on a par with any of its pagan and implacable enemies. It has been and will be often easily observed, on the contrary, that the same adversaries of the Roman See are much better lovers of the truth and almost, we might say, more attached to it, and thus contrary and completely opposed to the impiety of which the said historian is capable, who is even more unjust and sacrilegious than all its other adversaries. Although a Catholic, he has been able to take offence at the priesthood and everything else, so that the reader of any communion whatsoever may understand how

117 Pierre Bayle, art. 'Timée Remarque' C: *Giannoniana*, p. 508.

easy it is to reject those maxims of impiety inserted by the said historian, and that improper manner in which he writes...

A dedication to that effect will therefore be written to the august name of Your Holiness, in which we shall be careful to note the very pressing, urgent reasons which have occasioned such a laborious task, without neglecting the author's dedication addressed to the felicitous memory of Charles VI. And because in it the said historian began to disseminate the injustice of his errors, they will be emphasized and replied to by us. We will show the shameful lack of restraint with which he chose falsely to adulate such a pious prince, casting aspersions on his modesty and on his religious and truly Christian piety, by giving the world to understand that he [Charles] had wanted to interfere in the affairs of the priesthood, which were not his concern. And the historian wrote: 'that he had assumed responsibility for the external system of ecclesiastical government and restored discipline to the Church of the Lord' [G.'s Dedication to Charles VI], praise which, being common to Saul and Ozia when reproved by the Lord for having interfered in what did not belong to them, must rebound as censure on that prince. By carefully observing facts upheld by the authority of the most qualified historical writers, however, the wisdom and religious moderation of that monarch will be clarified by us, and thus the temerity of the said author will also be disproved, who has challenged the just glory of the most glorious Charles VI.

The introduction or plan of the work will also have its place in which with due brevity and plain, harmonious style we shall make manifest to the public the historian's real plan. It will be thus possible to refute, by observing to those who will read it, the idea and aim which induced a Christian writer to write in such a hostile manner of his own religion, and thus erroneously to deride its sacrosanct mysteries, and to so inveigh against its head and shepherd...

Finally in order that the world might appreciate our integrity and the exactness of the criteria used in the choice of authors, we have decided to place at the front of every volume an index of them, both orthodox and heterodox, with a summary of each chapter divided into paragraphs, containing what is discussed in each chapter of the work. These will be arranged according to the author in paragraphs, making correspond in the margins his respective notes, discussed with the same material contained in the said chapters.

Such is the work undertaken by us; this is the method to be followed to the end; and this is the plan according to which we propose to refute Pietro Giannone. We ask omnipotent God to assist us for his greater glory and the benefit of our readers, and in eternal submission to whatever Your Holiness will decide, we implore the paternal pity of Your holy

> Benediction.[118]

Gian Domenico Rogadeo was to write in 1767 that G. 'was able to exalt the mind and conceive the idea of a work which no one before had contemplated'.[119] Giustiniani wrote that it was as useful for us as it was bitter and unfortunate for its author.[120] He calls it 'the masterpiece of the century'.[121]

Giuseppe Ferrari was to give a series of ten brilliant public lectures in Milan in 1863: *La mente di P.G.* In Ferrari's eyes, G. and Vico were the founders of the modern philosophy of history. In his first lecture, Ferrari defined the philosophy of history thus:

> the science of the mysteries, because it seeks to understand every sacred and secular origin, it is the science of thought which does not ever abandon it throughout all its vicissitudes; it is the science of genius which does not ever take flight without assigning to it time and mission, it is a science of beginnings, because it asks of truth another truth which is always superior...[122]

Ferrari could so pertinently evoke the significance of the image of the yoke of ecclesiastical Rome:

> You know already that Rome rules silently, that it does not create but preserves, does not push but represses, by admitting the concepts acceptable to the huge majority of the human species.[123]

He described the genius of G. thus:

> G. surpasses in poetry and foresight the most celebrated men of our time,

118 Giuseppe Francesco Novara, 'Della *Storia Civile del Regno di Napoli*, scritta da Pietro Giannone, Avvocato e giureconsulto napolitano, colle animavversioni storico-critiche teologico-politiche di Fr Giuseppe Francesco Novara Min. Riform. di San Francesco. Tomo Primo dedicato alla Santità di Nostro Signore PP. Benedetto XIV' (On the *Civil History of the Kingdom of Naples* Written by Pietro Giannone Neapolitan Lawyer and Jurisconsult, with the Historiographical, Theological and Political Observations of Friar Giuseppe Francesco Novara of the Reformed Minor Friars of St Francis. Volume One, Dedicated to His Holiness Benedict XIV [1740-1758]), Bologna Univ. Lib., 1130: *Giannoniana*, pp. 506-514.

119 *Saggio di un' opera intitolata il Diritto pubblico e politico del Regno di Napoli...* (Cosmopoli; that is, Lucca 1767), p. 83.

120 *Memorie storiche degli scrittori legali del Regno di Napoli* (Bologna 1787), 2, p. 94.

121 *Ibid*., p. 102.

122 Ferrari, *La mente di P.G.* (Milan 1868), Lecture 1, p. 2.

123 *Ibid*., p. 6.

> when with jurisprudence he entwines like a vine around the papacy, strangling it without a wound; when with insight, almost by a spell, he makes the Empire vanish because the papacy is extinguished; when from the depths of a Piedmontese prison he points to the star of Savoy, and, turning to the son of Charles Emanuel, he tells him to put aside the reading of Tacitus, to put aside the underhand arts of Tiberius, to put aside the historian who teaches how the declining Empires could be preserved, and to read instead the historians where one learns how new states arise.... He asks the future for a historian of humanity; he announces his very grave, immense mission of embracing all the traditions, all the errors, all the cults which mutually presuppose each other; but at the same time he declares his mission not to be superior to man's strength, and points to the example of Pliny the Elder and Livy, who brought to fruition works no less grandiose.[124]

It was Ferrari's view that the presence of the papacy, with all the images which it embraced, rendered the philosophy, or understanding, of history more a phenomenon of Italy than any other part of Europe. Such a study, moreover, could have intensified only in Naples (the papacy's stronghold), because it was more aware of its yoke than the other Italian states, and because it was the Naples of G. as well as Vico.

On Manzoni's accusing G. of plagiarism in *Storia della colonna infame*, Ferrari rejects any claim that G.'s copying of passages detracted from his independent judgements, the value of his work, or the way in which he conceived and wrote the *Civil History*. He, in fact, accused G. of copying the chronicles too little.[125]

In the *Civil History*, however, Ferrari considered that G. is not yet a philosopher of history who 'determines the epochs of the life of the people... to see how every epoch is created by an idea, and how its phases are those of the idea'.[126]

'It is not enough to show the growing barbarousness which elevated the chair of St Peter and divinized the Pope in the moment of universal ignorance; the philosophy of history asks the reason for pontifical power'.[127]

[67]

124 *Ibid*., pp. 9-10.
125 *Ibid*., Lecture 2, pp. 21-22.
126 *Ibid*., Lecture 3, p. 23.
127 *Ibid*., Lecture 3, pp. 30-31.

Papal disquiet over Naples:

Instructions from Antonio Banchieri, secretary of state, to Passionei, 28 January 1731:

> I well see that I have been too diffuse in this Instruction, more to satisfy myself than is necessary. I should, nevertheless, restrain myself in recounting an evil, from which, if it is not remedied more quickly and effectively, there is a danger that religion in the Kingdom of Naples will be completely lost.
>
> For many years now such depraved maxims have been introduced there that the people are being led in great strides to atheism. When Our Lord was in the first days of his felicitous assumption to the supreme governorship of the Church [Clement XII, elected on 12 July 1730], he deplored with the German cardinals the unhappy state of religion in that kingdom, not only for not seeing the authors punished for such scandalous and pernicious maxims, but rewarded and distinguished also by the Court of Vienna, as Councillor Grimaldi and Giannone have been, even though at the centre of the Catholic religion they have both come forward to publish their impious and perverse works, and placed in the front of them the august name of the Emperor. Our Lord suggested to their Eminences, that to rid the said kingdom from a seed which one day could germinate into a universal contagion, it would have been a very useful thing to introduce there the court of the holy Inquisition, and he exhorted their Eminences to promote its implementation on their arrival in Vienna. After acquitting themselves zealously of their part, they did not find the hoped for inclination. And in fact the marquis of Rialp went to tell Cardinal Grimaldi [the nuncio] that he did not consider the present time right, given the great clouds which were threatening storms everywhere, to introduce that tribunal in the said kingdom.
>
> This, however, did not quieten the inexhaustible zeal of Our Lord, and he turned his whole mind to finding some other expedient which might meet less opposition in the said court. He had a letter written to Cardinal Grimaldi to propose at least that he assist the bishops to hold secret trials in matters of faith. In that way many would be relieved of the delicacy of not denouncing certain depraved doctrines, so as not to appear authors of such denunciations, and thus such doctrines, moreover, could easily be eradicated before their poison spread to the souls and minds of the people. At first this expedient was not displeasing, but instead of increasing the fervour to embrace and promote it, little by little things went cold. Our Lord, in fact, learned from the last letters of Cardinal Grimaldi that when the court understood that this remedy could affect the Neapolitans, who have always shown a great aversion to anything resembling the Inquisition, the court declared that it was necessary to

see how things turned out in the world before having it implemented. To save setting time aside dealing also with this matter with Your Lordship, I must, however, repeat that, as the gravity of the evil is great, the remedy should be prompt, and that all human and political actions must always yield to those of religion. One can, however, foresee that, notwithstanding these known truths, they will want to persist in their sentiment.

This matter, therefore, is to be given priority by Your Lordship. And one might hope that God will have reserved for you the merit and glory of bringing it happily to a conclusion. The pages signed with the letter D, at the end of this Instruction, will reveal to you how in Naples schools have been opened in which atheism is taught. And you will also be able to use this information to make known to the emperor not only the greatness of the evil but also his very pressing obligation to take the most prompt and effective measures and, when all obstacles are destroyed, to confirm the holy intention of Our Lord. I caution you, however, not to give anyone the said pages, so that the magistrates cannot know the author of them.[128]

[68]

The Civil History of the Kingdom of Naples, translated into English by Captain James Ogilvie, London, 1729-1731 in two folio volumes:

A perusal of the extraordinary list of the subscribers reveals among the four hundred names 'seven dukes, two marquesses, sixteen earls, seven viscounts, thirteen barons, and twenty baronets. More than half the subscribers are Scots, who come from the North East of Scotland, the heartland of the Scotch Jacobites and non-jurors'.[129] There are also fifty army officers. There are eleven Ogilvies. The head of the clan is named as earl of Airlie, 'although his earldom had been forfeited after the Fifteen, and would not be restored till 1826'.[130] The list of subscribers is remarkable, including every leading churchman, politician and all leading aristocrats, as well as a host of private persons. The 'Proposals' to publish James Ogilvie's translation of the *Istoria Civile* called for subscribers (there is a copy in the British Library, CUP 21 g 35/3). Johann Burchard Mencke is one of the subscribers for the publication of the English translation, and it was probably his copy which he presented as a gift and happy surprise to G.

128 AAV *Germania*: Marini, *Mezzogiorno*, pp. 214, 274-276 (doc.12).
129 Hugh Trevor-Roper, 'PG and Great Britain', *Historical Journal*, 39 (1996), 657-675, p. 665.
130 *Ibid*., p. 666.

On the identity of James Ogilvie, the traditional account relies on Charles Dalton, *English Army Lists and Commission Registers 1661-1714*, 6 vols (London 1892-1904), 4, p. 182, which records him as an ensign in Colonel Robert Mackay's Regiment of Fusiliers on 13 February 1697. He became a second lieutenant in 1702, fought at Blenheim, and was wounded and promoted to first lieutenant in August 1704 (5, pp. 80, 82, and part 2, p. 57). Ogilvie is listed also by Charles Dalton, *George the First's army* (London 1910), p. 345, where it is stated that his commission was renewed by George I on 1 March 1715. Trevor-Roper suggested that Captain Ogilvie may have been a Jacobite, ruined in the rebellion of 1715, 'the fatal year' to which he darkly refers in his Dedication, and was forced to live abroad. William Sale, suggested that Captain James Ogilvie was in the regiment of the Scotch Fusiliers under the earl of Orrey, who himself had serious Jacobite connections.[131] As John Roberston notes, 'But alas, this trail runs cold before the publication of the Civil History'.[132] Trevor-Roper also referred to a Captain James Ogilvie in Fleet Prison for debt in 1735, the date at which was published his second translation, of *Histoire des troubles de la Grande Bretagne* (Paris 1649), by the Scottish emigré Robert Monteith, alias Robert de Salmonet, Cardinal Mazarin described it as a handbook of sedition.[133] The daughter of that Ogilvie married Lord Banff, also an Ogilvie, in the prison chapel.[134]

Paul Monod relies on Ogilvie's connection with Falkland, dedicatee of the second volume. In the War of the Spanish Succession, Falkland was a captain in the Third Scots Regiment of Foot Guards, and in May 1711 Ogilvie was appointed his *aide de camp*. This suggests that he was at least in his twenties. Ogilvie remained in the regiment until 1727. At the time of the call for subscriptions, he was recorded as living at Warwick-Court, Suffolk St, behind Haymarket Theatre. Monod suggests that Ogilvie died at Charing Cross in October 1760, having been an invalid for the last twenty years. He was buried at St Martin's in the Fields, accompanied by a 'grand funeral procession'.[135]

131 *Samuel Richardson, Master Printer* (Ithaca 1950), pp. 109, 372.

132 Trevor-Roper, *History and the Enlightenment* (New Haven 2010), p. 230.

133 Tallemant des Réaux, *Histoiriettes*, ed. A. Adam, 2 vols (Paris 1960-1961), 2, pp. 329-330, under 'Ménage'; Trevor-Roper, 'PG and Great Britain', p. 46.

134 John Burn, *History of the Fleet Marriages*, 2nd ed. (London 1834), p. 116; Trevor-Roper, 'PG and Great Britain', p. 44.

135 Monod, 'P.G. and the Nonjuring Contribution to the Separation of Church and

Trevor-Roper disputed the origin of James Ogilvie's English translation as given by Panzini (*Vita*, p. 102) on the testimony of a letter from one of G.'s closest friends: that Ogilvie managed it on a long sea voyage. The letter was never found in G.'s papers. Paul Monod also vigorously denied this naval origin of the translation. Ogilvie and Falkland were in Rome together in October 1723. Trevor-Roper suggests that the whole enterprise may have been planned in Rome in 1723, so that Rawlinson's detaching the document (Chapter 5: Appendix [70]) may have been significant. Falkland, Ogilvie's great patron, Ogilvie himself, and fellow Jacobites were all in Rome together in 1723 when the storm raised by the *Civil History* was at its height.[136]

Robertson has, thanks to William Sale (above) and Keith Maslen, *Samuel Richardson of London, printer* (Otago 2001), identified the printer of Ogilvie's translation. Richardson later became a renowned novelist. Maslen identifies both volumes of Ogilvie as his work, but it was such a large enterprise that another printer, perhaps James Bettenham, worked on volume two (Trevor-Roper, *History and the Enlightenment*, p. 283).

Samuel Allibone, in his *Critical dictionary of English literature* (London 1858-1871) states: 'This work is remarkable for its profound enquiries concerning the civil and ecclesiastical constitutions, the laws and customs, of that kingdom.' Lord Mansfield recommended it to students; and it was highly regarded by Chancellor James Kent: see Kent's *Course of English Reading*, Oakley's ed. (London 1853), p. 15.

Panzini states that Ogilvie sent G. ten copies of his translation and 600 florins. No reference to this, however, appears in G.'s letters to Carlo in the *Epistolario*. Robertson observes that a bond of sympathy existed between Scotland and Naples, two ancient kingdoms oppressed by more powerful countries: Scotland by England and Naples by Spain and Austria.[137] 'G. always professed to be a good Catholic, opposed only to the social and political power which the Church had acquired.... This was not very different from the attitude of the Scottish Jacobites—or indeed of English Catholic laymen'.[138] G., in his letter to Carlo, sent Pietro Contegna 'a thousand embraces' for his observation that the

State', *J. Brit. Stud.*, 59 (2020), 713-736, pp. 717-718.

136 'PG and Great Britain', pp. 663-664.

137 Quoted by Trevor-Roper, *ibid.*, p. 669.

138 *Ibid.*, p. 668.

forthcoming Latin [sic] and French translations of the *Istoria civile* saved that in English from being 'a heretical book'.

[86]

G.'s application to Harrach, viceroy of Naples, 18 November 1730, for a post in the Council of Spain:

Most illustrious and excellent Sir,

Both past and present favours equally received from the great benevolence and magnanimity of Your Excellency oblige me by means of this my reverend letter and the intervention of the very worthy count, your son, the very worthy auditor of the *Ruota*, to render Your Excellency the warmest thanks for that graciousness and patronage which you deigned to show Abate Biagio Garofalo, and to ask that you do not forget me, your very humble servant, on the occasion of the candidacy for the post of fiscal lawyer of this Council of Spain. I am surprised and overcome at such graciousness and courtesy, and can ask for nothing, considering my little merit, and so much more so for my not having had the good fortune with my poor and humble homage to deserve such a signal favour from Your Excellency. Because of my acknowledged special indebtedness, therefore, to the above-mentioned Count, whose great probity, learning and wisdom I often have the honour to admire, I ran at once to acquaint him with such an extraordinary excess of goodness, and at the same time to ask him, since I do not feel that this my humble reverend office is enough, that he also take my part in conveying to Your Excellency due thanks in my name. I again respectfully informed him of the reason why until now Your Excellency had not had the task of sending the candidacy of this vacant appointment, as is customary. The motives for delaying now such firm provision I communicated to the Count, about which I asked him also that he have Your Excellency informed, and told him that I am writing again to the above-mentioned Abate Garofalo, by whom, at least, Your Excellency will also be able to be fully informed. To this end Your Excellency was asked to do me the honour of nominating me in the meantime, when the time comes for appointments to the Council of Santa Chiara. This is because today our Spaniards have changed the system for the post of fiscal lawyer, and, whereas before, here and in Madrid, the fiscals used to be taken ordinarily from the orders of lawyers or those with professional rank, now they require also seniority of office. This has been invented to prevent the Spaniards losing the post, and to exclude, on this pretext, those who are universally considered to be much more deserving than the Spaniards and those who have not been promoted by them. The marquis of Rialp, both because of his own kindness to me, and

the intercession of my great patrons and his good friends, shows every inclination to see me raised to one of those posts in the Council of Santa Chiara. I also know that, with the above, he has effectively recommended me to His Majesty, who, nevertheless, to my infinite embarrassment, reveals that he does not wish me to leave this Court. And I know that his most Serene Highness Prince Eugene, of whom I have the privilege to be numbered among his most devoted servants, has the same sentiments of which he has many times made me aware... Because of the great favour which you have shown me, I have wanted reverently to express all this.... in order that, by placing myself totally in your most gracious hands, if ever you consider me so useless to employ in His Majesty's service, you will dispose of me in that manner which your great prudence will seem most appropriate...[139]

[87]

Costantino Grimaldi to G., 20 October 1730, on defending G. with Harrach:

'Illustrious Sir and my honoured Patron, although I have not replied to you because of not receiving your letters, it does not make sense to remain silent about what happened to me with His Excellency [Harrach, the viceroy]. He made clear to me that he had read your reply to Sanfelice and the pleasure which it had given him, said that, although aware of your wish to be nominated by him for a post as councillor, he could not satisfy it, because of his great fear that the mob or your enemies here would excite some disturbance when hearing about it, and he did not want to compromise himself with His Majesty. His Majesty, however, could command him or even make you a councillor, which would have been entirely to his liking. I replied that this fear would have been justified earlier in the beginning when your works had not been read, but these days there is no class of people which has not read them and does not know their contents, so that it was simply panic. I returned twice more to reassure him on my honour, but he held firm to his intention; hence there did not appear anything else to do. I shall not neglect any opportunity, however, to refer to it expressly with the secretary of war, and whenever I can to hammer the nail.

I must also tell you something which happened with the nuncio about that book, since the nuncio reminded him that he had promised not to print this small book of yours, to which His Excellency said that he would not have allowed such a thing. The nuncio replied that it was not public printing that he feared, but the private, underhand printing

139 *Epist.*, pp. 758-760.

done perchance in the home of a councillor who kept a printing press in his house. At the time I said that the nuncio was referring to me, but was vastly mistaken, because, although I kept a press at home in Althann's time, when I printed my books, I dismantled it when the cardinal decreed that they were not to be kept in private houses. It was, anyway, legal previously for many private persons to have one, not only magistrates, so that the nuncio could at least have recalled things in the past. I must also tell you that the Jesuits are burning to obtain favour for Fr Sanfelice, and have nevertheless been disappointed, and Baron Cereda has said that if they were to come back again, he would tell them that the matter would be remitted to my attention, which is a good way of driving them away. I had to inform you of all this, so that you may take appropriate steps. In conclusion I confirm myself to you as your true and most devoted and grateful servant. Remember me warmly to the revered Cavaliere Garelli.[140]

See the fine contribution of Domenico Maffei and Raffaele Ajello on Grimaldi and his friendship with G.: 'P.G. in aiuto di Costantino Grimaldi. Una lettera inedita dello Storico al Giurista-Filosofo', in *Frontiera d'Europa* (no vol.) (2001), 151-163, p. 151; see also Grimaldi's letter to G., 14 March 1727, asking for his protection (Chapter Six: Appendix [61]).

Biagio Garofolo to G., undated, in defence of G.:

My very dear Sir,

The other day, when I went to visit the Viceroy in Barra, I managed to bring your most worthy person into the conversation and suggest to him that you ought to be appointed to a senior post in the magistracy because of the excellent gifts and rare virtues of the knowledge adorning you; and told him that you had always written to me with great praise for Monsignor the auditor, his son. On that occasion he raised the matter of the suggestion made to him by one of your friends from that Court to nominate Your Lordship in the candidacy for councillor of Santa Chiara, but that he feared some disturbance among the people. I replied that such was the story and talk of those who wish you ill and those who fear your great mind and profound zeal for Imperial rights; and that such a request had perhaps not come here for the post of councillor, but only for a certain qualification and preferment, which counts a great deal with the Spaniards who control that Court. You, in any case, however, were assigned 1,000 florins in recognition and as grant given to you, according to the usage of the councillors some years previously, and I reminded

140 RBN, *Fondo Vittorio Emanuele*, p. 602: *Giannoniana*, pp. 317-318.

His Excellency of the honorific titles and expressions in the diploma given you by His Majesty. I added that the disturbance in the past was panic caused by those who, without having read your books, considered them at first to be prejudicial to religion. They then later saw, and confessed, as everyone does at present, that their only heresy and schism was to defend, also with moderation, the royal rights of the principate demoralized and degraded by the claims of Rome, and that the same priests and monks not only in Naples but also in Rome read your books with admiration; to that city alone more than half the books printed had been sent. I concluded by observing that at the time it was the fault, fear, and cowardice of the Collateral Council, which did not show any courage, and it was the positive failure of Althann. The priests, therefore, were emboldened to make a revolt, and I did not fail to represent to him how His Excellency had assessed your books in the ruling against Fr Sanfelice, by means of which all men and all classes of this city were convinced that there was nothing in them prejudicial to the duties of religion and good morality. I stated that afterwards His Excellency was to have the glory of promoting you, and that your knowledge of civil and reformed jurisprudence made you suitable for the Council of Spain. At that time, he added to me that he would not have failed to nominate you in the candidacy for its fiscal advocate, for which he had already requested permission to do so in that Court, and had in fact complained of not having been given the post. I thanked him as earnestly as I could, and at the same time he entrusted me to let you know of it. I would thus think it appropriate for Your Lordship to give him due thanks, ensuring in your reply to express them more fully, and that, if you do not have any safe and secret channel, you can send me the letter and I shall have the honour of serving you as I must. Discuss it with Cavalier Garelli, who will be able to give you sound advice in your own case, and at the same time obtain that commission by the same path taken by the viceroy.

Here the *exequator* is not taking effect for the jubilee. This is the way to make the Court of Rome more insolent, and give it courage to initiate things of major prejudice to royal jurisdiction. This news is reliable, and you can certainly circulate it, since it was told to me by a regent. I continue to ask you to request the secretary Coh [sic] again to remember in some letter the matter well known to you. And with all respect I conclude, asking you always to give my reverend regards to Cavaliere Garelli.

Your most devoted and true servant,
Abate Garofalo

This letter gives neither place nor date, and is transcribed after the letter from Vienna of 18 November 1730, *Epist*., pp. 1128-1129. G.'s reply included a letter to Harrach, thanking him for all his efforts, and those of his son, to obtain for him an office in Naples, such as that of Fiscal Lawyer.

Chapter Eight: 1731-1733: Vienna

I

In the meantime we had entered the year 1731, at the commencement of which the regent Almarza began to fall ill. By talking over with him the confusion and disorder to which we saw things reduced and commiserating with each other, we used to relieve somewhat our woe. His indisposition worsened and he was overcome by an enervating and unpleasant illness, which, whether from melancholy or some physical weakness, brought on a grave and dangerous fever. The doctors then began to despair of his health, and after vainly attempting all remedies and all human help, he finally, at the beginning of April, gave back his soul to his creator.

His friends and especially I, who loved him so much, were left inconsolable and grieved for the loss of such a dear and amiable man. This was not so, however, with his relatives whom he had brought with him to Vienna, who were delighted with their rich inheritance which had grown from all the money accrued during the many years that he was regent, and yielded him almost 11,000 florins each year. Not content with this, they also wanted to profit from the honoured bones of that good old man and from his merits, since they had none, and they tried with unprecedented greed and impudence to obtain so many favours and recompenses that the emperor himself finally tired of being presented with their endless petitions.

In May we were obliged to change houses and move from Piccolo Parigi to another house near San Salvatore and the city's bank, in the district called the Grande Cristofaro, and in this year we changed also our summer retreat, and instead of going to Perchtoldsdorf we went to

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Mödling.[1] This was to prove more pleasant for me, since on my morning walks I found nearby a valley which allowed me to return protected from the sun all the way home. We took this place because Madame Leichsenhoffen found a friend there who offered her lodgings at a cheaper rate than we paid at Perchtoldsdorf, and because with the death of the regent Almarza, who used to come to the nearby town of Prun, I no longer had his company and that of friends who used to come to see him, so that I was not sorry to go away. And although from then on we delayed going until the beginning or middle of June, we extended our stay much more than usual until August. As I was weary of the Court and seeing things drawn out, and ever more despairing that the promises made to me would be kept,[2] I calmed myself waiting for better

1 It was in the area between Judenplatz and Hohen Markt, near the Donaukanal (B., p. 192.2). G. wrote to Carlo of the high rents in Vienna. Even though he lived in a small house, he still paid a quarter of his allowance, 250 florins p.a., on rent (Vienna, 29 November 1732: *Epist.*, p. 935). His summer holidays cost over 50 florins each year, which included transport of luggage, carriages, 'and gifts to the owner of the house who provided rooms and furniture' (7 February 1733*: Epist.*, p. 952).

2 G. bemoaned justifiably, moreover, how he was besieged and imposed upon by the requests of friends from Naples, 'which become not only annoying and useless to me, but also damaging to the pocket, as I have to go here and there on their behalf and to inconvenience and molest even friends on matters which I would not dare ask for myself'. And his efforts are often futile: 'I am stopped by closed doors, and not having the golden key, in vain do I attempt to enter' (Vienna, 5 Jan. 1732: *Epist*., p. 862). In the year in which G. was granted his pension, 1724, he had requested in a petition a supernumerary post in the tribunal of Santa Chiara (TAS, *Mss. Giannone*, mazzo 2, ins.15, A3=*Giannoniana*, pp. 431-433). In the same year in a new petition he noted that he had not been appointed, but that his pension was paid regularly and did in fact ensure his survival (A4; the original petition is in the Vienna State Archives). On 14 December 1725, after having been informed by Argento of two more places vacant in the tribunal of Santa Chiara, he made an application to Rialp for one of them (*Mss. Giannone* C1=*Giannoniana*, p. 437-438). Another post became vacant, and on the same day he applied for it also (A5=*Giannoniana*, p. 433). G. applied to Charles VI also for Riccardi's post of fiscal lawyer in the Council of Spain (D2=*Giannoniana*, p. 440). A year later he addressed a petition to Prince Eugene for the same post (B2=*Giannoniana*, p. 436). To have obtained that post would have fulfilled all his hopes and given him and his family in Naples a secure and comfortable livelihood. On 26 May 1728, he petitioned Charles VI again, this time for appointment to the Council of Santa Chiara; and he applied again on 14 August and gave a copy of his application to Garelli on 10 November and to Prince Eugene on 12 December 1728, that they might intercede for him (A7=*Giannoniana*, pp. 433-434). He turned to them again between 1729 and 1730 to intercede for his being appointed to the post vacated by Francesco Ventura (A2). He then applied to the president of the Council of Spain, Marquis Villasor, again for a post on the tribunal of Santa Chiara and added an identical petition to Charles VI (C3 and A10=*Giannoniana*, pp. 438, 434). On 23 May 1730, he made his final request for appointment to Charles VI

times, which I deluded myself might come. In the meantime I resolved to live for myself and my studies. This was even more possible, since, for the reasons already mentioned, the work which I had before of a few cases was coming to an end, and as it was not so necessary to negotiate with the magistrates, I willingly refrained. As well, with Almarza dead and the gatherings held at his home ended, I withdrew into mine, and on some evenings that of Garelli which was near mine.

In the summer holidays of this year I began to concentrate on studies aimed solely at understanding myself and the human condition with which I was invested, and to resume my neglected studies in philosophy.[3] With the aid of history I began to investigate more closely the fabric of this world and its ancient inhabitant: man, his condition and end, and everything on earth which had been advanced by his discourse and reflections on the whole of the human species and had given rise to civil society. From this originated cities, kingdoms, religion and republics, leaving the wild, feral life to the other animals, to which not so much insight, industry and intellect had been granted as to enable them to divest themselves of that life. And as I had not taken into consideration modern empires, kingdoms and monarchies about which enough is known, I decided to go back as far as possible, following the memories remaining to us which have escaped the ravages of men and time.

It was a source of great satisfaction that, of all the books passed down to us from ancient times, the most ancient were the five books of Moses' *Pentateuch*. These informed us of peoples and regions even more ancient than those recorded by Homer, which were many centuries later than Moses. I began therefore with these and the books which I read exhaustively and were my most assiduous and frequent reading were those of the Holy Bible and the poems of Homer. To these were then added, for Judaic matters, Josephus the Hebrew, which I read in

(A11=*Giannoniana*, p. 434). Ricuperati, *L'esperienza*, pp. 321-322. There was another dark and grievous reason for G.'s disillusionment to which, as always, the sagacious Ricuperati draws our attention. G. was more aware than his contemporaries of the failure of the Austrian vice-regency in Naples to implement reform and thus fulfil the hopes which had inspired the *Civil History* (*ibid.*, p. 265).

3 Here begins a copyist's summary of what has come to be known as the *Triregno: Del regno terreno, Del regno celeste, Del regno papale* (*Three Kingdoms: the Earthly Kingdom, the Heavenly Kingdom, and the Papal Kingdom*). For excerpts, see *Opere di P.G.*, ed. Bertelli and Ricuperati, pp. 581-710. See 'The *Triregno* and its Fate'.

the recent, accurate edition in two folio volumes from Holland,[4] and for Asiatic, Egyptian, and Greek matters, the *History* of Herodotos of Halikarnassos, and above all the first five books of the *Historical library* of Diodoros Sikulos, which I had in Rhodomann's translation, and the *Geography* of Strabo.[5]

It gave me great pleasure to observe that on the beginning and duration of the Assyrian empire, Herodotos conformed more to the books of Moses and the prophets than to what Diodoros, Eusebios and the other Greek writers later wrote on it. As Cornelius Tacitus had written after Josephus the Hebrew, and could not have been ignorant of his *History*, because he had presented it to the emperor Vespasian, who gratefully accepted it and put it in his library, I was much surprised at his different account of the origins and other Judaic matters. It may have been because the Romans scorned the Hebrew writers as credulous, superstitious and puerile, or because Tacitus had not bothered to read it, or had not been entirely convinced by it. He preferred to follow Strabo, Diodoros Sikulos, and the other Greek and Latin writers who attributed a different origin to the Hebrews, and also to the temple and city of Jerusalem, of which they arbitrarily make Moses the founder, rather than taking into account genuine and more ancient Judaic antiquity. I

4 John Hudson, *Flavii Josephi quae reperiri potuerunt opera omnia graece et latine, cum notis et nova versione* (Amsterdam 1726) (B., p. 194). Flavius Josephus (b. c.37/38) was of aristocratic origins, a Jewish priest and a Pharisee. He settled in Rome and was given citizenship and a pension. His first work was *Bellum Judaicum*, based on his own notes and memories of the war, probably supplemented by the *Commentarii* of Vespasian and Titus. He then wrote *Antiquitates Judaicae* (in 20 books), followed by his *Vita*, and finally an apologia for Judaism, *Contra Apionem*, in which he rebuts the ignorance and malice of anti-Semitic writers from the third century BC down to Apion.

5 Herodotos of Halikarnassos (c.480-420s BC), the 'Father of History' (so called by Cicero), author of the history of the Persian wars in nine books. Diodoros Sikulos lived under Caesar and Augustus (until at least 21 BC) and wrote a history of the world in forty books from the earliest times to Caesar's Gallic War in 54 BC. As Bertelli notes, the *Bibliotheka Historika* was translated into Latin by Lorenz Rhodomann, whose translation first appeared in Hannover in 1604 (B., p. 194). Strabo (64/3 BC-at least AD 21), was a Greek historian and geographer, who became a Stoic. His *Geography*, in seventeen books, has survived. G. used the edition of 1587 by Isaac Casaubon with the Latin version of Wilhelm Holtzmann (Xylander), revised by Casaubon according to the French edition of 1620. G. made a summary of it: 'Ristretto della Geografia di Strabone' (TSA, *Mss. Giannone*: *Giannoniana*, p. 410; B., p. 194).

cannot deny the great assistance given me in these studies by Dupin's[6] volume *Bibliothèque universelle des historiens*, who collected all that was certain and reliable on those ancient and confused times, going down to the time of Alexander the Great. This was a most intricate and difficult matter, since it was after Alexander that things become easier and clearer, because of the many writers describing them.

These studies of mine were begun in the summer holidays in the solitude of Mödling. And they were not neglected when, at the beginning of August, I returned to the city, because, as the magnificent Imperial library had been put in order, three very rich libraries having been made into one in a superb building constructed near the Imperial palace, I was given from it all the books, both ancient and modern, relevant to these studies. I did not fail, therefore, to frequent it, in particular since its first custodian, my friend Nicola Forlosia, most courteously and kindly offered me all that it had which was precious and rare.[7]

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6 Louis Ellies Du Pin (1657-1719), French ecclesiastical historian, and, when ordained in 1684, had already prepared his *Bibliothèque universelle des auteurs* (published later as *Nouvelle bibliothèque des auteurs ecclésiastiques* (Paris 1686-1714)). Du Pin's outspoken views on the decline of the ecclesiastical authors, however, turned Bossuet and his followers against him, and the archbishop of Paris demanded his retraction. On the advice of Racine, his relative and friend, he retracted in the hope of having the work (in 61 vols including supplements) published, which was eventually permitted by changing its title. He was then exiled as a Jansenist for opposing the bull *Unigenitus*. After another retraction, he was reinstated at the Sorbonne, but lost his professorial chair. Clement XI thanked Louis XIV for thus punishing Du Pin (*NBG*, 15, p. 305). Du Pin's other famous work *De antiqua Ecclesiae disciplina dissertationes historicae* (Paris 1686), as well as the *Nouvelle bibliothèque* were among the texts most consulted by G. (B., p. 194).

7 The library was founded by Ferdinand I in 1526, and rebuilt by Johann Bernhard Fischer von Erlach and his son Joseph Emanuel between 1723-1726. For G.'s laudatory description in *L'ape ingegnosa* (The Industrious Bee), see Chapter Five: Appendix [45]. Nicola Forlosia (d.1758), a Neapolitan, G.'s close friend, pro-fiscal in the Council of Spain, was custodian in the Palatine Library under Giovanni Benedetto Gentilotti di Engelsbrunn, who was followed by Alessandro Riccardi, and finally Pio Niccolò Garelli. Forlosia's loving concern for G. is illustrated in his letter to G. of 26 November 1735; 'Various letters of G. were found in the possession of the Forlosia family, in whose grotto of 102 steps below the villa of Due Porta G. hid' before fleeing to Vienna (Dattino, *Il Triregno di P.G.* (Naples 1875), p. 10; *DBI* 49, pp. 16-18: D. Busolini). In the Palatine Library, G. found the complete works of Baruch Spinoza, John Locke, Pierre Bayle, Jean Le Clerc, John Toland (in French translation), and Alexander Pope, 'to which he makes clear, if not always explicit, reference in the *Triregno*' (Mannarino, *Le mille favole degli antichi*, p. 193). He found there also his favourite authors: Herodotos, Diodoros Sikulos, Strabo, Lucretius, Descartes, Claude Fleury, Louis-Sebastian Le Nain de Tillemont, Augustin Calmet, Joseph Bingham, Friedrich Spanheim, Adrian Reeland, Humphrey Prideaux,

II

These studies were interrupted during this year on two occasions which obliged me to direct them elsewhere. The first was because, when the new pope, Clement XII, had forced Cardinal Coscia to resign to him the archbishopric of Benevento, which he then conferred on Monsignor Doria, a Genoan, Doria went directly from Rome to Benevento and took possession of the archbishopric without obtaining from the viceroy the royal *exequatur* for the bull of his appointment, and without informing the viceroy.[8] The archbishopric of Benevento was composed of many dioceses, all situated in the kingdom of Naples, over which he began to exercise jurisdiction, asserting the right to convoke synods and in other ways acting prejudicially to the royal prerogatives and supreme royal rights. Both the viceroy and the City of Naples were alarmed at

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Thomas Burnet, Jean Barbeyrac, Thomas Hobbes, Isaac La Peyrère, Georg Horn, John Marsham, and Richard Simon.

'I have reason to hope at the present time that, when things are calm, and [the collection] has returned to its former place, the work begun has continued, in order that, as lovers of the arts now have the pleasure of reading the catalogue of the Royal Library of Paris through the work of Abbé Bignon, so also will they have one of Vienna's Library, which for the multiplicity and value of its books and the rarity of the precious manuscripts is in no way second to the Royal Library of Paris' (*L'ape ingegnosa*, ed. Merlotti, pp. 438-440).

8 The pontificate of Clement XII (1730-1740), who made the appointment, was described as 'disastrous' by the secretary of state in Rome, Cardinal Antonio Banchieri, when writing to the nunzio Girolamo Grimaldi in Vienna, and to Giuseppe Spinelli, in Flanders, both on the same day, 24 March, 1731. Sinibaldo Doria (1664-1733), studied at Collegio Romano (as did Domenico Passionei). Given his sound and effective administration under Innocent XIII as governor of Tivoli during the plague, and then as vice-legate in 1706 in Avignon during the turmoil of the War of the Spanish Succession, Clement XII made him a cardinal and sent him to Benevento to restore order after the flight of Coscia to Naples. Rome also sent troops to assist him. He was to die after some two years of civil turbulence and agitation (*DBI* 41, pp. 462-463: M. Sanfilippo). Lino Marini comments on the general failure to implement the decree of 1713 of Charles VI, which stated that only nationals of the kingdom of Naples could be appointed to posts or be granted pensions. The true picture emerged in 1715, when the viceroy Count Daun naturalized fifty-five foreigners who were appointed to posts in the kingdom. By 1732, under viceroy Visconti, pensions paid to the Spaniards amounted to 600,000 ducats every year (Marini, *Mezzogiorno*, pp. 8-9). *Exequatur* (Latin, 'let it be equal'): the right claimed by certain governments to prevent the rulings of the Holy See or Curia from taking automatic effect in their territories. The *exequatur regium* was an 'abuse' in the words of the Curia, which had 'now come to such a pass that it should be more deplored with tears than refuted with ink' (*Relazione romana*, c.308v; quoted in Marini, *Mezzogiorno*, p. 229).

such innovations and imperious ways, the viceroy because recourse had not been had first to him, and the City because favours granted by the emperor in his majesty to the city and kingdom had been violated. Through these favours all the archbishoprics of the kingdom were to be conferred on nationals, as Pope Benedict had done in this same archbishopric by conferring it on Cardinal Coscia, who was native to the kingdom, and not on foreigners, as was the Genoan Doria. The City then appealed to the viceroy and the Collateral Council to have the outrages redressed. And since the Collateral Council did not dare intervene in an affair of such moment without first having instructions from the Imperial court in Vienna, the City, in order to inform the Court fully of its reasons, commissioned the agent whom it kept at Court to make an appeal to the emperor and the Supreme Council of Spain, and sent him the necessary texts and documents.

The agent, although a Neapolitan patrician, being inexperienced in these matters, came to ask me, in the name of the City, to undertake the defence and make clear the wrongs done to it so that they might be emended. I told him that I willingly accepted the task, both because one had to embrace every opportunity to defend the rights of one's country, and because it was in particular my obligation to do so, having been elected before leaving for Vienna as the City's lawyer by those who ruled it. As he had left me the papers, I carefully examined them and set to work on what had to be done. My enthusiasm was all the greater on receiving a letter from the City, in which it expressed its great satisfaction and vigorously and firmly entrusted me with the defence.[9]

The marquis of Rialp, who had undertaken to defend Cardinal Coscia and censure whatever was done against him by Rome, was in favour of the City's appeal, and detested even more the outrage of the new archbishop's having taken possession without informing the viceroy and without first obtaining the royal *exequatur*. And he was glad that I had undertaken the City's defence, which meant also that the royal *exequatur* would be declared necessary in the bulls of appointment of the

9 Panzini relates that it was G.'s friend, Vincenzo d'Ippolito, who suggested that the Elect should request G.'s help. Their letter was dated 7 September 1731 (*Vita*, p. 126). For the reaction of Rome after learning that G. had been entrusted with the task, see the letters of Naples' nuncio Ranieri Simonetti of 13 October and 24 November 1731 to Antonio Banchieri cardinal secretary of state: Chapter Eight: Appendix. Banchieri replied on 15 March 1732. G. then prepared the *Ragioni*.

kingdom's other archbishoprics and in that of Benevento. In this way, when the bulls were to be presented in the Collateral, it could therefore easily oppose and block them if they were found to be contrary to, and destructive of, the favours and privileges granted to it. When I went with the City's agent to inform him, he not only showed himself convinced of all that I explained, but also entrusted me with the defence of the *exequatur*. He would also spur on the regent Esmandia, who was acting as fiscal advocate, in order that we might act in concert and together convey to the president and the other magistrates of the Council the reasons for a more effective defence; that I, after informing him, should draft a full plea on the two points and take it to him and to all the other magistrates; and that I should do so quickly, because he could not have the case dealt with in the Council without the councillors having first read and considered it.

I did all that was ordered, and in less than twenty days wrote the plea in which, in a discussion, *Dell'origine ed istituzione dell'arcivescovado di Benevento, sua qualità e natura* (On the Origin and Appointment of the Archbishopric of Benevento, its Attributes and Nature).[10] I proved it 'to have been included in the favours granted by the emperor's majesty and subject to the royal *exequatur*, as were all the other archbishoprics of the Kingdom'. The plea was taken to marquis Rialp before anyone else who, being extremely pleased with it, decided to have it printed, also for the

10 Bertelli gives the exact title: *Ragioni per le quali si dimostra che l'arcivescovado beneventano, non ostante che il dominio temporale della città di Benevento fosse passato a' Romani Pontefici, sia compreso nella grazia conceduta da Sua Maestà Cesarea e Cattolica a' nazionali, e sottoposto al regio exequatur, come tutti gli altri arcivescovadi del Regno* (Reasons Whereby It Is Shown that the Beneventan Archbishopric, notwithstanding that the Temporal Dominion of the City of Benevento Had Passed to the Roman Pontiffs, Is Included in the Favour Granted by His Imperial and Catholic Majesty to Nationals and Is Subject to the Royal Exequatur, as Are All the Other Archbishoprics of the Kingdom) (Vienna 1731) (*Opere postume*, 2 (1766), 319-355; B., p. 207). An anonymous reply was made to it: *Archiepiscopatus Beneventani, necnon Archiepiscopatuum inferiorumque Regni Neapolitani Beneficiorum libertas, vindicata adversus argumenta anonymi recentioris, auctore saeculari presbytero* (Concerning the Archbishopric of Beneventum, as well as the Freedom of Benefices in the Lesser Archbishoprics of the Kingdom of Naples, Upheld against the Arguments Lately of our Anonymous Author, Written by a Secular Presbyter), 1738. It was attributed to Giovanni De Vita (B., p. 197). Both writings of G., his *Reasons* and *Petition*, proved that the archbishop of Beneventum was subject to the royal *exequatur* (Marini, *Mezzogiorno*, p. 225). In both Naples and Vienna, the *Ragioni* were received with much applause, 'which I could never have predicted' (Vienna, 10 November 1731: *Epist.*, p. 844).

greater ease and convenience of the magistrates who had to read it. The agent had no more than one hundred copies printed in Vienna, of which fifty served for the magistrates and other friends who wished to have it.

The nuncio Passionei, who was charged by the court of Rome to oppose the City's appeals, did all in his power to render them ineffective, and having obtained a copy of the appeal, even considered it offensive to the Holy See, since anything was termed thus which sought, even though with many legitimate and obvious reasons, to obstruct the stratagems attempted by Rome on the royal rights and the privileges of nations. And to the old crimes this new one was imputed to me, to make me even more hated in Rome and in that Court. Fifty other copies were sent to Naples and the City's Elect. When they were read, having been well received and highly commended, the others wanted to have a copy, but as not enough copies had been sent, several hundred more were printed. Because of continued demand, these were still not enough, and it was necessary to reprint them a third time.[11]

After the Council's magistrates had been fully informed by me, the case was discussed, and when a report had been made to His Majesty on the instructions necessary for the viceroy and Collateral Council, a long dispatch was sent by His Majesty through the secretariat of state with the Council's approval to the viceroy, Count Harrach. In it favourable provision was made and instructions given, not only in reference to the royal *exequatur,* but also to the fact that the archbishopric of Benevento was included in His Majesty's favours, as were all the other archbishoprics of the kingdom. I was named in the dispatch, mention being made of the plea written by me which accompanied it and of the other observations made by the fiscal regent.[12]

Given that the submission demonstrated and clearly set out the case

11 'Cardinal Coscia, from what I have been told, is not a little pleased by your piece [on Benevento] and considers it among the most precious things he has, since he sees it as being indirectly in his favour, and that it has awoken from their lethargy those magistrates, to say nothing of the noise and fracas which it has caused in Rome' (unsigned letter from Garofalo to G., Naples, 4 January 1732). Bernardo Tanucci, who was destined for pre-eminence under Charles Bourbon, requested a copy and one of the *Profession of Faith* (Marini, *P.G. e il Gioannonismo* (Bari 1950), p. 111).

12 Panzini (*Vita*, p. 129) writes that Esmandia also presented a petition or 'fiscal statement' on the matter with guidance from G. The dispatch to the viceroy was dated 1 March 1732 (B., p. 198). In an iniquitous, impersonal way, G. was refused payment.

for the City, and that the dispatch appeared to be based on it, the Elect were very hopeful of soon hearing from the Collateral Council of strong measures to redress the wrongs done to them, and the City's lawyers wrote to me commending my defence, to which they attached the greatest importance, certain that it would achieve results. Knowing the secrets of power, however, I replied sincerely that their hopes depended on Rome's negotiations, and that they should look on Rome as the Polar Star. If the affair of Cardinal Coscia and Abate Perlas were thought to be going badly, so that the marquis of Rialp indignantly persisted in the enthusiasm which he had shown, the City could hope to profit from whatever were done, but if those considerations ceased to be important and new ones arose, the City would be abandoned and nothing more would be heard of Benevento.

Rome, which was well aware of Rialp's aims, sought in fact to mollify him by its flatteries, and the right moment came when Count von Sintzendorf needed the Dataria[13] to obtain a letter of eligibility for his son the cardinal, who wanted to rise from a bishopric which he had in Hungary to a richer one in Silesia, that of Breslau. The Dataria appeared reluctant to grant it, and gave Cardinal Cienfuegos to understand that its reluctance arose from Naples' rough usage of the archbishop of Benevento, because of which the indignant pope had ordered the Dataria not to send anything requested by the Germans. This was enough for Count von Sintzendorf to complain publicly that the Council of Spain wanted too much from the court of Rome and that it was not necessary to offend it, and thus to have a secret order sent through the secretariat of state to the viceroy Count Harrach accompanied by urgent personal letters enjoining him to see to the amicable settlement of the dispute and to be satisfied with what Rome had offered.[14]

13 The Dataria was an office of the Curia which originated from its function of *dating* pontifical documents. In the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries its functions were extended to the acceptance of petitions, concession of dispensations, and the conferment of benefices. Sixtus V (1585-1590) acknowledged and defined its increasing importance with his brief: *Decet romanum pontificem* as one of the main curial offices (B., p. 199).

14 Rome finally made moves to accommodate the Neapolitan magistracy, and Archbishop Doria wrote a letter announcing his forthcoming pastoral visit, which was accepted as a de facto request for legitimacy. Harrach and his magistracy, therefore, adopted a policy in sharp contrast to Vienna. The Elect made no objection to the compromise, and Cardinal Cienfuegos arranged for the son of Count von

In no time all was finished. The viceroy contented himself with having the archbishop of Benevento write him a letter informing him of his election by His Holiness as archbishop of Benevento, where he was to be found awaiting the command of the viceroy to be of any service to him, with the usual formal expressions of courtly letters which mean nothing. This was considered enough for the *exequatur regium*, and silence was imposed on the City's claim, which was no more to be mentioned and the case never again to be treated in the Collateral Council. And when Doria died, the pope in fact appointed someone else, also a foreigner, and no one dared say a word, much less complain.[15] And what illustrated even more the loss of all modesty and decency was the fact that in the same week in which advice came from Naples of this arrangement, there arrived the letter of eligibility for Count von Sintzendorf sent from Rome to the cardinal his son, enabling him to be elected to, and hold, the other richer seat which he had sought. And I not only earned even greater hatred over the matter at the court of Rome, which heard bitterly the praise and applause for my plea, circulated everywhere in so many copies, but also my many labours were scattered to the wind without receiving any recognition from the City. This was because the agent had provided for himself, thinking that he would lose whatever was given to me. Forgetting his promise, therefore, that the City would express its gratitude to me, he wrote to the City only on his own behalf and said not a word about me. When I had been informed by Naples of how he had behaved, others had to speak for me, but their efforts were fruitless, because later with the innovations and changes

Sintzendorf to receive a rich benefice. G. was left with nothing except a position of even greater vulnerability in relation to the Roman Curia (Pier Luigi Rovito, in *P.G. e il suo tempo*, pp. 306-313). Raffaele Ajello observes that Count Harrach, and also Prince Lorenzo Corsini, the nephew of Clement XII, quickly claimed *piazze cittadine* (posts reserved for citizens of the kingdom of Naples), so that as citizens they could have benefices conferred on the prelates in their families (*Il problema della riforma giudiziaria e legislativa nel Regno di Napoli* (Naples 1961), undocumented copy, p. 54).

15 Garofalo wrote to G. on 30 May 1732: 'From this you may observe the parlous state to which we are reduced, and what wise consuls we have in this government; and yet they had before them your most learned writing and that of the regent Esmandia, which would have convinced and persuaded even Homer's Thersites'. The new incumbent was the Roman Serafino Cenci (1676-1740), who, on being made cardinal in September 1733, immediately left his diocese in the care of a vicar, Domenico Antonio Manfredi (B., p. 200).

which were brought on by the last war,[16] matters were left as they still are, suspended and unresolved.[17]

16 The war of the Polish Succession (Chapter Eight, Appendix [73]) concluded with the Treaty of Vienna in November 1738, and the recognition of Frederick Augustus II of Saxony as king of Poland.

17 For the letter of 7 September 1731 of the Elect Deputies, commissioning G. to write in defence of their case, and the letters of Vincenzo d'Ippolito of 2 and 9 May, 18 July and 3 October 1731, see Panzini, *Vita*, pp. 126-129. Almost every letter in the first six months of 1735 reflects G.'s hopes for payment through the efforts made by the regent Domenico Castelli, Vincenzo d'Ippolito, and Pietro Contegna (Vienna, 23 January 1734: *Epist*., p. 1030). On the justice of G.'s request for payment for his submission on Benevento, Pietro Contegna wrote to Carlo Giannone on March 1731. In it, Contegna states that at first he had believed the rights of the papal Curia in that matter to be incontestable. G.'s submission, however, had made him recognize his misunderstanding. It had 'dissipated the fog and obscurity in which the matter was veiled, and clarified the case of the City of Naples, which must, therefore, profess an immortal obligation to the said Don Pietro, who has revealed and established the foundation of such an important right...' (letter undated—but 1731—and no further details given, Nicolini, *Scritti*, p. 137). See G.'s petition of 1732 to the Elect (Chapter Eight: Appendix). In March 1736, G.'s procurator, Domenico de Angeli, presented G.'s case against the Deputation of the City for payment to the Sacro Real Consiglio. The Council on 3 March 1736 ordered the parties to present their cases. There was nothing further coming from G., who was still in Geneva, but could not have known that his case was to be heard. There were, however, two petitions in favour of the City. The first denied G.'s right to have his case defended in Court 'because he is not a faithful subject of His Majesty, as he has never recognized him as his sovereign, although summoned to do so; that he has been absent as a result of many bans and declarations of contempt; and that it is not known where in the world he lives, because of his not having acknowledged [Charles Bourbon], or taken the oath of loyalty'. The second petition stated, incredibly, that, because of G.'s excommunication, he was 'incapable of performing any act in accordance with the provision of all the laws, sacred canons and apostolic constitutions accepted by this Kingdom'. (Nicolini, *Scritti*, p. 137). It appears that the Sacro Real Consiglio rejected both shameful petitions on the obvious grounds that G., rather than having been 'summoned', had been inexorably refused permission to repatriate himself and take the oath of loyalty to Charles Bourbon. The petitions were also grossly wrong about G.'s whereabouts being unknown, because probably by the time the case was heard, G. would have been arrested (on 26 March, 1736), and was waiting at Chambery to be taken as a prisoner to Miolans, as Nicolini states (*ibid*.) 'for having championed the rights of his country's sovereigns against the papal curia'. It was also a blatant untruth to claim that G. was still excommunicated. Because of the publicity excited by it as a matter of principle, Archbishop Pignatelli had felt compelled to revoke that excommunication by a private letter of 2 October 1723, before the session of the Collateral Council was held to rectify the injustice of it. Another submission, nevertheless, was accepted, wherein the Elect denied ever having requested G. to defend their case. On learning that the agent had had recourse to G., 'those wise knights' were thrown into consternation and G.'s dispute became thus a matter solely between him and the agent. 'Such a submission [G.'s] was not necessary, since the case of the City had already been adequately presented by the City to the Emperor'. Nicolini was unable to find any other documentation relating to G.'s

III

The other occasion when my studies, undertaken to understand myself and my existence, were interrupted in that year was the news from Naples that a review of the ninth book of my *Civil History* had been published by Father Sebastiano Paoli of the Regular Clerics of the congregation of Lucca.[18] He was a native of Lucca, whom I had met in Vienna when he came for the first Sunday in Lent to preach at Court, where it was the custom to call an Italian preacher every year from Italy. He used to regard me as a friend and treated me with respect and affection.

When he returned to Italy and was wandering through its many cities—Naples and Rome, Bologna and others—he began to believe that nothing in Rome would more effectively facilitate a bishopric, to which he aspired, than writing against my *History*, so disliked and persecuted by Rome. Since he had never studied history, with the help of a Neapolitan antiquarian who was his friend, he wrote an article entitled 'Annotazioni critiche sopra il nono libro dell'*Istoria civile di Napoli*' (Critical Notes on Book Nine of the *Civil History of Naples*),[19] in

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claim for payment (*Scritti*, pp. 136-140). Nicolini made a fruitless search to discover whether G. was ever paid. As Luigi Rovito in his brilliant study observes: 'that handful of *quattrini* [small coins], refused so relentlessly, represented the end of all hope for the prisoner of Miolans' (in *P.G. e il suo tempo*, p. 315).

18 See G.'s letters to Carlo: Vienna, 13 March and 3 April, 1728: *Epist*., pp. 527, 532. Sebastiano Paoli (1684-1751), was a theologian, preacher, and archaeologist. Benedict XIII sent him to Vienna's Imperial court ostensibly as a preacher, but in fact to block, as he did, the efforts of G. and Riccardi to have published Giuseppe Valletta's *Storia della Sagra Inquisizione* (History of the Holy Inquisition); Marini, *Mezzogiorno*, pp. 202-203. Paoli had told G. that he had noted some errors in the *Civil History*. Panzini writes that G. thanked him and waited eagerly for his observations (*Vita*, p. 113).

19 The friend G. refers here to here is Matteo Egizio (1674-1745) and Paoli's claim of inaccuracies seems to be valid (see *Giannoniana*, pp. 125-128). See Egizio's incriminating reply of 14 July 1731 to a letter of Celestino Galiani, which comments on the *Profession of Faith*:

> 'The judgement of Your Reverend Paternity on Giannone's ironic apology is very right. He triumphs over the weakness of his adversary, but nevertheless cannot ever refrain from demonstrating his contumacious, proud spirit which is in no way respectful to the Holy See.... Everywhere he would like to accommodate the dogmas to his passions.... Also in Naples he has ruined the minds of many young people who, lacking in knowledge and books, admire in G. the great wealth of things unknown to them. Esteem comes naturally from their wonderment, from esteem comes credit, from credit assent. The way to correct him would be to show one by one the man's errors, mistakes, and false citations in non-ecclesiastical matters. If he were to lose the esteem of the learned, all his erudition would simply

which he boasted of having discovered many errors in chronology in the *History* relating to the coming of the Normans to Italy and other flaws. He believed that in so doing he had demonstrated the *History's* inaccuracy, and he did not hesitate to quote at the front of the book a passage from St Augustine, which he appropriated for his own purpose, that, as Augustine had revealed the fallacies and lies of the Manichean, he had revealed mine. And he concluded it by adding a passage from St Jerome, boasting that the errors revealed by him were slight and not as serious or weighty as those which he had omitted.[20]

The article was presented to every cardinal and prelate in Rome with much praise and commendation of the author. And as well as the many copies distributed throughout other Italian cities, in Naples they were on sale at the porter's lodge of one of the houses of the Regular Clerics, called St Briget, where they were sold at a cheap price.

I was sent a copy from Naples together with a letter not to be annoyed, since the 'Annotazioni' were thought so worthless, puerile, sterile and dry by learned men that they did not deserve to be read, much less the trouble of a reply. And, in fact, when I read them and had others read them, it was found that from Naples they had written the truth. Two strong reasons, however, moved me to reply. The first

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collapse. I speak for the young, because mature men discern the truth in whatever aspect it is placed' (Library of the Società napoletana di Storia patria: *Giannoniana*, p. 127).

Ricuperati reveals Egizio's central role:

'Egizio is at the centre of the early criticism of, and opposition to, Giannone's *History*, originating not only in ecclesiastical circles, but also in those which were erudite, antiquarian and essentially moderate, which remained especially shocked by the work's allegedly violent tone rather than the ideas expressed in it' (*L'esperienza*, p. 205)

Such an attitude can be contrasted to that of an infinitely more profound scholar and intellectual, Paolo Mattia Doria (1662-c.1746) about whom G. wrote: 'in my grief I experienced great compassion and affection, and a desire to help me' (Vienna, 19 Sept. 1733: *Epist*., pp. 1003-1004). Paoli's booklet was published in Rome in 1732, with Cologne given as the false place of publication (for text see *Opere postume* (1770), 1, pp. 442-68). A critical review of it appeared in the *Acta eruditorum lipsiensium* in 1732, 292 (B., p. 201). Paoli claimed, in fact, to have discovered sixty-eight errors in the *Civil History*, which he found noted down by a friend, an expert on the Normans, in the back of a copy of the second volume of the History. Paoli wrote in the preface: 'Here it is, anyway... a faithful copy of what was written, without my having noted down anything of mine. I expect that you [the addressee] will use it only to satisfy your erudite curiosity'.

20 Augustine: 'Letter against the Manichaeans', 14-15 and Jerome: 'Letter to Sabinianus', 48 (B., p. 201).

was that I was familiar with the Trasonic,[21] bragging nature of Fr Paoli, who was already boasting in every corner of Italy that he had killed the giant. The other reason was that by revealing his ignorance somewhat harshly, not only might his petulance and bragging be repressed, but it might also serve as an example to the other friars and monks not to disturb me at every moment with their fatuity and to leave me in peace; that I intended to employ the last years remaining to me in a manner quite different[22] from what these troubles involved, which brought me nothing but persecution, envy, malevolence and anxiety.

Towards the end of that year, then, I set to work replying one by one to the criticisms, proving them to be inane, puerile, and fatuous, and treating the author as his bragging and rodomontade deserved. And since he had had them printed and distributed everywhere, it was decided to pay him back in kind and have also this reply printed, under the title: *Risposta alle Annotazioni critiche sopra il nono libro dell'Istoria civile del regno di Napoli* (A Reply to Critical Notes on Book Nine of the *Civil History of Naples*), which the editors of Leipzig did not forget to report in their *Acta*.[23]

This Reply caused a great stir in Vienna, and more in Naples, as it was received with pleasure and applause. Not only Fr Paoli but all his friends, who first believed something of what he claimed, were therefore mortified, and from then on the wish to upset me with criticisms and new books was no longer heard from Rome or elsewhere. This, however, was worse for me, because when Rome realized that the attacks made

21 Trasone was the boastful, truculent soldier in Terence's play, *The Eunuch*. G. often uses the word 'Trasonic', and, it would seem, with great satisfaction.

22 At that time G. had already embarked on his masterpiece, the *Triregno*, which he knew, moreover, would be abhorrent to the court of Rome. As mentioned, he would also have liked to turn to the unedited letters of Pietro della Vigna, and to cultivate his love of literature.

23 See *Opere postume*, 1 (1770), 469-576, following on from Paoli's *Annotazioni* (pp. 471-576; cf. *Acta eruditorum lipsiensium*, 1732, pp. 458-459; B., p. 202). See the letters of Nicola Cirillo, Naples, 4 January 1732, Biagio Garofalo, Naples, 30 May 1732, and G. to Carlo, 22 March 1732: Chapter Eight: Appendix. G. heard from Garelli that in Bologna, the city of both Paoli and Garelli, 'it was read with inexpressible satisfaction, and that at all the gatherings there was the most solemn laughter...' (9 August 1732; *Epist*., p. 900). It appears that the self-esteem of Paoli, who was to become an important intellectual in the conservative clergy (Harold Stone, *Vico's Cultural History* (Leiden 1997), p. 260), remained mortified. In a sermon preached for Lent in 1747 in the cathedral of Turin, Paoli inveighed against the city's sorrowful prisoner and called him 'infamous' (*Vita*, ed. Pierantoni, p. 377).

on my work with books and paper were useless and unsuccessful, it turned all its talents and arts, using other weapons, against the author to defeat and utterly ruin him, and, with the help of many, in the end killed him.

In the same year, 1731, I received letters from Marc-Michel Bousquet, a book-dealer in Geneva,[24] who had first publicly advertised in advance in Holland the news that my *Civil History* was being translated into French and that his society would soon print it. He wrote to me that he and his associates were wanting to publish this translation with great accuracy and magnificence, without regard to cost, and that I for my part might like to contribute by sending them the notes and other additions, such as my biography, and all that had happened after its publication. He asked me in particular to have a portrait of myself engraved on copper to put on the title-page, so that this French edition might be better and more beautiful than the English. Since I had noted, during the previous troubles relating to the *History*, many matters which confirmed and more fully illustrated it, I willingly consented, and also to give him the notes on the contentions which had arisen from it, but not on my life, which would have been unfortunately a long and tedious matter.

I then received letters from the translator himself, Monsieur Bochat,[25]

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24 Marc-Michel Bousquet (1696-1762), son of a French refugee. He had arrived in Geneva in 1707 and worked his way up from shop-assistant to printer and book-dealer. After receiving citizenship in 1724, he founded a company dealing in foreign books, with Henri and Jean-Antoine Pelissari and Pierre Gosse, bankers in Geneva and Amsterdam. The company expanded into publishing in 1726. After the feud with Pelissari (see Chapter Eleven), Bousquet went to Lausanne, where, thanks to the advice and recommendation of Charles-Guillaume Loys de Bochat (1693-1733), he resumed his activities in publishing (Ricuperati, *L'esperienza*, pp. 515-516). Scipio Maffei wrote of him:

> 'Sig. Bousquet, Bookseller of Geneva, wishes to know Italy's best men of letters. He runs that journal on the books of Italy, entitled *Bibliothèque italique* [1728-1734]. It deserves to be favoured and supported on all counts.... I think it would not be disagreeable to be acquainted with this honourable merchant, who has a very big shop of books of all kinds, and what with his contacts everywhere, he can greatly benefit the *literati*....' (5 May 1732, Verona: Maffei, *Epistolario* (Milan 1955), p. 619).

Moves were instantly begun to block the translation: Chapter Eight: Appendix.

25 G. writes on 14 July 1731 that corrections to the French edition of the *Civil History* were sent to Bousquet on that same day (Vienna: *Epist.*, p. 816). G. tells Carlo of Bousquet's decision to have it bear Luxemburg as the place of publication, as had been done with Bossuet's writings (18 Aug. 1731: *Epist.*, p. 824). Isaac Loys de Bochat (1663-1733), 'had been employed in one of the most important posts of Lausanne's magistracy, but was forced by ill health to resign. He had then devoted himself to study and reading, and, in the last years of his life, to the translation

a Frenchman, who was a magistrate and a professor at the University of Lausanne, asking me to resolve some ambiguities and clarify some obscure passages discovered in the translation, which I smoothed out and explained. And as Bousquet continued to urge me and had authorized another book-dealer in Vienna, who was his agent, to provide the costs of the engraving and drawing of the portrait as well as some coins and medals to be included in this new edition, the portrait (see Fig. 19) was engraved on copper[26] in the following year and sent to him, as were the drawings of the coins and medals. I promised him the new appendices and annotations as soon as they were revised and put in order, and that those of the first volume would shortly be sent to him and then

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of the *Civil History,* and in so doing had learnt Italian. He had been inspired to translate it by a Frenchman of Jansenist sympathies, who had fled to Switzerland from the persecutions in France against the Molinists, those espousing the teachings of the Quietist Charles Molinas' (Panzini, *Vita*, pp. 122-123 furnishes the above details from a letter to G. by Bochat of 22 July 1732). He was born of an old noble family from which had always come distinguished magistrates. It was his son, the renowned scholar, Charles Guillaume Loys de Bochart (1695-1739), who completed the translation with the assistance of the unfortunate Jean Bengtivoglio. Charles-Guillaume Loys de Bochat held the same magistracy as his father, that of lieutenant-bailiff and controller-general in Lausanne. He was also professor of Natural History at the University of Lausanne. As one of the leading members of the journal *Bibliothèque italique*, he wrote an extensive review of the *Civil History*, which remained unpublished when the journal ceased (Georges Bonnant, 'P.G. à Genève', p. 125). At his death, he was writing the fourth volume of his celebrated *Histoire de la Suisse*. Bochat was not satisfied with his father's translation of the *Istoria civile,* and worked on it with a colleague, Louis Bourguet. Charles-Guillaume, in fact, completed only the first volume (*ibid*., p. 126). The French translation was finally published in 1743 without the fifth volume. During his stay in Lausanne, Gibbon was befriended by Charles-Guillaume's widow, who introduced him to the writings of her husband. Gibbon read his article on the cult of Egyptian divinities in Rome, and that on the ancient language of the Swiss (*Journal de Gibbon à Lausanne* (August 1763-April 1764) (Lausanne 1945), pp. 10, 64, 236 (Charles-Guillaume); pp. 13, 15, 58, 96, 115, 201, 212 (his widow)).

26 The portrait was engraved by Jeremiah Jacob Sedelmayer, who had worked on the sculpture of the Imperial Library with Solomon Kleiner. The engraving cost 200 florins (Benedikt, *Königreich Neapel*, p. 534). Capasso composed the inscription:

Tantat in angustis medium prudentia callem

(Prudence tries in difficult places to find a middle way).

G. sent copies to his friends Cirillo and Capasso on 7 June 1732 and to Otto Mencke in Leipzig on 13 August 1732. Otto Mencke printed the portrait in reduced size on the cover of a German edition of the *Acta eruditorum* in either 1732 or 1733 (Panzini, *Vita*, pp. 124-125). G. wrote to Carlo: 'The Germans who know me from when I arrived here all tell me that I have become completely different, and perhaps they are right, because the maltreatment of the trip and my agitation at that time must have made me seem very worn out' (Vienna, 14 February 1733: *Epist*., p. 954).

the others, all of which was gradually done. And with the notes and appendices taken from genuine monuments and various collections of public charters and deeds, the French edition would certainly have been ultimately better than the English. This was because of the coins and medals which were rare, and appositely confirmed and illustrated many passages of the *History*. I had them drawn from the originals in Vienna's Imperial museum, thanks to the courtesy and kindness of my friend Abate Panagia[27] who, being a renowned antiquarian, was in charge there. As well as his showing me the ancient coins of the Gothic kings of Italy, which illustrated and confirmed all which I had written on their subordination to the eastern emperors, he showed me the gold coin which Grimoaldus, duke of Benevento,[28] had minted with the name of Charlemagne. This was in fulfillment of the articles of peace concluded between them, one of which was that Grimoaldus, both on written documents and coins, was to place before his own name that of Charlemagne, as I had written in the first volume when referring to this peace. What gave me extreme satisfaction, however, was to find in this museum the medal coined in Naples by the viceroy Pedro de Toledo with the inscription *erectori iustitiae* (to the founder of justice), to which I referred in the fourth volume, which I had searched for in vain in Naples and then found in Vienna.[29]

27 Giambattista Panagia, a custodian of the Imperial Museum of Vienna (B., p. 204). G. described him to Carlo as 'a gentleman so aimiable and knowledgeable that he deserves everything' (Vienna, 13 Aug. 1729: *Epist*., p. 649). Panagia wrote: 'I have known two people most honest and erudite in the history of the early centuries, and both are living: one is Abate Valesio, who lives in Rome, and the other is at present in Vienna, and is Sig. Giannoni. He is more expert in Gothic, Lombard and imperial law... Both are adorned with infinite modesty' (Giulio Bertoni, 'P.G. e Ludovico Antonio Muratori', *GSLI*, 88 (1926), 356-359, p. 358).

28 Grimoaldus (d.806), prince of Benevento, son of the duke Arechis II and Adelperga, the daughter of Desiderio, king of the Lombards. Anti-Frank tension characterized the eighteen years of his principate. He died without heirs, and his successor attempted to continue his policy of preserving the independence of the principate from the Carolingians (*Civil History*, bk 6, ch.4= Ogilvie, 1, pp. 305-306; *DBI* 59, pp. 673-675: A Bedina).

29 Pedro di Toledo (died 1578), marquis of Villafranca; viceroy of Naples from 1532 until his death, where in May 1547 he instituted the court of the Spanish Inquisition. Nobility and people united against him and revolted. He therefore replaced the Spanish with the Roman Inquisition, remained in power, and used the disturbance to enforce his authority (*Civil History*, bk 32, ch.2=Ogilvie, 2, pp. 536-538; *EI* 33, p. 976).

Fig. 19 The portrait of P.G. by Jeremiah Sedelmayer, for the French translation, *Histoire civile du Royaume de Naples*, 4 vols (The Hague 1742). Wikimedia Commons, public domain.

These and similar reliable monuments were to embellish the French edition which, as happens with the vicissitudes of earthly matters, was overtaken by the misfortunes to be recorded below.

IV

[1732]

In the meantime, with these cases and activities we had entered the year 1732, in which confusion and disorder were growing in Vienna with the establishment of the new peace with Spain[30] and the fact that the

30 The second Treaty of Vienna (March 1731): Austria allowed Spanish troops into Parma, Piacenza, and Tuscany; Charles agreed to abolish the Ostend Company; and Britain, but not France, recognized the Pragmatic Sanction (Neville Williams, *Dictionary of English and European History 1485-1739* (Harmondsworth 1980), p. 83). The Ostend Company had represented the efforts of Charles VI to strengthen Austria's weak economy through trade. This year, in 1732, although he does not mention it, G. with Galiani and Bernardo Andrea Lama (d.c.1760), a steadfast friend to G., collaborated successfully in the Viennese court on a programme to reform the University of Naples. Celestino Galiani was appointed prefect of the University, and with Cirillo he instituted the Accademia delle Scienze. Galiani thus obtained through them in Vienna an Imperial diploma from Charles VI authorizing

Infante Don Carlos' title to the dukedom of Parma was not included. The Spaniards in Vienna were of the view that, since the emperor was now bound by a new tie with Spain, he no longer had to fear any other power. And the marquis of Rialp and the numerous retinue of all the other Spaniards, especially the Catalans, boasted that the emperor would now make the world tremble at the mere mention of his name, and from this originated their scorn for other princes, especially those of Italy, and for their envoys who were at Court. On the other hand, Count von Sintzendorf, the chancellor of the Court, who had returned from France from the congress of Soissons,[31] boasted that he had penetrated the intimate councils of the cabinet of that young king[32] and the military forces and discipline of that kingdom, which seemed to him to have reached the last stages in decadence. He asserted that France was in no state to make war on the emperor, and that he was sure that, as long as Cardinal Fleury[33] lived, who was prime minister at that court and a lover of peace, there would be no war. As the emperor relied on these two ministers, who were promising him long and peaceful idleness and safe and stable quiet in all his states and dominions, he had the militia reformed, dismissing many regiments, and gave no more thought to strengthening towns or fortifications. On the contrary, since all the expenses of maintaining them were considered unnecessary, the money

its institution and laws. In Galiani's scheme for reform of the university, it was G.'s plan which was noted for its precision when the scheme was examined in the Council of Spain in February 1733. The plans of Galiani and G. were basically the same, and the reforms were implemented in Naples in 1736, since the war had blocked Harrach's efforts to implement them earlier (Ricuperati, *Storia di Napoli*, 7, p. 425). Galiani also campaigned on G.'s behalf to have him return to Naples (Panzini, *Vita,* p. 135).

31 G. must refer here to the Congress of Soissons in 1728.

32 Louis XV (1710-1774), Louis XIV's great grandson(!), ascended the throne in 1714 under the regent, Philip of Orléans, and then ruled as king from 1723.

33 André-Hercule de Fleury (1653-1743), tutor to Louis XV, cardinal, and prime minister to Louis in 1726. He was the driving force behind the Congress of Soissons (1728) and the treaties of Seville (1729) and Vienna (1731). He constantly referred to France as a 'satiated power' with no foreign imperialist designs (Charles Ingrao, *The Habsbourg Monarchy 1618-1915* (Cambridge 1994), p. 143), and that it had successfully maintained the peace after Charles VI's provoking alliance with Spain in 1725. His enduring concern, however, was the marriage between the archduchess Maria Theresia and the duke of Lorraine, which would bring Austrian territory within 250 kilometres of Paris (Jean Béranger, *Histoire de l'Empire des Habsbourgs* (Paris 1990), p. 429). The secret diplomacy between Fleury and Prince Eugene to improve Austria's position in Europe came to nothing.

destined for this was put to other use, and although the Italian states and kingdoms were taxed to maintain a certain number of troops sufficient for their defence, and the sum paid was, in fact, based on the number prescribed, the troops which should have been there did not amount even to half that number. This was made clear to all during the last war,[34] when the French and Piedmontese invaded the State of Milan and there were only 7,000 to 8,000 soldiers to defend it, even though the State was paying for 18,000. And the kingdom of Naples, which was contributing towards the maintenance of 22,000 soldiers, could not resist the Spaniards, because the number of soldiers defending it amounted to no more than 8,000. And there were many fewer in Sicily, which was also forced to surrender.

All this ruin and disaster[35] was born of the certainty that no one would dare make war on the emperor, and of the low opinion held of the strength of the other princes. It was consequently believed that all expense directed at maintaining numerous armies and repairing and fortifying towns was wasted. The whole aim, therefore, was to convert the money intended for this to other uses, and to accumulate money by other means which were sought everywhere to increase wealth, splendour and pomp, and to have new mines opened to sate the voracious hunger of so many who aspired only to this. The speculators were, therefore, warmly welcomed, and anyone else who suggested

34 The War of the Polish Succession (1733-1735) greatly reduced the programme of reform for Naples of the Austrian vice-regency, which had included the participation of the magistrates, lawyers and civil servants. Its scope had been economic reform and the struggle against ecclesiastical power (Ricuperati, *L'esperienza*, pp. 493-494).

35 Michael Hughes observes, however, 'Austria was always too weak and too poor for the rôle it tried to fill, as was revealed by Charles' reign' (*Law and Politics in Eighteenth Century Germany* (London 1988), p. 11). 'Demands for money came from imperial commanders to maintain an army of 70,000 men, at the cost of 8 million florins per annum' (p. 201). Because of Austria's stagnating economy, Charles VI, like his father Leopold I, could draw on revenue amounting to only one-fifth of the State revenue of France (Derek McKay, *Prince Eugene of Savoy* (London 1977), p. 233). Charles spent 200,000 florins per year on music (Ernst Wangermann, *The Austrian Achievement* (London 1973), stated without source, p. 116). He provided each year between 40,000 and 120,000 florins for his ministers and favourites (Ingrao, *The Habsburg Monarchy* (above), stated without source, p. 124). He also constructed hospitals and homes for veterans, countless shrines and hundreds of churches, so that the Counter-Reformation was seen to flourish during his reign (*ibid.*, p. 123). Only 100,000 soldiers could be raised from a population of 25 million subjects, whereas Frederick William of Prussia could raise 80,000 soldiers from 2½ million subjects.

ways of obtaining money for all the magnificent dowries assigned for the Spaniards' expenses, since it had already become customary from the highest Spanish magistrates and officials down to the lowest, at the marriage of their daughters, for the emperor to settle ample dowries on them and provide the costs of the wedding, and to subsidize all their other expenses, travel, illness et cetera, even if they were luxuries and in no way urgent or necessary.

When wise and prudent men saw this confusion and disorder, each thought to save himself from what was seen to be imminent shipwreck, and to look after his own affairs, now that nothing was of any avail, no petitions, warnings, fond entreaties, tears or sighs. As for myself, I had already decided, with what little was given to me from the Sicilian dispatches, to live quietly in some retreat and attend to my studies, and to restrict my expenses as much as possible, since no help could be expected from my brother in Naples. When he had realized that I would no longer return, the more my stay in Vienna was protracted and the hope of my returning to Naples diminished, the more intractable he became. He assumed free and absolute control of all which I had left in his charge, and, since he had power of attorney, not only over others but even over me, he wanted to be thought lord. As well as misappropriating the income of my properties and the price of many hundreds of copies of my *History*, and many emoluments collected from cases defended and won by me, he was behaving badly to the persons whom I had entrusted to him, those who more than anyone else deserved major consolation and help. He maltreated that upright and wise woman who had retired into a convent with her daughter born to her by me, often denying them necessary food. I was forced, as a result, to prevent this by using the interest on a capital of 1,000 ducats collected from my emoluments and labours in the defence of many cases for the marquess of Baranello, which was invested with a friend who was a merchant, and I wrote to the merchant asking him to pay it to the convent for the food of both daughter and mother.[36] As well as this, my brother had sent my son, whom I had left in his care, to our married sister in the city of Vesti, to be rid of him. Having then completely forgotten about him

36 For the sorrowful story of G.'s mistress and daughter see Chapter Four: Appendix [47]. G.'s daughter went to live with Giovanni and family when their mother died. The 'friend' was G.'s most faithful friend, Francesco Mela.

and not sent him any assistance, he had abandoned him to the will and mercy of others. When the boy grew up, therefore, in order not to suffer such misery, he had run away and gone to him in Naples. There he was barbarously driven away by my brother, and I had to provide for him from Vienna to prevent his becoming a tramp and a vagabond.[37]

It is very true that when someone who once received charity and is closely related to the benefactor by blood finds himself in a position where he no longer needs benefactors or is no longer able to benefit from them, especially if they are far away, he loses all shame and, forgetting the charity, becomes more ungrateful and thankless than a stranger. In brief, I discovered the truth of that common proverb, seemingly cruel and inhuman, which says: 'Lift the head of an animal out of the water, but drown that of a man', because anyone who considers the depraved state of man, inclined from adolescence to evil, will find much truth in that other proverb: *homo homini lupus* (man is a wolf to man).[38] I do not believe what has been my ill-luck and fatal destiny to be universally true: that good deeds are turned into misdeeds and favours into detestable ingratitude, because I know brothers who are very loving to each other. I used, therefore, silently to envy the good fortune of Forlosia, the first custodian of the Imperial library, our Neapolitan and my good friend, who had brothers in Naples as dear and loving to him as he was to them, who were like the one soul in so many bodies, between whom there was such harmony and mutual love that one would have sacrificed himself to benefit the other. Such men, *'Felices animae!'... 'quos aequus amavit Iuppiter'* (Happy souls... whom just Jupiter loved)[39] were now very rare.

Given my misfortunes both public and private, I was moved to reflect seriously on myself and to establish a solid, inner quietness for the

37 See Giovanni's *Memorie* (below). At the time of writing, the prisoner of Miolans was no longer able to receive or send letters, much less the weekly letter exchanged with Carlo in Naples. And Giovanni on his arrival in Venice would have told him the whole story of his tribulations with Carlo. For a selection of sorrowful references to Carlo in G.'s correspondence, see letters from Vienna of 20 June, 1733: *Epist.,* p. 987; 22 August 1733: p. 998; 7 November 1733: p. 1014; from Venice 18 December 1734: pp. 1064-1065; 30 July 1735: p. 1108. It should be remembered that Giovanni himself chose which letters would be copied by him from G.'s great corpus of correspondence, thus preserving only those which reflected well on the family.

38 Plautus, *Asinaria*, p. 495. It became the motto of the English utilitarian Thomas Hobbes (1588-1679) (B., p. 207).

39 'Happy souls': Virgil, *Aeneid* 6.669; 'whom just Jupiter loved': *ibid*., 6.129-130.

remainder of my life. To this end, when June came, I hastened Madame Leichsenhoffen and my dear, sweet little Viennese family on our summer holidays at Mödling, which were prolonged more than usual, because that solitude seemed more proper than returning to the city to hear and see such indecency and irregularity.

I pursued my interrupted studies of comparing the ancient, secular writers with the books of the Bible, although I found them dissimilar on many matters, especially the creation of the world and man, and the origin of languages, the arts, the peoples and nations who filled the world and much else. They were agreed, however, on the scope and idea of man, which, in this first state of nature, constituted nothing but the earthly kingdom and worldly happiness.

I observed that, as this was the concept of all the ancient peoples of whom a record is left to us, the same applied to the Hebrew people, according to what had been instilled in them by Moses, their legislator and leader. In *Genesis*, which we may call the first book on origins, Moses considers the creation of the world, the parts which comprise it, the sky, stars, sun, moon, air, earth, and sea, the animals, plants, trees, and whatever moves and grows on the earth, as far as it was related to man, who was created by God to possess it, not physically as the philosopher would claim, and the Chaldeans, Egyptians and then the Greek philosophers believed. That was not his aim. It was solely to make the Hebrews understand that God had created and arranged all these things for man, to whom he gave domination of the earth, the plants and animals, and whatever can be seen in it, for his own use. The creation of man, therefore, is described after all the other things directed to this end, because God had bestowed on man a spirit of life more sublime than that given to the other animals, so that he could dominate them and make himself superior to them. As the beasts were not endowed with as much insight, sagacity and understanding, they remained for always in the wild, feral state. Man, on the contrary, raised himself above them and advanced in religion, civilized society, the arts and the other disciplines.

From the whole of the Pentateuch it is clear that, in this first state of nature, the only concept of man was that he had been created to possess the earth and all which moves and grows on it, and all his happiness or misery was worldly and earthly. The blessings promised to these

early peoples for observing the precepts and commandments which God had given them, through Noah by tradition and through Moses by written law, were, therefore, no more than the abundance and fertility of the fields and fecundity of flocks and herds, long life, health, the defeat of enemies, the expansion of dominions, and all other worldly and earthly matters. For the disobedient, on the other hand, were meant the curses of drought in the fields, pestilence, famine, sickness, death, poverty, slavery, and all other worldly miseries and calamities. Death for them was the ultimate evil, something which plunged them into a profound sleep and reduced them to their pre-natal state. And Hell for them was nothing more than the depths of the earth where they buried their dead. And I observed this also in the Book of Job,[40] the book

40 'Moses sought to draw the Jews to the God of Abraham, whose power and strength he conceived and related with dignity. He made him unique, wise, omnipotent, and master of the whole wide universe. He described the creation of the world in relation to his people in a simple and popular way, not as a philosopher but as a historian. To rough and uncultured people, as were the Hebrews, Moses was content merely to give them more a brief and concrete account of the world and their ancient background, concentrating on the genealogy of their elders, and to give them an idea of an omnipotent god, rather than an account of physical and natural matters… inappropriate to the grossness and intractability of his people. By religion, laws, rites and ceremonies, he endeavoured to make them more docile and obedient, in order to reduce them to a more civilized and peaceful life. And he did not ever attempt to make the Hebrews more learned or erudite by philosophy: of that they were incapable. It was no small thing with a people so perverse and backward to make them conceive the idea of an omnipotent, unique and wise god, who had taken them into his care, choosing them as his own people, declaring himself to them as their own lord; that he would make them happy if they obeyed his laws, or wretched and unhappy if they transgressed them' (*Triregno, Regno terreno*, pp. 35-36). G. writes that this 'most wisely' gave a divine origin to Moses' laws to render them more significant than those of human origin, 'to serve as a brake to make the Hebrews more obedient and to dispose them to piety and mildness'. His adaptation of religion to the mental capacity of the Hebrews is seen also in his arranging the story of God's creation of the world into six days (*ibid.*, p. 37). Reference to the *Triregno* has been enriched also by the meticulous scholarship of Brunello Vigezzi (*Pietro Giannone riformatore e storico* (Milan 1961)). On the concept of death of the ancient Hebrews, G. refers to Job:

> 'All the causes and calamities suffered by Job did not pass beyond worldly and temporal matters. And after death, he was not threatened by greater torments, or happiness to compensate for suffering such misery. On the contrary, one observes that Job himself wanted to die in order to quit so much anguish, and plunge into a profound sleep' (*Triregno, Regno terreno*, p. 123).

The Book of Job, nevertheless, gives quite a different construction: it conveys a belief in the resurrection of the dead:

> 'For I know that my Redeemer lives,
> And on the last day I shall rise out of the earth,

which rivals Moses' Pentateuch for antiquity, in which the Idumeans and neighbouring Arabs, most ancient peoples, had no other concept of happiness and misery than one which was wholly worldly and earthly.

I found the same concept for man of an earthly and worldly kingdom in the other old pagan writers, writing on the very ancient peoples of the whole earth and its first inhabitants, according to the records left to us. The first five books of the *Historical Library* of Diodoros Sikulos, in reference to the pagans, may be considered the books on their origins. These refer to the most ancient peoples, traces of whose names are left to us, thus of the first inhabitants of Asia extending to east and west and to north and south. These Asiatic peoples boast of having been the first to inhabit the earth. The Africans, however, contest this, and the Ethiopians boast of having been the progenitors of the Egyptians themselves, peoples who pride themselves on surpassing all in antiquity. The northern peoples of Europe also boast of an incomparable antiquity. In brief, every nation whether in Asia, Africa or Europe, claims this honour for itself. Among all these peoples man is found to conceive only of an earthly kingdom and of death as bearing a perpetual, dark sleep. The human species, therefore, was believed to be, and was called, mortal.

The Egyptians were the first, who, with the many solemnities and rites introduced by them in burying their dead, provided an opportunity for the bold and daring Greek poets to muse so much on Acheron, Avernus, Kokytos, the Styx, the Elysian Fields, and many other splendid and fertile fantasies. And it might have pleased Heaven if in Greece the evil coming from Egypt had been confined to the poets, because eventually it corrupted the minds also of some of their fanciful and abstract philosophers, who let themselves be dazzled by the splendour of the fables of their poets.

As the Greeks are uniquely disposed to the marvellous and strange,

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And I shall be clothed again with my skin, and in my flesh I shall see my God, Whom I myself shall see, and my eyes shall behold, and no other' (*Book of Job*, 19.25-27: Vulgate).

G. wrote significantly to Carlo: 'the Book of Job also is considered a drama on an imaginary subject who, the most learned critics assert, had never existed, having been created to give an example of infinite patience and an entire and total abandonment to the will of God' (Vienna, 12 August 1730: *Epist*., p. 734). Aulisio, G.'s great teacher, described the Book of Job as the 'oldest tragic-comic poem in human history' (*Delle Scuole Sacre. Due libri postumi* (Naples 1723), p.143; Ricuperati, *L'esperienza*, p. 65).

they avidly adopted these and, after adding to them, filled Greece near and far with many fables and dreams, adding in particular to the small number of ancient gods of Egypt so many more that they wove them into genealogies and made them into a new science which they called 'mythology'. The books of Homer are thus full of deities whom he not only makes look after human affairs but also involves in everything, even the petty, vile, and base, and finally has celestial gods and goddesses join with earthly men and women and from their concubinage give birth to other gods and heroes.[41] Although Homer the poet explores and refers to many fables, at the same time he does not omit to reveal himself a profound philosopher and precise historian. To his poems no less than to the books of Moses we owe our knowledge of many ancient and very old peoples, not only of Greece and Asia but also of Africa, whose names would not even be known without him. None of all these peoples, not even the Greeks, conceived of man's having anything but an earthly kingdom. Homer involves the gods in human affairs and lets them take charge. When, however, they are angry, the guilty are threatened only with earthly punishments, defeats of armies, razed and ravaged cities, pestilences, slavery, slaughter and death. On the other hand, the deserving are granted victory, extended dominions, health, abundance, and all other worldly happiness. As poet he conformed to his country's avidity for the marvellous and strange by adding the infernal gods to the celestial: Kokytos, Pluto and Phlegethon and similar nonsense of the fabled poets. Because, however, he was wise, he had the same concept as the ancient sages, and compared men's dying to the leaves of trees, which, when buffeted at autumn's end and fallen to earth, do not rise up again, and others are born to replace them in spring.[42]

Herodotos is deservedly called the father of Greek history, because his nine books of history, which were saved from the ravages of time and men, have fortunately been preserved for us, even though the *History of*

41 G. writes to Carlo of his 'indescribable pleasure' in reading a writer who ridicules Homer 'from whom it is claimed that theology, philosophy and all the other sciences and arts originated' (Vienna, 20 November 1728: *Epist*., p. 577). Homer's significance was much debated by Giambattista Vico, whose work G. knew, but did not like or appreciate (B., p. 210).

42 'Very like leaves upon this earth are the generations of men—old leaves, cast on the ground by wind, young leaves the greening forest bears when spring comes in' (*Iliad* 6.146-49, trans. Robert Fitzgerald).

the Assyrians, which would have thrown great light on Moses' book of Genesis, has been lost. Herodotos, then, in his portrayal of the ancient peoples described by him, conceives only of an earthly kingdom. And although he involves the gods, oracles and Pythian priestesses of Apollo at Delphi in human affairs, they were not promised anything by the celestial deities except worldly happiness and liberation from plagues, misfortunes and all other earthly calamities.[43]

One reads, finally, what remains to us of Greek history, and all the memories left us by the Greek writers (since no book has come down to us from the Egyptian, Chaldean, Phoenician, and other ancient writers and only certain truncated monuments, which we owe also to the Greeks). These describe many ancient peoples and nations, among all of whom only this concept of man is found. One reads Strabo's *Geography* and Diodoros Sikulos' *Historical Library*, which no less than Herodotos' *History* must be considered treasures, being repositories of the most ancient memories preserved of the human species, and one finds only the concept of an earthly kingdom. In brief, one might go through every one and through all the vast kingdoms and empires ever established on earth, of the Assyrians, Egyptians, Medes, Persians, Macedonians, Indians, Chinese, Greeks, and any one at all, and find the same. If finally one concludes with the Roman Empire, which grew out of the ruin of the preceding empires and extended not only through Europe but also Asia and Africa, throughout all the then-known world, one observes that also the Romans, like the Greeks and ancient Etruscans, by whom they were taught, involve their gods in human affairs, but for the sole reason of making them favourable to the expansion of their Republic, to make it powerful, fortunate and eternal. And in public and private life they made vows and sacrificed to them only to obtain earthly happiness and to be delivered from evils similarly of this world. And they believed that their death was no more than a perpetual dark sleep, since their only concept of another life after their death was one of glory, regarding it as a second life which would make them eternal and immortal in the mouths of men and future generations.

Roman history and especially the incomparable history of Titus Livius, who from Rome's beginnings continued its expansion down

43 G. presumably refers to a most famous episode in Herodotos (1.46): Croesus' consultation of the Delphic oracle seeking victory and empire.

to the times of Octavius Augustus, in which he flourished, reveals that not only the Romans had no other concept of man and his death, but also neither did numerous other peoples recorded by Livy, who were conquered and defeated by the Romans. Although the inestimable loss of his other books means that we no longer have a complete history of that Empire, we can remedy the lack through other historians and writers who preceded him, or through his contemporaries, especially Strabo and Diodoros, who also flourished in the golden age of Augustus, or through other writers subsequent to them. We know from them that the human species, which has indubitably seen such eminence, whether in religion or the arts and the disciplines so extolled in Augustan times, conceived only of mortal life and a terrestrial kingdom, and that their gods looked after men in the matter of worldly happiness, when men prayed to them to obtain it and for deliverance from the evils and miseries of this mortal life. They left the gods of the underworld, the Shades of the Dead, Orkos, Kokytos, and Acheron to the splendid fantasies of the poets and to the ignorant crowd and the simple and credulous multitude. Anyone investigating this matter by going back to ancient times, from which the world and man down to the Augustan age can be studied, will find in all peoples and nations, not excluding even the Hebrews, no other concept of man and his death than this.

It will also be observed that the Hebrews were the most praiseworthy of all the earth's peoples for having had a more just and rational concept of God, according to what was impressed on them by their wise leader Moses, and they are so much more praiseworthy because, on leaving Egypt after their long sojourn there, they were not therefore tainted by Egypt's many superstitions and idolatry. Moses propounded to his people one sole god who was unique, wise, just and omnipotent, creator of heaven and earth, maker and disposer of everything admirable under heaven and on earth and throughout our visible world. To him alone was man to turn with a pure and chaste heart and devout faith to obtain happiness and be delivered from misery in this mortal life.

To keep their hearts pure, he prescribed wise laws whereby they recognized both the love and veneration owed to him as their creator and benefactor, and the true principles of justice and charity towards their brothers and neighbours. To render sincere and devout honour and veneration to God, he prescribed many different rites and ceremonies by

which they were to worship him, so that, by concentrating on those, they would distance themselves from the many superstitions and idolatry of the peoples surrounding them. Strabo and Diodoros themselves, although pagans, could not refrain from commending the wise laws which Moses gave his people.

For this reason their poets, whom they called prophets, were not tainted by the illusions and many fables in which the pagan poets were so fertile. When reading their prophets, although they often rose to a magnificent, metaphorical style and language, one does not find as much boldness, and much less do they reveal a fondness for splendid fantasies and so many empty deities, celestial and infernal gods, Sisiphos or Tantalos and the other idle tales and nonsense with which pagan literature was replete. This was an excellence of which the Hebrew people, more than any other people in the world, may deservedly be proud. And because of this, God chose them as his own people, declaring himself their special king or lord, and that from this people was to rise up the liberator and redeemer of the world.

It is true that in the last times the Hebrews began to be corrupted not only in customs but by foreign doctrines, and to abandon the sound wisdom of their elders (this happened after the second temple was built, when the Hebrews, after Babylonian captivity, after returning to Judea from the various cities of the Assyrians, Medes, and Persians where they had spread, were corrupted by new and foreign doctrines). Some, therefore, were seen to embrace the doctrine of fate and other splendid fantasies and illusions of the fabled Greeks, as was testified not only by Strabo but by Josephus himself, their countryman. Having removed the Sadducees who were firm and rigid observers of the old doctrine and discipline, the others, especially the Pharisees, and even more so in the course of time their last rabbis and cabalists, made themselves deserving of both laughter and compassion with their nonsense and illusions.

When, however, the world was reduced to this state and the Hebrew people to such corruption, he who was to redeem it was opportunely sent to earth, and not only to deliver the human species from so many errors and deceptions, but also to raise it to a more sublime state and condition. And whereas before man was considered capable only of a mortal, earthly kingdom, he was to make him worthy of, and acquainted with, a new, immortal and heavenly kingdom, and was sent not only

to the Hebrew people but to all other nations, because, since through Adam all men were made mortal, so through this liberator all were made immortal and celestial.

This doctrine and concept of the world and of man, it seemed to me on going back to ancient times, was known to the oldest nations, and the fact that the whole pagan world was agreed in this did not strike me as new or strange. That this concept was found to be held also by the ancient Hebrews, and that, on comparing the books of the pagans with those of Moses and the others of the Old Testament (written at the time of the first temple and before the books of Esdra), they were seen to be uniformly in agreement on this seemed to me worthy of note and not to be overlooked, as I had overlooked it until then, and as I had commonly noticed others do.

It gave me great satisfaction and pleasure to read in the books of St Augustine and the other ancient Fathers of the Church,[44] how they also have noted that man in his first state of nature, as described in the books of ancient law, conceived only of an earthly kingdom and worldly happiness. And St Augustine indicated in many passages that for man the earthly kingdom had to precede the heavenly, in order that he might then raise himself from mortal and earthly matters to those immortal and celestial. And in order that the earthly kingdom precede and be for man a symbol and image of all which was to happen to him in the state of grace, in the kingdom of Heaven, Tertullian therefore called the heavenly kingdom new, in reference to man, and the promise new, writing: *novam promissionem regni coelorum* (the new promise of the heavenly kingdom). And St John Chrysostom gave thanks to the Lord, who was pleased to raise man so high as to make him worthy of the heavenly kingdom, whereas before he had been thought barely worthy of the earthly.[45]

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44 The Church Fathers in G.'s view, nevertheless, applied to Paul's teaching 'useless and complicated dogmas and ceremonies', rendering it gradually 'mysterious', as Toland defined it, or 'enigmatic', as G. preferred to express it' (Lia Mannarino, *Le mille favole degli antichi* (Florence 1998), p. 16). G. wrote, 'nor can I yield to the transports and hyperbole of St Justin Martyr, St Augustine, Clement of Alexandria, or Eusebios and other ancient Fathers... who want us to believe that the ancient philosophers, legislators, historians and pagan poets have learned the laws, their philosophy, history and theology, in brief, all the disciplines and arts, from the books of Moses and our ancient prophets' (*Triregno*, *Regno terreno*, p. 99).

45 *Liber de praescriptionibus adversus haereticos* XIII (Book on the Thirteen Objections

It seemed to me, therefore, that man was to be considered according to these two different states, the first that of nature and the second that of grace, the first represented in the Old Testament and the second in the New. And the world could be divided into two main epochs: the first beginning from its creation and continuing down to the rule of Octavius Augustus, where man was aware only of his first state of nature, mortal and earthly; the second, from his redemption when the Word came down on earth and took human form and dwelt among men, and by showing them new light and a different path, raised them from the mud and made them immortal and celestial. The beginning of this new epoch was revealed to us in the books of the New Testament, especially those of the four evangelists, by the *Acts of the Apostles* of St Luke, and the *Epistles* of St Paul, and it began in the times of Augustus when, with peace given to the whole Roman world, the human species again came under an equable, just and clement rule and men's customs became more civilized, mild and gentle. And St Augustine reflects that almighty God was pleased to reward the justice and other virtues adorning the Romans by granting them dominion over the world, so that with the world made more civilized and mild, men might be disposed to accept the precepts and teaching which their Redeemer was to bring them at that time.[46]

Because of these studies I prolonged my summer holidays at Mödling, so that I did not return to the city until the beginning of September, with the intention of pursuing them. And having done what seemed sufficient on man's just state of nature, I proceeded to investigate his second state of Grace, which could be studied only from the books of the New Testament and from all the most serious and learned exponents who had worked on them, an abundance of whose books was provided

against the Heretics) (B., p. 214). Quintus Septimus Florens Tertullianus (c.160-c.220), African Church Father, born in Carthage. Tertullian received a solid pagan education, became a lawyer, and was converted to Christianity in c.195. His elucidation of the doctrine of the Trinity and the christological doctrine gives him, with Augustine, a unique place among the theologians of the patristic period. John Chrysostom (347-407), bishop and later patriarch of Constantinople, Christian orator (*chrysostom* means 'golden-mouthed'); reformer, persecuted mightily by his enemies. Bertelli traces the quotation here from the sermon 'In ascensionem Domini', *Homilia* 45 (B., p. 214). Chrysostom's sermons fuelled Luther's virulent antisemitism.

46 Augustine, *City of God*, summary of book 5, chapters 12 to 19 (B., p. 215).

by the Imperial library, frequented by me for this purpose.

In the remaining months of this year I was not hindered by legal matters, because few appeals were made from Naples to the Council of Spain in Vienna. It was necessary, however, to undertake the defence in the Imperial Aulic Council of the widowed marquess of Balestrino,[47] a noblewoman of Lorraine, from the illustrious Léoncourt family, who had come to Vienna for a case brought there against the marquis her son. Because of the eternity taken by the Council in treating the case, and because of the new changes in Italian affairs brought about by the last war, however, the case turned out to be futile and fruitless for her and for me.

V

[1733]

At this time, because of the death of King Augustus of Poland, preparations began to be evident in Vienna to have the duke of Saxony, the son of the deceased king, elected as the new king.[48] It was never known, moreover, for what end and whose advantage the emperor was moved to ensure the elevation of that prince to the Polish throne (except to persuade him to consent to the Pragmatic Sanction, since his wife was the eldest child of Emperor Joseph).[49] This was despite the fact that

47 'The Imperial Aulic Council was the highest court of the Holy Roman Empire... It was a civil court with the right to try all cases,... was competent in the granting of a wide range of privileges, declarations of majorities, the confirmation of succession arrangements, wills, contracts, adoptions, wardships, treaties and the issue of legitimations, letters of protection and passports... The Aulic Council was entirely at the disposal of the Emperor' (Michael Hughes, *Law and Politics in 18th Century Germany* (London 1988), pp. 33-35). G.'s printed allegation remains: *Ristretto della causa tra l'Illustrissima signora marchesa donna Cristina Maurizia di Leoncourt vedova del fu Illustrissimo sig. marchese di Balestrino don Ottaviano del Carretto, per una parte, e l'Illustrissimo sig. marchese Domenico Donato Carretto di lei figlio per l'altra* (Vienna, 1735; TSA., *Mss. Giannone*: *Giannoniana*, p. 423).

48 Friedrich Augustus (1696-1763), who was favoured by Russia, and became Augustus III in 1733 by the Treaty of Vienna (Williams, *Dictionary of English and European History*, pp. 83-84).

49 Maria Josepha (1699-1757): her father, the emperor Joseph I (HRE 1705-1711), was the brother of Charles VI. Since Charles' first born and only son died in 1716, and his three children born later were girls, he attempted to have diplomatic recognition of a permanent law on the succession (the 'Pragmatic Sanction'), to the effect that all his dominions would pass to his eldest daughter, Maria Theresia. For this he

France was completely intent on restoring Stanislaus as king,[50] who was the father of France's queen, and father-in-law of its king. A low opinion was held, however, of France's military strength, and the absence of fear that the enterprise would be unsuccessful. This was mainly because extra military strength was to come from the empress of Russia,[51] who was most averse to Stanislaus' ruling in Poland, and brought about a situation whereby the Austrians dismissed the evils which could thereby arise as remote and impossible, and worked openly to achieve their ends.

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sought and obtained the signatures at least of the major powers of Europe: those of the rulers representing the diets of Austria's central European provinces between 1720 and 1725, and of Spain in 1725, Russia in 1726, Britain in 1731, and France in 1735. Fundamental to all the reigning sovereigns signing the Sanction must have been the terrible fear of an inevitable struggle for succession, as happened with the Spanish crown, and of the loss of the balance of power in Europe if Charles VI died without a successor, given the fact that Austria lacked both a strong army and a strong economy. Charles' royal household was dubbed the 'Hierarchia femina' (Redlich, *Werden einer Grossmacht* (Vienna 1962), p. 226). In his family were three empresses: Eleanor (1655-1720), the widow of his father Leopold I; Wilhelmina Amalia (died 1742), the widow of his brother Joseph I; Charles' own wife, Elizabeth Christina (1691-1750). Leopold had two daughters, Charles' sisters: Maria Josepha (1699-1757) and Maria Amalia (1701-1756). Charles and Elizabeth Christina had three daughters: Maria Theresia (1717-1780), Maria Anna (1718-1744), and Maria Amalia (1724-1730). After the death of his brother Joseph I in 1711, Charles wrote in his diary: 'I am the only one left of our house. Everything depends on me.' (Hanns Mikoletsky, *Osterreich, das grosse 18 Jh* (Vienna 1967), p. 99, quoted by McKay, *Prince Eugene*, p. 149). At Charles' death on 20 October, 1740, however, Spain broke its oath and contested the Austrian throne, as did France, siding with Austria's enemies. Since Maria Josepha was Charles' niece, her consent and that of her husband, Friedrich Augustus, not to contest the succession had been vital. Charles' wish to have the Pragmatic Sanction, signed by Friedrich Augustus, the successful aspirant to the Polish throne, and most importantly, his nephew by marriage, had led him, in fact, into the morass of the Polish War of Succession. Friedrich Augustus, however, also broke his oath and claimed the Austrian throne.

50 Stanislaus Leszczynski (1677-1766) had been crowned by France in 1704 as the puppet king of Poland (Williams, *Dictionary of English and European History*, p. 191); his daughter Maria (1703-1768) was married to Louis XV. He, therefore, was France's claimant to the Polish throne (Redlich, *Werden einer Grossmacht*, p. 196). Austria, however, feared a pro-French/Polish king on its borders. On France's part, nevertheless, maintaining Polish independence as a check to Austria was a traditional French policy, and France, unable to check the expansion of Russia, turned against Russia's ally, Austria (Charles Petrie, *Diplomatic History 1713-1933* (London 1946), p. 20.

51 Anna Ivanovna (1693-1740), empress of Russia 1730; second daughter of Ivan V, who was the brother of Peter the Great. Austria feared that failure to support Russia's candidate in Poland, Augustus II of Saxony, might cost it the support of Russia (Petrie, *Diplomatic History, 1713-1933*, pp. 20-21).

It was believed that Count von Sintzendorf, the chancellor of the court, had been the main author of the advice. Great sums of money were sent to Russia in order that, since the emperor was providing the money, the empress would provide the troops. As well as this, all the available Imperial militia was sent to Silesia on the Polish borders to assist, if necessary. And on that occasion it was evident how reduced in strength and number were the armies on which before they had prided themselves, since it had even been necessary to order some regiments from the State of Milan to make up the number of troops destined for Silesia. As the Milanese did not fear any attack, they were left exposed to the invasions, deluding themselves that the mere name of the emperor was enough to preserve the Italian states. All minds were turned to events in Poland and there was no thought or fear for their own kingdoms and dominions.

In the meantime, like idle spectators watching the danger of others, we were unaware of our own imminent misfortunes and disasters. And in this state of mind, we had already entered the year 1733.[52] At the beginning of that year, and especially with the approach of spring, the rumours and military preparations increased, but all were directed at Poland, which had already become a place of confusion, disorder and both civil and foreign war. With the others, I also contemplated events as though they had nothing to do with me, and attended to my own affairs and studies. In this year they were made bitter by the increasing vexation caused by my brother in Naples. Among other acts of ingratitude he had completely forgotten about the son whom I had left in his care, who was forced to run away from Vesti and go back to Naples. My brother,

52 It was feared that the Pragmatic Sanction and marriage of the archduchess Maria Theresia would upset the balance of power in Europe. Awareness of Austria's vast empire, of Prussia as a strong military state, and the brutal impression made by Russia's manoeuvres in Western Europe, had also revived tensions between Habsburg Austria and Bourbon Spain (Redlich, *Werden einer Grossmacht*, p. 195). Charles' insistence on having his daughter marry the duke of Lorraine (they had grown up together in that hope) had angered Philip of Spain (after their treaty in 1735), who had hoped that she would marry one of his sons. France, which feared Austria's presence on its borders if the marriage took place, had also been angered (Ingrao, *The Habsburg Monarchy*, p. 145). By November 1733 a *pact de famille* became known between France and Spain, whereby Louis XV and Philip V had secretly agreed to seize the duchy of Lorraine and Austria's possessions in Italy. It was to result in a Spanish force being sent to invade Lombardy, while another was to seize Naples and Sicily in 1734 (Petrie, *Diplomatic History, 1713-1933*, p. 21).

as has been related above, had refused to take him in and left him to perish from poverty and want. It was thus necessary for me to have him brought up in another home, provide him with necessities and have him commence his studies, starting from the beginning with grammar, spelling and the art of better and correct writing. Not only had all this been neglected, but he had been brought up uncouth and wild in Vesti and, although an adult of some eighteen years, he had not learnt there either reading and writing or civilized ways.[53]

I then intended to withdraw from my brother the power of attorney and administration which I had left over my property, and to entrust it to others. Friends in Naples, however, warned me that this would have been the same as ruining him, without my deriving any profit from it, and that the envious and malevolent, who were not lacking, would delight in our discord and it would earn me little respect. I was won over by their entreaties and restrained myself in the hope that time might change his ways or give me better opportunity to do so. And in the meantime, as we were approaching June of this year 1733,[54] it was decided to go to Mödling and there, far from the city and other troublesome cares, to continue my studies in solitude. This we did, with the intention of not returning to the city until driven out by the severity of the cold.

VI

When I reflected seriously on the books of the evangelists and the *Acts* of St Luke, and especially on the *Epistles* of St Paul, which were always in my hand, I understood that man's change from a state of *nature* to that of *Grace* came about through God who, in his infinite goodness and beneficence, sent his Word into the world to assume human form in the

53 G. made the best of all the grievous confusion and wrote to Carlo: 'I need a youth here who has a good writing-hand to use as a copyist, and I am thinking of having him [Giovanni] trained to that end, which is so necessary for me. And I do not believe it would take great talent or acumen' (Vienna, 2 May 1733: *Epist*., p. 975). A month later all was revealed and an unbridgeable breach opened between G. and Carlo: Chapter Eight: Appendix.

54 G. wrote at this time to Carlo of the possibility of offering his legal services in Vienna to the magistrates in Naples for fifty florins a month, which was a little over half the fee of the existing agent (9 May 1733: *Epist*., p. 977). The old agent, however, was re-appointed (31 October 1733: p. 1013).

womb of a Jewish virgin. She conceived him without the intervention of earthly man, by divine spirit, in order that this Messenger, who was both man and God, might be a light and guide to men by dwelling among them and showing them the true and safe road whereby from being earthly and mortal they could make themselves immortal and celestial. He was to be the sole mediator who might reconcile man with God. Whoever listened to him and did what he would prescribe and command could be assured that, although dead, they would be resurrected, transformed, and made joint heirs with the Father and share in the kingdom of Heaven. On the other hand, those who did not believe in him, or, although believing, transgressed his precepts and commandments, would be resurrected but not transformed into heavenly beings. Like earth's dry branches and stumps they would, on the contrary, be cast into the fire to burn forever. God had sent him to redeem mankind from the sin whence it sprang, and since all born of Adam sinned,[55] so all would be vindicated in Christ. As sin had come into the world through Adam, and through sin had come death, through Christ, therefore, would come vindication and thereby celestial and eternal life. And because all this depended on gratuitous and divine beneficence, this second state must be known as that of *Grace*, which made earthly man celestial. Man had become lost, man had to be saved, and for this the *resurrection of the flesh* had to precede *eternal life*, since man could not be conceived without fault, as he was intrinsically and

55 St Paul's *Epistle to the Romans*: 5, 12-14 (B.218.2): 'The curse which God, after Adam's transgression, gave to man...': see the *Triregno*:

'The curse which God, after Adam's transgression, laid on mankind was only that he had to pass his wretched life in travail and anguish, in tribulation and hard labour; that the earth would yield him thorns, nettles and briars, and that he would earn his bread by the sweat of his brow; that finally, he must die and return to the dust whence he came. From this curse it came about also that by nature he was more inclined to evil than to good, hence God repented of having made him, as he clearly states, when he says to Noah: 'for the imagination of man's heart is evil from his youth' (*Genesis* 8.21).

This natural propensity to evil exposed him to numerous frequent transgressions of the divine precepts, and consequently to have to suffer commensurate punishments, scourges, sorrows, and death, but none of these exceeded his natural condition. He was made mortal, and mortal had to be, therefore, both his rewards and punishments. The transgression and sins of Adam introduced into the world of man: misery, labour, and death, the ultimate of evils; but death in which everything ended for him, and reduced him to his state before birth. This was the concept held of man's death, and no other (*Triregno*, *Regno terreno*, pp. 107-108).

essentially both soul and body. St Paul, therefore, laid much emphasis on the resurrection of the body[56] when speaking to those unwilling to accept it, and told them that to deny the resurrection rendered their whole faith vain, their efforts futile and their every hope deluded. Let them, however, firmly and steadfastly maintain that, since Christ rose again, whoever believed in him would rise again. It was therefore said that Christ was the 'first-born of the dead', since he was the first to rise again, and later, when he visited the tombs of the Patriarchs, he raised up all of them and led them into the kingdom of Heaven.

This was the main point of contention with the pagans, who jeered at his laying such stress on the resurrection of the dead, as they could not be induced to believe that dead bodies might return to life, and they denied Christ's resurrection. And Christ rose up again and ascended to the Father in body and soul, the Apostles having seen him with their own eyes, having eaten with him, felt him and touched the scars of his wounds and seen that he was flesh and bone, as he was before being crucified and dying. The first Fathers of the Church, therefore, Athenagoras,[57] Tertullian and others, combatted the pagans and heretics

56 'Behold, I shew you a mystery; We shall not all sleep, but we shall all be changed. In a moment, in the twinkling of an eye, at the last trumpet: for the trumpet shall sound, and the dead shall be raised incorruptible, and we shall be changed' (I *Corinthians*, 51-52). The heading of Chapter Ten in the *Triregno*, *Regno celeste* is: *Concerning the reasons whereby the new Doctrine of Purgatory and indulgences was circulated so positively, in order to be smoothly accepted as an article of faith, that by such ways might be facilitated the passage of the soul into Heaven*). G. has thus reduced Christian dogmas to 'the Incarnation of the Word, the resurrection of the dead on the day of judgement, and the subsequent eternal life' (Brunello Vigezzi, *P.G. Riformatore e storico* (Milan 1961), p. 256). G. wrote: 'Scripture itself has informed us that God has given thought and sense to our soul in no other state than that united to the body, since it has not been created whole and perfect in itself, as were the angels, but in order to pervade the body and interpret all its functions' (*Triregno, Regno celeste*, p. 175). As Vigezzi observed, by G.'s assertion that the soul is inseparable from the body; that eternal life, therefore, cannot eventuate until the Last Judgement, he destroys the Roman Church as a secular power, because there can no longer be Heaven, Purgatory or Hell before the Last Judgement, or saints and indulgences (*P.G., Riformatore e storico*, p. 217). The prisoner of Miolans has no doubt deliberately omitted any actual mention of indulgences and Purgatory in his summary. Both are fully treated, nevertheless, in Volume Two of the *Triregno*; see 'The *Triregno* and its Fate' (below).

57 Athenagoras was a second century Christian 'Apologist'. His 'Apology' was addressed (c.177) to Marcus Aurelius and his son Commodus. It defended Christians against charges of atheism etc. He wrote 'On the Resurrection of the Dead', and was the first to make a philosophical defence of the doctrine of the triune God.

of their time, revealing their errors, and that, by not believing in the resurrection, all their faith and hope were rendered futile. And Tertullian did nothing but warn the Christians that their faith was based on the resurrection, and declared 'resurrection of the dead is the Christian's trust'.[58] St Augustine therefore used to say that by doing away with the resurrection the entire religion of the Christians would collapse and be destroyed: '*tolle resurrectionem mortuorum, tolles religionem christianorum*' (take away the resurrection of the dead and you take away Christianity).[59]

Mortal, earthly men, therefore, will be resurrected and brought back to their state before death and made eternal and immortal. Their fates, however, would be different: those who, believing in Christ, have carried out his precepts and commandments will be transformed from earthly into heavenly beings, enjoying with Christ (who by making them his brothers, made them heirs with him to the kingdom of the Father) a blessed, joyous life not subject to death. Those whose lives did not bear the fruit of good works will be cast into the fire like useless thorns and brambles and barren wild olives, to be burned by inextinguishable flames. To gain such a kingdom, man in his mortal life must not only believe in Christ, but also observe his holy laws which teach a perfect morality, and adapt his ways to the most lofty perfection possible

As for belief, it is necessary to declare that there is one God, creator of heaven and earth and of all things visible and invisible; that this God sent the Word, his son, down to earth to assume human form, who as man taught mankind the way to salvation; that he was his Messenger and the sole mediator between God and man; that for us and our salvation he suffered his passion and death; that when he rose again in triumph from the dead and visited the tombs of the Patriarchs, he brought them back to life and led them into the kingdom of Heaven; and that he will do the same for all the other dead on the last day, when, once resurrected, they will be judged, and according to their works the just and chosen will be led into the kingdom of Heaven, and the reprobates and wicked cast into Tartarus. And like the sincere, simple, pure faith which he wishes us to have in him, of which any rustic peasant or artless, humble poor woman is capable, the rites which he left were few, plain and sincere,

58 Tertullian (*Resurrection of the Flesh*, in *Ante-Nicene Fathers*, ed. Alexander Roberts and James Donaldson, 25 vols, Edinburgh 1867-1897, 3, pp. 545-596; B., p. 219).

59 *Triregno*, *Regno celeste*, p. 82.

nothing elaborate, no bloody sacrifices, no multiplicity, pomposity, or magic. He claimed only a pure, humble, and contrite heart from men, and based his religion on the charity which each one owes, after God, to his neighbour. In him ended the many ostentatious and elaborate ceremonies of the Hebrews, since the object of his law was not a worldly and tangible kingdom, but one which was more sublime, spiritual, and celestial.

He wanted men to be solicitous and zealous in love and charity for God and their neighbour, qualities on which the laws and the prophets relied. This was to be their main endeavour and the sole aim of all their works, thoughts, and words: to keep the divine commandments, to be chaste, sober, moderate, humble, patient, generous, and merciful: in brief to do unto others as you would have done unto you, and to treat your neighbour as yourself. All this, moreover, was to be carried out in this mortal life, and without hoping that you or others might benefit after death. 'While we live', David said wisely, 'we may praise you, O Lord, and work according to your laws, but in the grave, being dead, we shall no longer be able to praise you, nor, when plunged into profound dark sleep can we do what might please you'.[60] And as we are alive and earthly in this mortal life, we must endeavour to be spotless and perfect to be worthy of the kingdom of Heaven. On the other hand, since it is almost impossible 'amid so much human error to live by innocence alone' [Livy 2.3.4], our good Redeemer left us such efficacious and salutary remedies and teachings that, when we appeal to him, he offers us prompt remedy and help, gladly opening his merciful arms to anyone who turns to him. He even left us the form to be used when praying to the Father to have our sins forgiven, to be removed from temptation and delivered from the evils and contagion of this present world.[61]

I observed from these sacred books that this briefly summed up matters and defined what constitutes the perfection of a true Christian, and that these are the true principles and sound doctrines which illuminate our minds and the true path to our salvation. 'Know this to be the true knowledge', writes Tertullian. Whatever remains which

60 Mathew: 7.12; Luke: 6.31. 'The dead praise not the Lord neither any that go down into silence. But we shall bless the Lord from this time forth and forever more. Praise the Lord.' (*Psalms* 115, 17-18).

61 *The Lord's Prayer*.

does not lead to this end, it would be better to ignore, rather than to go back and investigate what, after endless research, we would know less about than before.[62] To this end St Paul stressed that we were to shun dissension, vain curiosity and research into superfluous and useless matters which in no way lead to our salvation.[63] And St Augustine stated that in such questions, for the most part abstract and metaphysical, where the human mind strives to know what is of no consequence either to belief or custom, it would be better to confess ignorance than uselessly rack the brains raving about what God has not wanted to reveal to us and what man might know.[64]

Eusebios, the bishop of Kaisareia, therefore, wisely warned that God through his Word has revealed to man what sufficed for his salvation, so that we should not look elsewhere.[65] If it were otherwise, one would have to state that he had left us his law incomplete and his precepts defective and lacking, so that others had had to come to make good the shortcomings. This would be a wicked blasphemy, both to regard divine wisdom as worldly and imperfect, and to think that through these defects many were left to perish who had not been informed of it. All that is necessary for salvation, states Eusebios, was handed down to us through divine Scripture, which contains the entire, sound belief which man should have, and the true rule of customs which we must observe, in order to be transformed, and from an earthly kingdom be

62 'Unhappy Aristotle! who invented for these men dialectics, the art of building up and pulling down; an art so evasive in its propositions, so far-fetched in its conjectures, so harsh in its arguments, so productive of contentions—embarrassing even to itself, retracting everything, and really treating of nothing!' (Tertullian, *On Prescription Against Heretics*, 7, trans. P. Holmes, in *Ante-Nicene Fathers*, 3, p. 246).

63 'Beware lest any man spoil you through philosophy and vain deceit, after the tradition of men, after the rudiments of the world, and not after Christ' (*Colossians* 2.8). 'Neither give heed to fables and endless genealogies, which minister questions, rather than godly edifying which is in faith...' (*Timothy* 1.4) 'He is proud, knowing nothing, but doting on questions and strifes of words, whereof cometh envy, strife, railings, evil surmisings' (*Timothy* 6.4). 'And they shall turn their ears from the truth and shall be turned into fables' (*Timothy* 2.4). For most of the above references, we are indebted to Bertelli: B., p. 221.

64 See Augustine's letter to Bishop Hesychius, bishop of Salona in Dalmatia, on the end of the world (end of year 418): 'but for that, special weight is to be given to what the Lord Himself said: "It is not for you to know the times and moments which the Father hath put in his own power"' (*Letters*, trans. Wilfrid Parsons (Washington 1955), 4, p. 347); we owe to Bertelli the identification of this quote: B., p. 221.

65 *De fide adversus Sabellium* (Concerning the Faith against Sabellius) in Migne, *P.G.*, 6, coll.1059-70 (the identification of this quote we owe to Bertelli: B., p. 222).

made worthy of a heavenly one. Lactantius Firmianus, therefore, taught in his *Divine Institutes*, that God 'wanted us to know only what was important for man to attain life'.[66]

From this I understood other truths hitherto unknown to me, and I realized how vainly men worked on useless research and futile study, based solely on their own individual human opinions. The diversity of such opinions, since men by nature tend to differ among themselves, has caused so much confusion and reduced them wretchedly to vain occupations and to disputing matters about which, the more they exhaust themselves studying, the less they know.

I also understood and saw in a clearer light the worldly vicissitudes witnessed later on earth. And on combining these studies with my work on times less remote from ours, I saw with amazement how later, on the foundations of a religion so sincere, humble, and disdainful of worldly matters, a structure so sublime and vast could have been set up that no other religion of the world, however worldly and based on earthly happiness, could aspire to it, much less equal or compare with it. And from the history of the times which followed Constantine the Great, I easily understood its causes and origins. This will be clear to all when considering that the new religion had been taught and administered by men in the midst of other men, who as administrators and trustees passed themselves off as masters and lords. They proceeded from explanations and exhortations to making laws and, having concentrated in their hands the criteria of what is just and fair and for weighing human actions by qualifying them arbitrarily as licit or illicit, they gave the simple, inexpert multitude in those uncultured centuries to believe that the gates of the kingdom of Heaven were opened and closed by their authority. Thus it happened that, instead of the heavenly kingdom, they built themselves on earth a new earthly kingdom, which was completely unknown and strange to the ancients. One of those ministers and dispensers then rose up, and by reducing the others from being

66 'He wanted us to understand only those things which it is important for man to know to attain an upright life' (*Divine Institutes* 2.8.70-71). Lucius Caecilius Firmianus *Lactantius* (c.240-c.320) was appointed teacher of rhetoric at Nicomedia by Diocletian, but dismissed on his conversion to Christianity. Constantine made him tutor to his son Crispus. Among his important works is *Divinae Institutiones* (trans. Mary McDonald (Washington 1964)), a careful account in Latin of Christian attitudes.

brothers and companions in his ministry to being his own ministers and servants, he was able to establish the new papal kingdom on the spoils of the other bishops. It was established, however, more on the princes' ignorance and the peoples' simplicity. Its success was all the greater as men were convinced of the new teachings which spread to that end that temporal matters might be exchanged with the spiritual, that riches might facilitate the attainment of the heavenly kingdom, and that donations, bequests and inheritances left to the actual churches might serve to redeem their souls from sin and make them fly to heaven, teachings which opened this new, easy, level road especially to the wealthy and powerful. And for all the others, they indicated easier paths of exterior rites and ceremonies, pilgrimages, specific devotions to the saints, novenas and many other vain superstitions, which, if adopted, would make them sure of salvation.

Two things followed from this, which turned upside down the real religion taught us by Christ and better established the papal kingdom. The first was that our religion was reduced to a mechanical, purely external act, since by moving the lips to form certain words, even if the sense were not understood, by beating the breast with one's fist, by moving the feet to visit churches or go on pilgrimages to sanctuaries, by moistening the forehead with holy water, by kissing relics and wearing scapulars and armulets, by lighting lamps and candles before the images of the saints, and many other external acts, we believe all accounts with God are settled and our salvation is assured. The second result was that the Church was not content with those few, simple and sincere rites, and in order to introduce new, multiple, pompous and elaborate ones, it turned to other rites, not only Hebrew but even pagan. And through this, religion was rendered completely pagan and external, surpassing in fact the pagans themselves in splendid and magnificent temples, altars, pompous vestments, rich vessels and instruments, statues, and in other countless and elaborate ceremonies. In comparison with the religion of the Egyptians, Greeks and Romans, even with all the religions still known to us of the many and numerous nations who inhabit the earth, it will be found that the Christian religion, in the number and diversity of the orders of those performing the sacrifices and the multiplicity, display, magnificence, and pomposity of the rites, is by far superior, even when compared to all the others combined. We have, therefore,

not only returned to ancient paganism, but greatly surpassed it, and the people have all become pagan and superstitious, even more so than were the pagans.

What provided more fit material for setting up a new empire over the kingdoms and dominions of the princes was, however, their carelessness and ignorance in those uncultured centuries, in not realizing that, through the new doctrines and maxims, an attempt was being made to establish within their empires another empire which would not only diminish and erode theirs but would subject and finally completely absorb them. It had already taken away almost half their subjects, removing them from their jurisdiction and imposing on them its own, rendering them free and immune from public responsibilities, not only towards people but also their property. And although God had placed justice and judgement in the hands of the princes, these were taken away and the criterion of what is just and lawful passed into other hands, so that others controlled justice in reference to contracts, the judiciary, testaments and all other human affairs. From these arose new courts, laws, and institutions in the princes' own dominions.

And they could have been well aware that the aim was to strip them completely of all their royal rights and sovereign prerogatives, since openly, even on medals, this new prince was given the title of king and monarch of the Christian republic and supreme prince. It was understood that he was to dominate the whole earth from sea to sea, reduce the whole human flock into one fold and become unique and sole shepherd, and that finally he would not despise the title of 'vice-god' or consider it blasphemy. It was, in fact, applauded and warmly accepted and appreciated when heard and read in public pronouncements and printed on the frontispieces of books. It mattered little that this was contrary to everything, to both the Old and New Testament, and to the whole of divine tradition. Job for his part could cry out as much as he might:

> Who committed the earth into his keeping?
> Who has placed him over the world which he fashioned?[67]

67 'Who hath given him a charge over the world or who hath disposed the whole world?' (*Job*, 34, 13). G.'s. distinctions in the *Civil History* between temporal and papal power are fundamental: Chapter Eight: Appendix.

The pope, then, was to be established by God on earth to rule it and be its vicar and vice-god. Our good Redeemer might cry out and loudly protest that his kingdom, which he came to reveal and promise to mankind, was not of this world. The Church itself might even sing in its hymns that he did not come on earth to seize from kings their earthly and mortal empires, but to give men immortal and heavenly kingdoms. The princes, as though unconcerned to see a vice-god set up on earth to erode their kingdoms and establish another empire within theirs, were deluded by the new doctrines, which, although evil and wicked, would settle all accounts with God by making temporal matters spiritual. They willingly let themselves be deceived, and seized this easy, certain way of acquiring a spiritual and heavenly kingdom at the cost of the earthly one.

In order that princes might better calm their consciences and not expose reasonable men whom God had provided with sound intellect and straight discourse to persecution, martyrdom and tortures, both the pope in his states and the princes in theirs had to make every effort and devote every attention to the abolition, burning, and entire extinction of all memory of Christ's Gospels, the *Acts of the Apostles*, the *Epistles* of St Paul, and everything contained in the books of the New Testament. And not even this is enough. It was necessary to erase all memory of what the Church Fathers had written on the ancient discipline of the Church; in brief, whatever has been handed down to us by a sincere and faithful ecclesiastical history.

It was not enough to have new doctrines taught, other precepts disseminated, and new Gospels made. Those of Christ had to be extinguished. Since these will always remain, all that can now be done is to place men in a perpetual state of confusion, demand that they rack their brains, lose all straight discourse, and make themselves worse than beasts, and, moreover, as they do not want to take advantage of the wisdom and natural discourse [of the Gospels], to expose them to persecution, ruin and calamitous dangers. If the ancient sacred books were burnt and all memory of them erased, men would be seen to be calm, and would adapt their mind to the new doctrines and system, which today is required of the Christian religion.

Livy relates that five hundred years after the death of Numa Pompilius, two stone chests were excavated near Rome. In one had been placed Numa's body, which was completely consumed by time,

and in the other some books left by Numa, which dealt with ancient pontifical law and the wisdom of the ancients. When these were read by the urban praetor, he reported to the Senate that they should be burnt, since their doctrines overturned the religions then professed in Rome. This was because Numa, the first to establish religion in Rome, had been content with few gods and ministers and a few simple and sincere rites. Livy himself reassures us that initially in Rome their own gods were worshipped 'with more piety than magnificence', but that later Rome was invaded by so many foreign religions, sacrifices, pompous new rites and numerous ceremonies, that often the Senate had to stem the flood of them. And Porcius Cato in one of his speeches recorded by Livy lamented that the luxury of Asia and Greece had penetrated and corrupted even the ancient religion of the Romans. He went on to state that, because the statues of many new gods sculptured with admirable majesty and art in the finest marble, bronze and other select metal there had been brought from Syracuse and Greece, the Romans of his day ridiculed and derided their ancient gods, roughly made of clay or wood, and made them the butt of jokes and unseemly mockery. Cato would prefer the favour of these rather than the new, foreign gods. The Senate, acting on the praetor's word, ordered that the books discovered of Numa, which could subvert the religions then professed in Rome and thus throw the city into confusion, were to be burnt in the presence of the people. A great fire was then lit in the assembly by the priests in charge of sacrifices and the books were thrown in and burnt.[68]

It would be necessary to do the same with our ancient sacred books, so that, with all memory of them erased, men could come to terms with the new doctrine and system. If such books remained, they could only cause confusion, make men force their minds to think differently and distort their discourse in a way contrary to that which nature, reason, experience and commonsense guide and dictate, which did not happen even with the cruellest and most ruthless tyrannies which the world has ever known.

These studies and reflections filled the months of solitude of my summer holidays. I thus instructed myself, turning to them solely to provide a rule both for the beliefs and customs of my inner human

68 Livy 40.29 (Numa) and 34.4 (Cato).

nature, without neglecting outwardly to conform to all the dictates of human prudence by conversing with others, being part of their society, and not giving anyone cause for scandal or the least disturbance in public matters. And neither in my discourse nor published works did I enter into any dispute on matters relating to major points of our religion, and I never claimed to be in this censor or reformer.

In my *Civil History* and the *Apologia*,[69] which I was forced to publish, my sole aim was to reveal and elucidate more clearly the borders dividing the empire and the priesthood, so that by making them more obvious and clear, everyone would be aware of the attacks made by the priesthood on the authority of the princes, and how much this had diminished their rule which God had given to them alone, sovereign, entire and complete over their states to govern their subjects. When writing on the kingdom of Naples, where attempts were made to reduce matters to the ultimate extremity in order to absorb that power entirely, I had more occasion to draw attention to the subtle artifices, and to indicate the sources of the many evils and disorders. Not even this, however, and the sacrifice of my life, studies and the few talents granted me by God was of any benefit to me in gaining the princes' effective protection, or even in delivering me from human poverty and allowing me to live safely in some corner of the earth. On the contrary, my hard destiny had turned them against me and made me the object of their scorn and hostility, as will be clear to all from the rest of this sorrowful history. If ever it is fated to be placed under their eyes and made draw a few tears, I hope that thus their minds will be moved to pity and compassion.[70]

The summer holidays were continued this year to the beginning of

69 The *Apologia* consisted of three essays: 'On the ancient concubinage of the Romans, retained in the Empire after its conversion to the faith of Christ and also after its decline in the new dominions established by Christian princes in Europe; how then it was ended in the East and finally in the following centuries also in the West'; 'Remedies against the banning of books'; and 'Remedies against invalid excommunication'. The last two essays were combined in the 'Tractatio contro le scommuniche invalide e prohibizioni de' libri che se decretano a Roma'(*Opere postume*, 1 (1770), 157-161). The *Apologia* then became part of the defence of the *Civil History*, which was to form its fifth volume. The Inquisition had learned of G.'s work on the *Apologia* because he had mentioned it in a letter to a friend (Dispatch of Vincenzo Alamanni to Giorgio Spinola from Naples, 19 February, 1724: AAV, *Napoli*: Marini, *Mezzogiorno*, p. 208).

70 The prisoner of Miolans allowed himself very few such laments on the brutal irony of having been betrayed by the princes whose rights his work had championed.

October, and I had been obliged to go to the city only a few times, when pressed by the marquess of Balastrino to intervene in some sessions held before two councillors of the Imperial Aulic Council, and finally to resolve by amicable agreement the lawsuit which she had with her son, the marquis.

In Vienna public discourse was dominated by the affairs of Poland. During my long stay at Mödling, where I often visited Count Montesanto, president of the Council of Spain, and his brother, Count Cifuentes, who were still on vacation there, we spoke of nothing but the various events which had occurred in that kingdom, sometimes supporting the Saxon, sometimes Stanislaus, and without any fear of a sudden invasion of the emperor's own states by the French.[71] And although Count Montesanto, as president, and his brother, who often had to act as lord chamberlain, were very often at court, they did not ever hear anything which could at least have made them suspicious.

When I returned to Vienna after the grape-harvest at the beginning of October, although in the public gazettes one could read that French troops were very much on the move in Dauphiné, and some Imperial envoys who were at the courts of other princes warned Vienna of France's military preparations, everything was interpreted as being directed at Poland. With Count von Sintzendorf giving assurances, on the other hand, that while Cardinal Fleury lived, the emperor need have no fear that France would move against his states, the delusion was maintained, and everyone continued to be idle spectators of matters in Poland. And although the rumour grew of French troops on the move through Dauphiné towards Italy, it was disregarded, since they deluded themselves that the king of Sardinia, the duke of Savoy,[72] would not grant

71 On Montesanto, see Chapter Five, n.109; on Cifuentes, Chapter Five, n.48. For Poland, see Chapter Eight: Appendix [73]. On 9 January, 1734: G. wrote to Carlo: 'It is a characteristic of the Spanish nation never to be daunted, and in times of the greatest consternation they display the same intrepidity as before. We shall see where this comedy will end, of which I would like to be a spectator, but sitting in a safer place than where I am now' (*Epist*., p. 1027). Reference is made to Cifuentes' sending his carriage to G. in Mödling to take him to dine with him (Vienna, 14 June 1727: *Epist.*, p. 464). Ricuperati records the discovery in a parish church in Turin, among other papers, of an original document in G.'s hand relating to a case between the count and the Ragusei ('Dopo la *Giannoniana*', *in L'Europa tra Illuminismo e Restaurazione, Scritti in onore di F.Diaz* (Rome 1993), pp. 47-88, rptd. in *Nella costellazione del Triregno* (Foggia 2004), 169-202, p. 183).

72 Charles Emanuel III (1701-1773) suffered from *petit mal*. He had been treated by his father, Amadeus II, with 'coldness and pedantry', and his upbringing was left

them passage through his states, so that only through the air among

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to servants (Longchamps, *Histoire du règne de Charles Emanuel*, c. 55, in Archivio di Corte, quoted by Ricuperati, *Piemonte sabaudo*, in *Storia d'Italia* (Turin 1993-1994), 8, p. 447). When young, he had been fascinated with hunting and festivities, and the world of magic and superstition. With the sudden death of his elder brother, he had quickly to be educated to be king (*ibid*., p. 442). He assumed the throne in 1730, when his father Victor Amadeus II (1666-1732) abdicated. A year later, when the father, being dissatisfied with the rule of his son, attempted to resume the throne, he was brutally arrested and imprisoned, and died two years late: Chapter Eight: Appendix. Charles Emanuel III (fateful for G.) reduced his father's court to a ritualistic façade, with real power residing in his secretaries and the legal class. He made Savoy into a strong, militaristic state, known in the eighteenth century as the 'Prussia of Italy'. Under Charles Emanuel and his chief minister, the marquis d'Ormea, expansionist Savoy played to both sides in the war of the Polish Succession and aimed for Lombardy from the Spanish spoils (Ricuperati, *Piemonte sabaudo,* pp. 474-475). Fleury adroitly held out to Savoy the possibility of putting a brake on Spain and making Savoy the supreme power in Italy. A secret pact was signed between France and Savoy before France's pact with Spain. It allowed France to conduct a classic 'pincer manoeuvre' with the forces of the Austrian empire in Germany and the combined French and Piedmont forces in Austria's Italian provinces. As a result Piedmont took possession of the entire state of Milan (*ibid*., p. 476). Ormea was the instigator of the secret pact. He was described by a contemporary as being 'of an arrogant nature and most backward in political awareness, which served to determine him on that reckless decision' (Marco Foscarini, 'Storia arcana ed altri scritti inediti', *Archivio storico italiano* (1843), p. 187; quoted in Ricuperati, *Il Piemente sabaudo,* p. 474). Savoy proved a most difficult partner in the alliance with Spain and France. Charles Emanuel was constantly suspected of being willing, for a bribe, to ally himself with Austria. He would neither fight a decisive battle nor cooperate in laying sieges (Charles Petrie, *Diplomatic History, 1713-1933* (London 1946), p. 22). Charles Emanuel was no friend of the arts and men of letters, and 'held poets almost in contempt' (P. Vayra 'Autografi dei principi sovrani di Casa Savoia', in *Curiosità e ricerche di Storia subalpina*, 1883, 468-496, pp. 460, 471). Gaja states, without documentation, that in 1739 the king had thirty-nine pictures burnt, among which were those of Michelangelo and Tintoretto, because his confessor believed that the nudity depicted in them could harm the young princes (*Il Marchese d'Ormea* (Milan 1988), p. 195). The religiosity of Charles Emanuel is attested by the letter of Ludovico Merlino, the archbishop of Athens, who was the nuncio of Savoy, which included a notice of the Genevan publisher Erigo Alberto Gosse announcing the imminent publication in 1752 of a new edition of the *Civil History*:

> 'While the said Author was still living as a penitent with his abjuration and detestation still fresh... I was able to succeed in the past years to have many abandon the reading of such a pernicious text, and could also collect various complete sets of it with the help of this sovereign [Charles Emanuel III], who much favoured my diligence; they were sent to this Holy Office. At the present time, however, when there are no longer such living monuments to discredit the pestiferous seeds and impiety of the maxims of such an Author, when, moreover, the refutation of Father Bianchi has not been much propagated or sought out, I very much fear that the whole Country will be infected with this new edition... I have done all that I could and know how to do... always assisted in everything by the remarkable piety of that most worthy Monarch. For the present emergency, however, I seem to need help...' (Turin, 29 December 1752: AAV, *Savoia*, Lettere

the clouds could they enter Italy. And they were sure that Savoy would not have allowed it, or have broken the peace by joining with France, in order not to incur the anger and indignation of the emperor, who would have overturned and scattered Savoy's states and subjected the duke to Imperial banishment.

While the people were being fed on these false hopes, in the middle of October, news was brought by many couriers that the French troops were in Piedmont, and having been joined by Piedmontese and Savoyard troops, were approaching the State of Milan, and were already near Ticino. When Count Daun, Milan's governor, heard of the prodigious number of attackers so near, he immediately fled from Milan and took refuge in Mantua.[73] He had only a few regiments, even though the state had contributed, and was contributing, for the maintenance of 18,000 soldiers, and had already paid, according to the account dispatched for that current month of October. The towns were all stripped of munitions, garrisons and fortifications, because the contractors, who were in Vienna negotiating their contracts, were doing as they pleased, and it had been left to their judgement and discretion to provide them, without their being accountable to anyone except the magistrates in Vienna, from

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diverse: Bertelli, 'Appunti e osservazioni', pp. 233-235).

Charles de Brosses' impressions in 1737 are memorable:

> 'The King (Charles Emanuel III) was at chapel; he has not a pleasant countenance; he is small but commonplace-looking, but he is laborious, intelligent, an able politician, brave and learned in military matters… The other Italian powers fear him more than any one; they believe that he will crush them sooner or later… In ticklish times he will be able to make his way and with patience he will obtain what he desires… The late King Victor used to say that Italy was like an artichoke which had to be eaten leaf by leaf. His son will follow his maxims as much as possible… The King lately committed a somewhat base action. You know the discussions he has had with the Pope; Giannone, who wrote the history of the Kingdom of Naples in a way which raised the choler of the Vatican, came to seek shelter in Piedmont, and the King had him arrested in order to curry favour with the Papal party' (*Lettres familières sur l'Italie*, ed. Yvone Bézard (Paris 1931), 2, p. 580).

For Edward Gibbon's description of Charles Emanuel and Savoy in 1764, thirty-three years later, see *Gibbon's Journey from Geneva to Rome, 20 April to 2 October 1764*, ed. Georges Bonnard (London 1961), p. 18. G.'s first contact with Savoy, according to the *Epistolario*, was in 1724 when he was invited to collaborate on the *Codice vittoriano*. After discussing it with Riccardi, however, he declined, because the enterprise appeared to him 'quite second rate' (Vienna, 22 April 1724; *Epist.*, pp. 139-140).

73 Fleury declared war on Austria in September 1733, in order to regain the duchy of Lorraine. On the parlous situation of Austria during the War of the Polish Succession, see Chapter Eight: Appendix.

whom they had received their contracts. In brief, it came to such a pass that every week brought word of some town having surrendered and the garrison sent to Mantua. The towns immediately surrendering were Novara, Pavia, Tortona, and Pizzighettone,[74] and although winter had well begun and it was thought that there would be a cease-fire, the season was so calm, serene, and dry that it constituted no impediment to the attackers' continuing their conquests. News came that the city of Milan was taken, and after a close siege, the fort was surrendered in a few days and the garrison sent to Mantua.[75]

Such grave ruin left everyone in great consternation and dismay. Neither recent nor old records of Lombardy had ever recorded that in such a short time the state of Milan, which had always flourished greatly in arms and been most protected by strongholds, where an inch of ground had cost at other times rivers of blood both for the French and the Spanish, should now be taken away again with impunity from its possessor and pass to the enemy without losing a soldier. And yet the Spaniards at Vienna were not at all alarmed at this, and on the contrary, being full of hope that soon it would be reconquered, they threatened the duke of Savoy that they would invade his states and add Monferrato and Piedmont to Milan. And there was no lack of officials in Rialp's secretariat who publicly boasted that the loss would be advantageously compensated, since previously their secretariat sent dispatches only to the State of Milan, but with time they would be extended to Piedmont, Monferrato and Savoy itself.

This Trasonic spirit had invaded the minds not only of the Spaniards at Vienna, but also of those coming from the state of Milan who had been employed in the magistracies and civil posts of the tribunals

74 Pizzighettone was defended by Prince Ian Lobkovic (1686-1755), governor of Sicily from 1732, and then of Milan until Pizzighettone fell on 30 November, 1733 (B., p. 229).

75 On 4 November Charles Emanuel entered Milan. Only three months later, in February 1734, the whole of Lombardy fell to the invaders (Redlich, *Werden einer Grossmacht*, p. 198). G. wrote reassuringly to Carlo: 'I know that the invasion of the French in Italy, allied with the Savoyards and Spaniards, will have caused fear over there [in Naples], but as long as we have on our side the English and Dutch, who have recently ratified the security of Italy, we have nothing to fear either in Naples or Sicily, and the State of Milan will be the battlefield' (Vienna, 24 October 1733: *Epist*., p. 1012). G. is referring to the ill-fated alliance concluded by Austria with England and the Netherlands (the 'Maritime Powers' in 1731), the Second Treaty of Vienna (see above, n.30).

and secretariats, and came flocking back to Vienna looking as bright and gay as if they had come from Milan not as the vanquished, but the victors. At the same time the Court was deafened with claims of how they had left their posts so as not to serve any prince except the emperor, their natural master, and as they had been left without employment to support themselves and their families, the emperor should give them financial assistance until the reconquest of the state of Milan. As a result the many Spaniards in Vienna were increased by these new arrivals seeking assistance. And they found pitying ears to listen and hear their prayers, for in that deplorable state of affairs, instead of checking the previous excesses in the treatment of the kingdoms of Naples and Sicily, worse evils were added, reducing them to the ultimate extremity and desolation. In order to extract money from them to make good Milan's loss and support the new Spaniards who had come from there, new measures were attempted, among which was that of putting legal honours up for sale by setting a price on them and adding new, supernumerary magistrates to the courts. The Collateral Council of Naples, which consisted of only five regents, was consequently increased by as many supernumeraries, and it was intended to increase the number of councillors in the Council of Santa Chiara, and the presidents, and the judges of the Gran Corte di Vicaria, as long as buyers were found willing to pay money to be awarded them. And in Vienna there was an infamous and shameless Neapolitan, who wrote circular letters to Naples' lawyers and magistrates inviting them to apply by nominating the price, informing the lawyers of the price of the magistracies which they wished to be awarded and the magistrates that of the higher magistracies to which they aspired. To lend himself greater credibility, he did not refrain from writing openly to them that this was by order of the marquis of Rialp, secretary of state, and Count Montesanto, president of the Council, to reassure them that by paying the money they would obtain the posts.[76] As these letters, which on

76 Johann Joseph Harrach wrote to the viceroy, his brother Alois, in Naples in 1729: 'Abate Bertoldi told me that, although you nominate the most worthy subjects for vacant posts, in spite of their having to pay great sums to Perlas, when Montesanto complained bitterly to the Master, His Majesty made no reply and changed the subject, which does not in any way surprise me, because he draws off his share' (Harrach Archives, Vienna, 11 May, 20 September, 8 October 1729; quoted by Benedikt, *Königreich Neapel*, p. 231).

comparison were found to be written in the same vein, had been sent everywhere, the Neapolitans were in a state of utter consternation. On hearing that other attempts were being made to extract money from the kingdom, and of the loss of the state of Milan, before they knew that France and Savoy had declared war on the emperor, they believed themselves abandoned and that Vienna wanted simply to exhaust the kingdom before ceding it. Many therefore wrote distressed letters to friends in Vienna at being so suddenly and ruthlessly abandoned. And there were even some ambitious individuals who, unconcerned about impoverishing their families and the imminent danger of changing masters, sent money to Vienna.[77] Two posts of regent and others of the Camera were sold, and the price of them soon divided up among the Spaniards who had left Milan.

In such consternation and confusion, everyone thought to flee as best he could the impending evils. As for myself, although little affected by the loss of the State of Milan, since I received nothing from it, I began to tremble. If the money from the Sicilian dispatches were to fall into the hands of the Spanish officials and were left at the discretion of the president, who was of one mind with the marquis of Rialp on helping the Spaniards who had come from Milan and making good Milan's lack by means of Naples and Sicily, I feared that they would avail themselves of my money for their own needs, despite the precise orders of His Majesty not to confuse it with the Council's other emoluments. And, in fact, the official Llacuna made it very hard for me to collect the last two payments for that year, those of November and December, so that I had reason to fear that with need ever increasing and worse ills threatening, it would be made more difficult to collect it in the following year.

I nevertheless deluded myself that, as the preparations for war were directed towards recovering the State of Milan, the war was to be fought in Lombardy, so that the kingdom of Naples and in particular that of Sicily would not be involved. And I was writing to friends in Naples not to be alarmed, since their fate depended on the outcome of events

77 G. writes to Carlo of the post of a judge of the Vicariate being sold for the price of 8,000 florins. He also mentions the 217 pounds of chocolate sent from hopeful clients in Naples (among whom G.'s friend, the councillor Maggioco, sent twenty-six pounds and G.'s former friend, Argento's nephew, Francesco Ventura, sent sixteen pounds) to prospective Viennese patrons (Vienna, 16 Jan. 1734: *Epist*., pp. 1028-29).

in Lombardy, where the war would be both atrocious and long, since the emperor was concentrating his strongest forces in that area. The best regiments in the Imperial army, under General Mercy,[78] who was appointed supreme commander of the enterprise, were in fact being prepared with the aim of driving the French and Savoyards out of Lombardy.

On the other hand, the Spaniards of Vienna were obstinate in claiming that Spain was not involved in the alliance of France with Savoy, that it was firmly maintaining the peace which had shortly before been concluded and established with the emperor, and that the emperor had to fight only the French and Piedmontese, who would soon be conquered and driven out of Lombardy. Warnings were coming from everywhere that Spain also was in the alliance, and combined with the common rumour was the great massing of Spanish troops taking place in Barcelona and their embarkation from that port and others in Spain, and the ships already en route for Livorno laden with heavy artillery and other military equipment, and the fact that the generals, the count of Montemar and the duke of Liria, had passed through Lombardy and had secret talks with Marshal Villars, the general of the French army.[79] The Spaniards [of Vienna], nevertheless, constantly asserted that this

78 Florimondo-Claude de Mercy (1666-1734), replaced Count Daun. He was blind in one eye from a wound in the battle of Vienna in 1683, and suffered from gout and fits, as the result of which he eventually went deaf and almost blind. As a soldier his courage was legendary, as was his humanity as governor of the Banat. At the end of April 1734 reinforcements of 50,000 troops arrived in Mantua, and General Count Königsegg was to replace Mercy but fell ill. In June in the battle with French and Savoyard troops, Mercy, while personally leading his soldiers into action, lost his life. He was replaced by Prince Ludwig of Württemberg, who was then killed at Parma and replaced by Count Königsegg. After four bitter but inconclusive battles in northern Italy, the campaign ended with the last terrible battle on 19 September 1734 at Guastella, in which 13,000 soldiers were killed in one day, and Austria was finally defeated (Redlich, *Werden eines Grossmacht*, pp. 199-203). David Chandler gives a slightly lower estimate of 11,800 casualties (*The Art of Warfare in the Age of Marlborough* (London 1976), App. 2, p. 304).

79 Count da Montemar: José Carrillo de Albornoz (1671-1747), generalissimo of the Spanish army (B., p. 232). James Francis Fitz-James (1670-1734), duke of Berwick and Liria, natural son of James, duke of York (James II) by Arabella Churchill; marshal of France; general of the Spanish army; killed at Philipsbourg//Philipsville, where, of the 117,000 French soldiers under him, 10,000 were killed. Of the 4,000 defeated Imperial troops, 1,000 were killed and 3,500 were allowed free evacuation (Chandler, *The Art of Warfare in the Age of Marlborough*, App. 3, p. 310). Louis-Hector, duke of Villars (1653-1743), marshal of France, commander of the French army. He conducted his highly successful campaign in northern Italy at the age of eighty.

was not in order to unite the allies to the emperor's detriment, but because the queen of Spain[80] had a most precious pledge in Parma, the Infante Don Carlos, her son, whom she did not want left exposed to military incursions with such a fierce war raging in Lombardy, but that she might, with her armies, keep her states safe and save them from foreign attacks. And the marquis of Rialp appeared convinced of this, and did not refrain from saying in public that he would place his head under the axe if the Spanish were found to be involved in the alliance which France had formed with Savoy. And with these discourses and vain hopes, the year of 1733 had already passed.

Appendix (Chapter Eight)

[9]

G.'s essay on Benevento: Ranieri Simonetti, nuncio in Naples, to Antonio Bianchieri, secretary of state:

> Naples, 13 October 1731
>
> ...it has been learned that this Deputation of the Capitol, not without the astonishment here of almost all decent persons, has chosen the well-known lawyer Giannone to support their ill-based claim to exclude also the Church of Benevento from the administration of foreigners; and that the said lawyer was actually writing an article in favour of the City on this matter. There is no doubt that, when published, it will inevitably be full of his usual poison against our Court and perhaps even be injurious to our Holy Religion, as have been his previous works, already censured by the Holy See.[81]

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80 Elizabeth Farnese (1692-1766), widow of the duke of Parma; she became second wife of Philip V of Spain in 1714, whom she was said to dominate. The goal of her ambition for her sons was Spain's reconquest of the rich kingdom of Naples and Sicily, and in particular for Don Carlos. This wish overwhelmed her initial determination that he succeed to Parma and Tuscany, and is revealed in the vain promises made at peace conferences, the consent for which was ultimately the price of gaining England's signature for the Pragmatic Sanction. This allowed Spanish troops to be stationed in Tuscany to ensure that Charles VI kept his word (Redlich, *Werden einer Grossmacht*, pp. 196-200). In March 1732, Don Carlos had formally established himself in Parma with the consent of all powers including Austria (Petrie, *Diplomatic History 1713-1933*, p. 20). See above (n.30), on the Second Treaty of Vienna, 1731.

81 AAV, Nunziatura di Napoli: *Giannoniana*, p. 157.

Simonetti wrote again five weeks later:

> 24 Nov. 1731
>
> With my other letter of 13 October I informed Your Excellency that, as these gentlemen of the Deputation of the Capitol or the City of Naples, have been strongly assisted by the Imperial Court in the matter of conferring the Kingdom's benefices only on nationals, including among them the archbishopric of Benevento, they had chosen through their agent there, the well-known lawyer Giannone. I must now reverently add to you that, as he very willingly accepted such a commission, he has sent here a voluminous submission on the said matter in defence of the City. Since those gentlemen think that the said submission is so full of poison against our Court of Rome, they have properly wanted to conceal it; in fact, to write to the aforesaid agent not to publish it. In spite of all my efforts, I have in no way managed to see it. Since it has been published, however, in Vienna, as I have been led to believe, if Your Excellency wishes to have it, you could easily obtain a copy from Monsignor Nuncio Passionei, in effect to appraise the tenor of it.[82]

The cardinal secretary of state replied to Simonetti, 15 March 1732:

> I have received from your attention the published article written by Giannone on the Church and Archbishopric of Benevento, and I have also learned of your investigations in reference to the speeches and resolutions of the Collateral on that subject. We are aware also here that the matter merits constant reflection, because of the steps taken by the Royal Magistrates.[83]

[17]

G.'s draft petition to the Elect, 31 May 1732:

> Most Illustrious and Excellent Sirs,
>
> ...On 7 September of the past year 1731 I was assured of your protection and vigilance, commensurate with that attention and accuracy with which I undertook the defence of the famous affair of Benevento. Sig. Giuseppe Muscettola, Agent of this most Excellent City, came to see me towards the beginning of August last year to ask me to undertake the defence of this case with the Magistrates of this Supreme Council of Spain. On my accepting this commission as a great honour, he left me a bundle of writings which I was attentively to consider in order to prepare

82 *Ibid.*: *Giannoniana*, pp. 157-158.
83 *Ibid.*: *Giannoniana*, pp. 158-159.

a valid defence. He promised an appropriate return for my labours, that it would remain his responsibility to see to it, and that I could be certain of it. A few days later, Abate Tosques also came to me to recommend this matter with much urgency, and I promised him not to fail employing there all my very weak strength. When, on reading the papers, I realized that the task would turn out somewhat hard and difficult, because of the common prejudice still irradicable from men's minds, I told Muscettola that it was necessary to inform the marquis of Rialp fully. I did so in that same week, and represented to him all the most efficacious motives and reasons why he should not allow both the rights of that most Excellent City and Kingdom, and the supreme royal rights and pre-eminences of his Imperial Majesty to be thus abandoned and scorned. His Excellency was shocked, and judged it necessary for me to draft a report on it, which I promised him; and he stated that in the meantime he would fully inform His Majesty, as he did. What is more, he spoke of it to Prince Count Montesanto, whom he told in particular that I had been to inform him and the other gentlemen of the Council, and had let him know about it. Sig. Muscettola, in the hottest days of August, did not fail to assist me and urge me on, so that the president and all the other magistrates were informed of it. And since they and mainly the president had announced that they were waiting for my report, in order to examine and propose the matter in Council, I had to work continuously and without interruption, so that in less than two weeks it was finished. After it was printed, the copies were passed to the president, to all the gentlemen of the Council, and to the marquis of Rialp, who was greatly pleased with it. After Sig. Muscettola had carried out the task of taking the copies around the magistrates, however, he did not want to know anything more about it, and left to enjoy himself in the country, where he stayed for several weeks. I was left to conduct the sessions in the home of the fiscal regent Esmandia, so that, having had the fortune to convince him, it remained to hold that vote which perhaps Your Excellencies will have read. I did not fail to do my part with the other magistrates with whom I am on somewhat familiar terms, so that when the matter was finally proposed in Council and the votes sent to His Majesty, that provision was made for it which Your Excellencies well know. Sig. Muscettola vanished from my sight, and I did not ever see him again. I knew that of all that had been done and was being done, he knew nothing, and that he did not try to find out, as though it were no longer his business. I had observed his custom on that occasion, that if from there they had not written to him to learn the outcome of a matter entrusted to him, he used not to make any acknowledgement of it; it was the least of his worries, and he relegated it to perpetual oblivion. On finding myself in such a bad situation, when Abate Tosques came to see me in the subsequent months

on another matter, I related to him my ill luck in that affair recommended to me on Benevento with Signor Muscettola, and of his having so quickly forgotten the whole matter. Abate Tosques was surprised and wondered much at this, and to help me offered to speak to him, as he effectively did. Muscettola's reply was the most curious and peculiar imaginable. He told him that he believed that I had already received acknowledgement for it, because the Most Excellent Deputation had not written anything about it to him. I understood, therefore, that instead of his having to write about it to Your Excellencies, he had made the opposite assumption, thus completely confirming me in my assessment, seeing that he forgets about everything if you do not write to him about it from there. And yet, on this matter you should have been reminded by him, and it was not Your Excellencies who had to inform him. To behave with all moderation and urbanity, I decided to go to his house and ask him not to forget to help me, because otherwise, having seen so little account made of my labours, I would take the course which such profound forgetfulness deserved. He accepted my requests, regretting that, if I had had recourse to him the previous week, when he had occasion to write there, he would have done me the favour. To my repeated entreaties, he finally did me the favour of promising that he would nevertheless write to Your Excellencies in that same week. I repeated my entreaties that he effectively do so, because otherwise to my great regret and reluctance, I would be obliged to turn to the ministries in Vienna here, in which similar cases are dealt with by lawyers against Agents. Two months have now passed with my waiting for a reply, and I have received no acknowledgement... [paper damaged]. It was, moreover, confirmed to me that, when he later had another occasion to write to that Most Excellent Deputation there, he did not deign even to mention me to Your Excellencies or my being given satisfaction. It was as though it had nothing to do with him, and my entreaties and his promises to me have been thus dishonoured by him and left unfulfilled and ineffective. All wise and honest men now consider me, therefore, to have behaved towards him with all the urbanity and propriety prescribed in such cases. Many persons there advise me that before taking other steps, I should have recourse to your great discretion and prudence, from which everyone ought to expect every favour and assistance. This is because he is the agent of the Most Excellent City, and much more so in view of the respect which I owe on every count to Your Excellencies, given that in your very kind letter you assured me of your protection and vigilance. And in representing to you all that has happened to me with Sig. Muscettola, I feel that I am obliged to bring to the notice of Your Excellencies the usual practice in such cases of these ministries in Vienna. What happens is that, when requested

by the agents to plead the cases of their principals, who may be cities, republics or princes who are far away in other kingdoms and provinces, the lawyers have to deal with them as with unknown clients, with whom, moreover, they do not have the power of attorney. All the power is in the hands of the agents; and when the lawyers cannot obtain satisfaction by gentle means from the agents for their labours, they have recourse to those councils or ministries where the cases are treated. After obtaining from them the estimate of what is deemed a reasonable payment, they make a claim against the Agents before the Marshalate of Court, which obliges them to pay with positive and even personal limits, by having them then negotiate with their principal, in order to be reimbursed the sum which they will be obliged to disburse.

On being informed of all this, Your Excellencies can understand with what regret and reluctance I have come to this; and only hard necessity could force me to act. So much more, therefore, must I implore your grace and most earnestly entreat you to do me the favour of delivering me from having to take this hard step; that with your authority and prudence you not condemn me to do something for me so unpleasant, but arrange for me to be given satisfaction, in accordance with what, in your great discretion and equity, Your Excellencies will think just and reasonable. It will be for me a most singular favour which I shall not be able to forget for the rest of my life. And so much greater and more eternal will be my sense of obligation to Your Excellencies, because nothing could be more vexatious and unpleasant than to be forced to place myself in a position to obtain fees and warrants here, in order to receive satisfaction. It would embitter the pleasure which I feel in every way that, through my work, the most remote and distant Nations, by their own admission, now know in more detail the City and Kingdom of Naples than their own provinces and kingdoms. And I would not like people to know that, at the same time as its author makes all Europe resound with the glorious and renowned City and Kingdom of Naples, on the other hand, he has had to take the City of Naples to the ministries of Vienna as the bad paymaster of one of its agents.[84]

[23]

On G.'s reply to Paoli's attack on the ninth book of the Istoria civile:

Nicola Cirillo to G., Naples 4 January 1732:

84 G.'s draft of a letter to the Elect of the City of Naples; 31 May 1732; Forli Public Library, *Fondo Piancastelli*: *Giannoniana*, pp. 538-541.

> ... About the other writings which you tell me are included in the parcel, when I receive them, I shall send them to your brother, as you ask, and naturally in all secrecy with him and Sig. Capasso. I can tell you in advance, however, that a few evenings ago Sig. Ariano told me of having heard from Forlosia that you have made a strong reply to Fr Paoli, and that Forlosia had spoken of it as though he had seen it. I imagine these writings which you are sending may relate to this affair. If so, it is well for you to know that the matter has been on many lips and heard by many ears. This will serve as your guide. I ask you, finally, to pay my respects to the Cavaliere and I warmly embrace you.[85]

Biagio Carofalo to G., 30 May 1732:

> Your very fine and learned writing defending yourself against the opposition of Fr Pauli has been welcomed here and received with such praise and admiration, that no other has drawn similar respect and interest. Everyone admired it as a masterpiece for the exactness of the historical facts drawn from contemporary authors and for the exactness of chronology in times when writers were hardly precise. It is written also with a sincerity and eloquence which demands that one reread it several times with pleasure and with delight for its having been seasoned with a raillery so gentle that it leaves nothing to be desired. In that it is on a par with Lukianos or Erasmus, and has no counterpart in this century other than itself. It has been possible to send four copies to Rome with the greatest adroitness and prudence, since only one copy had gone there, sent by Count Ferdinand [d'Harrach] to Monsignor his brother. I must not neglect to convey to you all possible thanks from the count, who has reread it several times to his great consolation and noted, in fact, with profound respect the attention and partiality which you show to him.[86]

See letters of G. to Carlo;[87] for example:

G. to Carlo, 22 March, 1732:

> I learn with much pleasure that the *Risposta* was to our Sig. Capasso's satisfaction, and I approve his having emended the somewhat sharp passage about the stick...[88]

In G.'s triumphant letter to Francesco de Aguirre he mentions that the 500 copies printed of his *Reply* to Paoli are almost sold out: 'I assure you

85 NBN: *Giannoniana*, pp. 80-81.
86 NBN: *Giannoniana*, p. 319.
87 Vienna, 22 March 1732; *Epist.*, p. 876; 9 Aug. 1732; *ibid.*, p. 900.
88 Vienna, 22 March 1732; *Epist.*, p. 876.

that you will simply split your sides laughing to see that father preacher treated as he deserves'.[89]

[24]

Machinations to block the French translation of the *Istoria:*

Passionei to Antonio Bianchieri, secretary of state, 27 September 1732:

> Vienna
>
> It is useless for me to dwell on representing to Your Eminence how pestiferous and opprobrious to religion is the well-known work of the worthless Giannoni, because solely its banning by the Holy See accompanied by the censures must have made it an object of repugnance to all good Catholics. Infallible as this beginning was, however, equally certain is the display made of it by our enemies, who have had it translated into English in order that the poison of his derision scattered throughout his work be spread everywhere. And, from what I have been told, they have recently arranged, by means of a book-dealer in Geneva named Bousquet, to have it translated also into French. It would be desirable, if possible, to block the edition, but I do not see what means could achieve such an end, because the freedom of the place and the greed for profit of a merchant book-dealer will always be very difficult obstacles to overcome. When I was in Switzerland [he was nuncio from July 1721 to October 1730], in matters concerning the apostates who had taken refuge in Geneva, I made frequent and effective use of the monsignor bishop of that city who lived in Annecy, and of Signor de la Closure [Resident of France in Geneva from 1698 to 1709 and from 1713 to 1739], envoy of France with that government and a most zealous Catholic. It is time that the affair with the book-dealer would have to be treated with the most precise scrupulous circumspection. The slightest pressure which he might notice, tending either to suppressing the edition or to deflecting him from looking after his interests, instead of making him desist, would redouble his efforts, given his major advantage.[90]

The French Resident, Pierre de la Closure, Geneva, 18 November, 1732, in reply to the Swiss nuncio Gio. Battista Barni (1731-1738), also requested information and action on Bousquet's proposed publication of the *Civil History*:

> although it is still only a plan, it will certainly be implemented... Monsieur

89 Vienna, 10 December 1732: Biblioteca trivulziana, cod.no.196; *Vita*, ed. Nicolini, p. 435.
90 Marini, *Mezzogiorno,* pp. 278-279 (doc. 17).

> Bousquet, moreover,... is very convinced that, if this translation is not printed here, it will infallibly be printed in Holland or everywhere else, without one's being able to prevent it, so that it would be quite useless to turn to him to deflect him from such a project. This is all, Monsignor, that I could draw from his associate, who would never reveal to me the translator, who, however, he assured me was a man of a very established reputation, who would never have undertaken such a work if it were so pernicious and defamatory.[91]

[53]

G.'s plight is made clear:

G. to Carlo, 18 April 1733:

> I attribute to divine providence that this week... the mail has brought letters due next week, because it is now possible to give prompt remedy to a truly cruel and pitiful matter, about which I have been informed from there by no less a man of honour unknown to me, and by Signor Castelli, and by our Signor D. Francesco Mela, who as they witnessed the spectacle, informed me about it, not without tears. You, however, in your letters, even the last one of 3 April, do not mention a word about it, hence I confirmed those suspicions which were always at the back of my mind, and I am certain that for roughness and mental torture you are beyond compare. This was the reason for my not having had any news of that son, as though he were no longer in the world; why you did not reveal to me that in Vesti he was so wretchedly ill-used, not so much by Sig. Tura as by our Vittoria, who could no longer bear to suffer him at their place, perhaps because her nature seconds yours in harshness and savagery. That honest man wrote that, as he had to go there [Naples] for treatment for some illness of his, on leaving Vesti he had a meeting with that boy all in rags and in a sorry plight, who, having heard of his intention to leave for Naples, asked him to take him with him. Signor Tura was not against it, and told him that he might take him, because his wife was making an uproar not wanting to have him any more at home. If ever I had been advised of her antipathy, I would have taken immediate action to remove him. What is more dreadful, however, is that when he took him to Naples and sent him to your house, he was received with your charity of driving him away, saying that you did not know him. As he was left in the middle of the street, he had to send him to his mother, who mercifully recommended him to Signor Castelli her brother, who has written to me that for my sake he admitted him, and was writing for

91 Geneva: AAV. *Svizzera*, 127: Marini, *Mezzogiorno*, pp. 128, 234, 281-282 (doc. 19).

my instructions on what he should do. I wrote also to Signor Mela who, not without extreme pity, went twice to see him all crying and wretched, in a way that would have moved a stone to compassion. And my dear brother remains unmoved by all that, and in fact bars me from any news, in order that I leave him to perish of hunger and misery, to reserve for me solely the news of his being already dead. As it has been my experience to have had a thousand proofs of your nature, and as this barbarous act confirms my suspicions, let me now say to you that, since you would not admit him to your home, I am sure that at least you will find those twelve ducats which Signor Cirillo paid you. You after all wrote to me that for the moment you did not want to send them to the mother. Through her or others, see that they go immediately to Signor Castelli for his food, until I shall take other measures to manage better these accounts between us. And because in future I shall no longer be able to trust you in matters of such importance, I shall ask others to do me the favour of informing me about what I should know. And from now on I shall definitely consider taking those just steps necessary not to hear again of such disorder and obscenity, and to treat as a stranger anyone who does not look after my kindred....[92]

G.'s reaction and arrangements:

G. to Carlo, 25 April 1733:

...I can now reply to your last letter of 10 April in which, as you will have learnt from my previous one, you have again told me nothing about the confusion which made that boy turn into a vagabond. From the previous news which I had, I have well understood that in Vesti, and especially our Vittoria, they needed no more than one push, whether from the mother or from some other cause, to be rid of him, so as not to have to suffer the trivial expense of feeding him, given that by letting him go around in rags and half-naked, it cost them little to clothe him. Given their antipathy, I have decided to inconvenience them no longer. And if you do not want to have him at your place, I am asking Signor Mela to have the charity to accommodate him elsewhere, since I certainly shall not fail to provide for his upkeep. And I am asking him also to have him instructed by a good teacher of calligraphy, in order that he acquire at least a good hand, without demanding either rhetoric, philosophy or that he become a soldier. And afterwards when, with long practice, he has perfected good writing, I am thinking of calling him here, as I need a copyist who knows how to write neatly in Italian, and thus we shall calm everyone down and remove those imagined suspicions which may give

92 *Epist.*, pp. 971-972.

> others occasion to take advantage of him. I shall know properly how to distribute the income, because during the time that he will have to stay there to acquire the skill of good writing, I cannot neglect to maintain him or to pay the teacher who is to instruct him; and if the mother has given Vesti to understand that it would have been her responsibility to support him, she also will be allowed to do something.[93]

Carlo's defence may be surmised from G.'s reply to him the next week, 30 May 1733:

> From your letter of 15 April, received yesterday, it seems to me that you want to reduce the affair of the boy's flight and being driven away to fine little speeches on virtuous education, Roman virtue praised by the Holy Spirit itself, and verses from Dante. And in the meantime, according to letters this week, he goes roving round taverns and has no other shelter than lodgings. If no thought is given to the young, and they are let go unmarried and vagabond, how relevant here are preachings and sermons which could easily rebound on the preacher? And from what you write, I feel that you give me no hope also of being able to have him educated, at least to learn to write well, so that I could avail myself of it when I need to do so. You do not want to do anything, not that he learn to write properly, merely that he learn good manners. The young, then, have to be left without a profession or an art which they learn, and are to be sent to the woods to live on acorns. Even the Cappucins would refuse them if they did not know how to do anything, not to have them quite useless in monasteries...[94]

Six months later, on 12 December, G. had a visit from a person from Vesti, who told him about what had happened, and gave him a letter from Vittoria's husband:

> He passed on to me Vittoria's fulsome good wishes and self-justifications, and information about the origin of the confusion. If I had been informed of this earlier, things would certainly not have come to such a pass. Having lost so many years, the boy, instead of profiting from at least knowing how to read and write, now has to begin from the beginning, because of the bad education and worse upkeep, of which I was always kept in ignorance, by hiding everything from me, since there was nothing that I could do about it. Vittoria was wanting some memento of me. I told her that my portrait which I sent her could suffice. The messenger, however, replied that she had not received any such thing, and as she

93 Vienna, 25 February 1733: *Epist.,* pp. 973-974.
94 *Epist*., pp. 980-981.

had not had any acknowledgement from me for so many years, she did not know for whose benefit she was keeping that boy in her home[!] Now, however, with this last letter of his, I understand that she had been well compensated for the legal aid and costs of the law-suits which her husband had in Naples. This has consoled me, because, as they say, whoever has law-suits has property, although at the same time, they do not fail to write to me of poverty. Anyway, now for my part I shall endeavour to help them with what little I can do in the affair of Signor Mastellone, by asking Baron Peralta to write to the commissioner of rural affairs a letter perhaps commending him.[95]

[67]

G.'s distinctions in the *Civil History* between temporal papal power:

The new Christian Religion... made known unto us two Powers in this World, by whom it was necessary it should be govern'd, the Spiritual and the Temporal. The Spiritual in the Priesthood or Ecclesiastical State, which administers Divine and Sacred things. The Temporal in the Empire or Monarchy, or the Political State, which governs Human and Prophane Things; each of them having its different Objects: the Princes because they are to take care of worldly Things, the Priests of Spiritual. Each having his own Power different and distinct; that of the Prince to punish or reward with corporal Pain; that of the Priests with Spiritual. In short, to each was given his own Power apart; hence not without Reason, the Magistrate carries the Sword, and the Priests the Key of the Kingdom of Heaven.[96]

Thus the Popes began to transfer Kingdoms from one People to another; whence it came to pass, that the same Footsteps being more cunningly and dextrously followed by their Successors, they became terrible to Princes, who in order to have them for their Friends, little minding the Sovereignty of their Dominions, and their own Dignity, subjected themselves to them so as to become their Vassals and Tributories to that See.[97]

Sovereignty proceeds from nothing else, but either from Conquest, or the Submission of the People; neither has the Pope… as Successor to St Peter, or as Vicar of Christ, any Right to pretend to it; for the Power given to St Peter, by him who declar'd that his Kingdom was not of this World, had no Relation to an Earthly and Temporal, but to a Spiritual and Eternal

95 *Epist.,* pp. 1020-1021.
96 *Civil History*, bk 1, ch.11=Ogilvie, 1, p. 37.
97 Bk 5, ch.4=Ogilvie, 1, p. 272.

> Kingdom in Heaven. And tho' now a-Days we see him Lord of so many States, and in Possession of many notable Prerogatives in the Dominion of other Princes, yet all is owing either to the Concession and Toleration of Princes, or to Custom, which by length of Time, and their exquisite Management and Cunning, has taken such deep Root, that in many Countries 'tis not possible to eradicate it.[98]

At the beginning of the *Papal Kingdom*, G. marvels*:*

> That the Pope on earth can do all which God can do, hence one is right in calling him Vice-God; and that he can transform good into evil, injustice into justice, vices into virtues, make what is square round; and finally he is above, against and beyond every law and right, even natural and apostolic, dispensing to everyone prohibitions, constitutions, statutes, and whatever has been set down no less by human than by divine laws.[99]

Arturo Jemolo quotes the justification of the Franciscan apologist Giovanni Antonio Bianchi (probably writing to refute G.'s work at that very time of G.'s sojourn in Vienna), on the uniquely spiritual matter of eternal salvation: the pope could prohibit 'some overtly unjust, illicit trade established by the Christian Prince in his State; declare null and void contracts based on usury, which might be made in some Republic;... [and] loose the chain of obedience which links Princes with subjects, when it results in manifest offence to God, extreme danger to eternal salvation, and the destruction of Religon'.[100] By the virtually universal agreement of theologians, power over temporal matters was given by divine institution to the Church.[101] Brunello Vigezzi acutely observes how G. understood that one could attack the Church's political power solely by attacking its dogmas.[102] The *Apologia* (Defence of the Civil History) was the most famous of G.'s minor works, and copies of it are found in all major Italian libraries. It was sent as a manuscript to Naples, where it was so widely circulated that Garelli, to prevent alterations, placed a correct version in the Palatine Library. It was published probably in 1715 in Venice.[103] Gustavo Costa described it aptly as 'a moving document on

98 Bk 11, intro.=Ogilvie, 1, p. 504.
99 *Triregno, Regno papale*, p. 5.
100 G. A. Bianchi, *Della potestà e della politia della Chiesa, trattati due contro le nuove opinioni di P.G.*, 7 vols (Rome 1745-1751), 1, p. 510; Jemolo, *Stato e Chiesa* (Naples 1972), p. 74.
101 Bianchi, 'Avvertimento ai lettori', 1, p. 1; Jemolo, *Stato e Chiesa*, p. 75.
102 *P.G. Riformatore e storico* (Milan 1961), p. 218.
103 Marini, 'Per il testo critico degli scritti politici minori di P.G.', *Annali d. Scuola*

the drama of an intellectual forced to live in an intolerant environment'.[104] The *Apologia* was initially to be published in Hungary, in order to avoid the censure of the Viennese Jesuits, which indicates that anti-curialist attitudes were widespread throughout the Habsburg Empire.[105]

[72]

The brutal arrest of Victor Amadeus:

Louis-Augustin Blondel relates in his report on the brutal arrest of the abdicated Victor Amadeus, ordered by his own son Charles Emanuel and carried out by Picon:

> The count-brigadier Peruset Picon... accompanied by four colonels and the officers of a company of grenadiers, went up at an hour after midnight into the apartment where that Prince was sleeping. As the doors could not be opened, they were hacked open with axes. The grenadiers then encircled the room and the bed, variously armed with guns, bayonets and flaming torches, and the twelve officers stood in the centre raising their swords. The king's wife, the countess Spigno, was wrenched virtually naked from the king's protective embrace and taken fifty miles away, escorted by fifty dragoons, and imprisoned in the fort of Ceva in the place reserved for prostitutes.[106]

[73]

The War of the Polish Succession:

France's taking advantage of the War of the Polish Succession was the work of militarists in the government, who seized the initiative.[107] The action of France had the support of Charles Emmanuel, who like his father, Victor Amadeus, wanted Milan. Austria had then to fight the French in western Germany, and France's allies, Spain and Savoy, in Italy. Austria had no military assistance from the Empire, because Bavaria was pro-French, and Cologne and the Palatinate had declared themselves neutral. Despite Charles' treaty with George I (the Second

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Normale Superiore di Pisa, 19 (1950), pp. 25-49.

104 *Storia della letteratura italiana*, ed. Enrico Malato (Salerno 1995-2001), 6, p. 233.

105 *Ibid*., p. 336.

106 Louis Augustin Blondel, *Memorie aneddotiche sulla corte di Sardegna* (Turin 1873), pp. 559-563.

107 Williams, *Dictionary of English and European History*, p. 276.

Treaty of Vienna, 1731), England and the Netherlands, the maritime powers, remained neutral because of mercantile interests and their friendship with France. Spain had, in fact, ratified this treaty in July 1731, and the Netherlands signed in February 1732.[108] England's failure to come to Austria's aid was bitterly lamented by Prince Eugene, who made clear Austria's real abandonment by its allies at that time: Prince Eugene to Count Kinsky, 30 December 1733:

> It was mainly at England's wish that the Emperor undertook to support the candidacy of the Crown Prince of Saxony for the throne of Poland. Solely out of consideration for England did he agree to allow Spanish troops into Italy and to give up the advantage that would have accrued from the continuation of the Ostend Company. It would be doubly painful, therefore, if the price of so many concessions by the Emperor were to be the complete absence of or only nominal support from his ally. The efforts we are making exceed our powers. We cannot continue them without bringing the Austrian lands to their knees.[109]

Frederick William of Prussia, however, immediately honoured his obligations to Austria under treaty, and contributed 10,000 troops. Extra troops would have had to be paid for, and could, moreover, have given the impression that he was in control of the war. Offers of some Imperial princes also had to be rejected because of the cost to the emperor. 'The Imperial diet voted 2.5 million gulden in May 1734 for that year's campaign, but by the following January less than an eighth had been paid'.[110] 'Without English money, victory for the Imperial armies was impossible. [Austria] lacked the money necessary for recruitment and remounting. In the course of time it was not possible to pay the officers, and in the end not even the wages of the troops; the inherited lands were completely drained, and the rich businessmen ruined, because the State could not pay back its loans, all credit having vanished'.[111] Austria, therefore, suffered the disastrous consequences of losing its naval support, and Russia confined itself to Poland.[112] On the gullibility of

108 Redlich, *Werden einer Grossmacht* (Brunn 1942), p. 193.
109 Prince Eugene to Graf. Kinsky, 3 December 1733; Alfred von Arneth, *Prince Eugen* (Vienna 1864), 3, p. 392; quoted by Nicholas Henderson, *Prince Eugen of Savoy* (London 1964), p. 277.
110 McKay, *Prince Eugene*, pp. 236-237.
111 Benedikt, *Das Königreich Neapel*, p. 466.
112 Béranger, *Histoire de l'Empire*, p. 430.

the court of Vienna, see Redlich, *Werden einer Grossmacht*, p. 197. Count Daun, general of the Imperial troops and defender of Turin 1705-1706, was governor of Milan in 1733.[113]

Redlich revealed that when French and Sardinian troops began hostilities in Italy, there were no more than 16,000 Imperial troops there to oppose them.[114] The permanent state of crisis of Austria's finances explains the reductions in and disastrous weakness of the army. There was no system of training officers, so that Prince Eugene's method of training them in the arena of war was not effective in the periods of peace which followed the treaties of Utrecht (1713 and 1720). There was no organized system of requisitioning the troops, and the system of 'war feeds the war' resulted in the brutal plundering of the helpless civilians in the path of the army. There was one barber-surgeon and one doctor allotted to each company, so that through wounds or sickness 'it was not unusual to lose fifty percent of the fighting force in the course of a campaign'. Before the reign of Maria Theresia, little provision was made for veterans,[115] apart from the 15,000 florins per annum which Prince Eugene provided for his soldiers out of his own fortune.[116]

113 B., p. 229.
114 *Werden einer Grossmacht*, p. 198.
115 Béranger, *Histoire de l'Empire*, pp. 440-442.
116 McKay, *Prince Eugene*, p. 229.

Chapter Nine: 1734: Vienna and Venice

In this year my successive sorrows began to become more evident, and as they steadily worsened, they made me understand, through personal experience, how fate never begins by halves.[1] At the same time as the Spaniards in Vienna were persisting in saying that Spain was not included in the alliance, it was heard that the generals Montemar and Liria, on leaving Lombardy, had stopped in Tuscany, and that in the fields round Sienna Count Montemar was reviewing the Spanish troops who had disembarked in Livorno and the nearby ports and were assembling for some expedition. Their place of assembly clearly suggested that the expedition was directed at the kingdom of Naples, which was immediately confirmed when it became known that the pope had not only granted them passage through his states but had even appointed commissioners to provide whatever the Spanish army needed as far as the borders of the kingdom, and that Spain had appointed the Infante Don Carlos supreme commander of the army.[2]

1 Ariosto, *Orlando furioso*, 8.50. This quotation suggests that G. had a sense of the ridiculous. The necessary context is: 'He tried one way, then another, but could not get his flop-eared nag to jump; vainly he shook his reins and spurred him on, but there was no making him raise his head. Eventually he fell asleep beside the damsel who was now to suffer a worse assault: when Fortune takes it into her head to make a play with a mortal, she does nothing by halves' (translator, Guido Waldman, p. 76).

2 'He [Don Carlos] arrived in Florence in the first days of February, and at once moved his troops in a southward direction. He was allowed to march through the Papal States, on condition that he did not touch Rome. The progress of the Spanish army, 20,000 strong, was not unaccompanied by disorders and oppression of the population, to the Pope's great grief. However, "Clement XII cannot raise his head," Cardinal Cienfuegos wrote on 13 March 1734, "for the Spanish behave as if they had already conquered Naples"' (Pastor, 34.365, quoting Vatican archives). The irony of history is that during the Austrian invasion of Naples in 1707, Clement XI had to yield to the request for safe passage of the Imperial troops through the papal states

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In Vienna meanwhile preparations were being made everywhere for war, and the artillery and troops were being sent to Mantua, and all the forces were directed to Lombardy to fight the French and Piedmontese and drive them out of the State of Milan. The Council of War and all the Germans, who cared little about the kingdom of Naples and much less about Sicily, had persuaded the emperor that all efforts should be directed at Lombardy and that the regiments not be reduced by sending them to Naples, since whoever was master of the State of Milan could easily reconquer anything lost in Naples. The Spaniards, and especially the count of Montesanto, who then saw the imminent danger threatening the kingdom of Naples, appealed to the emperor, urgently requesting him to send to Naples from the army destined for Milan no more than five or six regiments, which, with those kept there under General Carafa,[3] would be enough to defend it and prevent the Spaniards entering the border. So forcefully, however, did the Germans impress on the emperor's mind that he should hold to his plan of action in the war in Italy, that he remained firm and replied that he could not weaken the army destined for Lombardy where it was to make its main thrust.

The Neapolitans in the meantime were seeking help, and the marquis of Rialp fed them on vain hopes. And when they cried at least for recruits to be sent there to equip the reduced troops of General Carafa, it was not

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on their way south; that at the time, in 1707, it was France and Spain whose protests were ignored. In 1734-1735 also, the old adage of 'War feeds an army' must have been the rule. Despite Prince Eugene's insistence on no looting and humanity on the part of his soldiers, the Prussian troops sent as reinforcements for the Imperial army were guilty of terrible atrocities on the way (Henderson, *Prince Eugen of Savoy*, p. 280). The rich estates of G.'s benevolent friend Senator Angelo Pisani were plundered to the point of impoverishment. Rome, nevertheless, would seem to have preferred the Austrian vice-regency to remain in power: 'Our Lord will have great pleasure in hearing that the Kingdom of Naples, legitimately possessed by the Imperial Majesty by virtue of the pontifical investitures, places itself in a state of valid defence' (Giuseppe Firrao to Domenico Passionei, Rome, 16 January, 1734: AAV, *Germania*: Marini, *Mezzogiorno*, p. 88). G. added to the last chapter of Book 40 of the *Civil History* a note on how Clement XII broke faith with the pact made by Charles VI and Innocent XIII on Charles' investiture, whereby Charles had paid the tribute of 700 ducats and presented the *chinea*, the white horse with tribute (Fausto Nicolini, 'Un passo poco noto dell'*Istoria Civile*', *ASPN*, 35 (1910), pp. 338-391). This part was, in fact, suppressed by the censor of the Bourbon government in the edition of the *Civil History* which was republished by Panzini in 1767. It is therefore most interesting to be able to include it: Chapter Nine: Appendix.

3 Giovanni Carafa (1693-1743).

even possible to have them arrive in time, because when sent to embark at Fiume and Trieste, the marches and embarkations were conducted with such disorder and confusion, due to a lack of necessities, that part of them was left on the way and part arrived when the kingdom was in enemy hands and remained there as prisoners. And when the Spaniards became aware of the Germans' indifference to the loss of the kingdoms of Naples and Sicily, and heard constantly with their own ears the voices of many saying that, since the kingdoms had been a good source to drain, thought might now be given to defending them, the marquis of Rialp finally decided on a defence only too clever and sound. Among the immense crowd of Catalans living in idleness in Vienna at the emperor's expense were many brigands and exiles called 'micheletti', who were formed into a company and given as leader a famous Catalan, considered by them to be another Roque Guinart,[4] especially for his skill in setting up ambushes in the woods and mountains to engage in skirmishes and lay traps. When the company was provided with pistols and other weapons, it was sent to Naples in the belief that if it lay in ambush in those woods between the borders and revealed itself to the other Catalans who were fighting under the Infante Don Carlos, it would make them all desert, and having increased in number would prevent the Spaniards entering the kingdom. And this expedition cost the emperor more than if a regiment had been sent, because no expense was spared in clothes, arms and kit, which had to be magnificent and ostentatious. And with this and the few troops in Naples under General Carafa, they expected to prevent the Spanish army entering the borders of the kingdom. The marquis of Rialp, however, in order that the end corresponded with the beginning and with the way in which he had governed the kingdom of Naples, wanted to end with a glorious action, which would be certain to make him illustrious and immortal for centuries. He wrote in the name of the emperor a bombastic letter[5] to the

4 Roca Guiñarda (b.1582), a Catalan brigand, hero of bandits, defender of victims of injustice and the powerless; Bertelli sees him in chapters 50 and 51 of Cervante's *Don Quixote*. The 'micheletti' were light infantry, armed with muskets, who formed as volunteers in local communities. They took their name from the militia which arose in the Basque country and was organized into a military group by Miguelot de Prats in 1674 (B., p. 235).

5 A summary of this letter can be found in Michelangelo Schipa, *Regno di Napoli* (Naples 1904), p. 98. The letter or proclamation is written in the first person as though by the emperor and is addressed to the Elect of 'the most Excellent and most

city of Naples, in which in the course of empty words he declared that the Neapolitans were to show their loyalty by preventing the entry of the Spaniards, at the cost not only of their property but even of their blood, by sacrificing their lives and vigorously opposing the enemy. And what was so amazing was that the Neapolitans were encouraged to do this by an obvious lie, as he wrote to them that the army in Lombardy had been ordered to detach several regiments to come to their aid, thus treating the Neapolitans as though they were stupid and half-witted, as though they did not know that there was no such force. And even if there were, it would have been useless to them, since the Spaniards were already on the borders, and it was easy for the allies either to block it or by following it to place it between their troops and those of the Spaniards.

The marquis of Rialp then derived little pleasure from the reply made to him by the City, reproaching him for the millions which had been drained from the kingdom.[6] The military coffers had been refilled many times to maintain 20,000 soldiers for the protection of Naples and yet there were no more than a few regiments.[7] So many bounties and subventions had been provided for arming and fortifying forts and towns, and yet they were lacking in everything. The City had with utmost urgency and haste requested the aid of troops in time for them to

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Faithful City'. It concludes: 'I trust that your efforts correspond to my Royal hopes..., and you may be sure that I shall keep in my Royal heart the sacrifice and discomforts which the Enemy Invasion will cause you' (10 March 1734: Società napolitana per la Storia patria, quoted by Schipa, with no further reference). It followed a request for a donation from the City of 600,000 ducats.

6 Schipa quotes sources for at least ten huge sums paid to Vienna by the Neapolitans over the twenty-seven years of the Austrian vice-regency, amounting to 'almost 3,200,000 ducats'. The last three: 480,000 (800,000 florins) in 1730; 300,000 ducats in 1731 and 600,000 ducats in 1733, for the war in Lombardy. By 1733, the sum paid in Naples for pensions to the Spaniards had risen to 600,000 ducats per annum ('Memorie per l'ecc.mo signor conte D. Giulio Visconti etc': Marini, *Mezzogiorno*, p. 8). And on 7 December 1733, the emperor ordered Naples to send 100,000 florins to Mantua, which was under siege, together with a vast quantity of grain. Schipa notes that it is common to find in the volumes of Naples' *Scrivania di Razione* (a record of all salaries paid and all expenditure) enormous sums for the weddings and celebrations of the Spaniards (Schipa, *Regno di Napoli*, p. 8).

7 There were only 5,000 soldiers in Naples to resist the more numerous, better paid and equipped army of Don Carlos, and only some 1,500 cavalry with old horses and no remounts, unlike the properly caparisoned and equipped Spanish cavalry (Raffaele Ajello, *Storia di Napoli* (Naples 1967-1972), 7, p. 479). Redlich, however, states that there were some 8,000 Imperial troops in Naples for its defence (*Werden einer Grossmacht* (Brunn 1942), p. 201). Daun in 1701, in fact, had conquered Naples with 8,000 troops (Harold Stone, *Vico's Cultural History* (Leiden 1997), p. 133).

be sent across the Adriatic, and these had not been sent. The Neapolitans, therefore, believed themselves abandoned, and since in the opinion of all they deserved praise and commendation for having kept until then the oath of loyalty due to His Majesty the emperor, they would find not only pardon but even sympathy, if, when abandoned and placed in dire need, they were to take the side most beneficial for them and bring the city and kingdom calm and peace.[8]

Those efforts, although useless, made by the Spaniards in Vienna to preserve the kingdoms of Naples and Sicily, convinced people that they had not been traitors, as was commonly rumoured and believed; namely, that acting on an understanding with Spain, they had reduced the kingdoms thus exhausted of people and money to the point of being easy prey for the Spanish. They were not traitors, because to have known how to achieve this with such art and industry would have been, even for them, although infamous, something about which to boast. All their arrogance, ostentation and conceit lay in believing that the mere name of the emperor was enough to preserve them, and that Spain would never have been so rash as to attack him. This idea made them negligent, lazy and as though stupid and half-witted, regarding the kingdoms as no more than inexhaustible purses, and thinking only of becoming immensely rich and accumulating precious things, which with one avid, greedy hand they plundered and, with the other, lavishly squandered on pomp, luxury, and ostentation. And they did this in order that, although living in Germany, Italy, Flanders and other foreign countries, they might compete with, or rather dominate, the nationals themselves, rich, powerful, and most aristocratic though they were.

8 The incomparable Lino Marini (*Mezzogiorno*, p. 7) observes that no other ruler of Naples so exhausted it as did Charles VI, firstly, because of the poverty of the Habsburgs, secondly, because of Charles' militarism, and thirdly, more than anything else, because of his passion for the Spaniards. The text of the city's reply is in G. Senatore, *Giornale storico di quanto avvenne nei due reami di Napoli e Sicilia... l'anno 1734-1735* (Naples 1742), p. 50 (*Vita,* ed. Nicolini, p. 270). In a petition presented to Charles VI in 1731 there is the statement: 'Anyone looking from outside at the verdant, fruitful Kingdom, unchanged from how it was in preceding centuries, will doubtless wonder how it could have become so poor, if the same reasons for its wealth remain and flourish' ('Petition of the Deputati delle Piazze napoletane', in *Racconto di varie notizie* (Naples 1997), pp. 251-257; Marini, *P.G. e il Giannonismo*, p. 153). Marini quotes the statement of Montesquieu on his return from Austria: 'The Emperor has a very vast ambition: as he cannot have Spain, he has the Spaniards': *Oeuvres complètes* (Paris 1949, Pléiade ed.), 1, p. 550.

For what purpose, whose advantage, should they have been traitors, when from the prince on whom the treachery was perpetrated they could hope for no more than the tiniest part of all which was to be lost? Could Spain ever compensate them for the many posts, magistracies, seigniories, riches, and all the lucrative appointments invented solely to enrich them by the many pensions, benefits and endless other emoluments which would be lost to them? They were not, therefore, traitors but as arrogant, fanatic, deluded and pompous as they were stupid, worthless, and useless, men whom fortune had raised up not to govern but to exhaust wretched and afflicted Italy.

In the meantime, the Spanish army, which in cavalry and infantry was made up of 14,000 to 15,000 soldiers (although others increased the number to 18,000), commanded by General Montemar under the auspices of the young prince Don Carlos, had at the beginning of March approached the borders and, continuing its marches unhindered, had entered the kingdom. After crossing the Mignano Pass,[9] where opposition had been expected, they advanced in April to Capua where the few German troops had retreated in order that, united with those of the garrison, they might defend the town. After the Spaniards had blockaded the town without mounting a strict siege, they passed on and continued their conquests in Terra di Lavoro. When they arrived in Aversa, the city of Naples sent its deputies to present the keys to Prince Don Carlos, who was at Maddaloni.[10]

The viceroy Count Visconti, the successor of Count Harrach, General Carafa, and other German commanders and officials had already left the city.[11] These set out with their troops for Puglia with the intention of

9 Otto Ferdinand Traun, count of Abensberg (1677-1748), former governor of Messina, was positioned on the pass on which the rescue of Capua depended, with fewer than 3,500 men and 600 cavalry (Benedikt, *Königreich Neapel*, p. 489). For the advance of the Spanish army, Bertelli (B., p. 237) refers to D. Sterpos, *Communicazioni stradali attraverso i tempi: Roma—Capua* (Rome 1966), p. 178. See Schipa for estimates of the number of Imperial troops at specific places of combat: *Regno di Napoli*, pp. 101, 115, 118, 119.

10 Capua held out until November, 1734, with some 5,000 men under Count Traun (Redlich, *Werden einer Grossmacht*, p. 201). See Schipa (pp. 104-106) for the solemn reception of Don Carlos at Maddaloni on 9 April.

11 Giulio Visconti (1664-1750), member of an old Milanese family; he accompanied Charles VI to Spain; governor of Belgium in 1725. He retained Charles' favour after the loss of Naples, and, after serving as the head of the royal household, he returned to Milan where he died. G. writes of those hoping for employment in Naples with

preserving it and the neighbouring provinces, and if they could not, to retreat to Calabria and preserve at least the provinces near Sicily. On the other hand, since the Spaniards had entered Naples without disorder and amid universal peace and quiet,[12] they began to lay siege to the fortresses. Soon that of Sant' Ermo surrendered, then Uovo, Castelnuovo, and the others in the area,[13] and all the garrisons were left prisoners of war. They then turned to the siege of Gaeta, and a town once considered impregnable was surrendered in less than ten days. Pescara at least resisted for forty days, and the garrisons all remained prisoners of war. In brief, the two Abruzzi, Terra di Lavoro, the provinces of Capitanata and the commune of Molise, and the provinces of Principato, nearer and further, all passed swiftly to the new conqueror, who had set out for Puglia on the enemy's trail.

When news of such precipitate ruin reached Vienna, many were filled with confusion and terror, but especially the Spaniards who saw the imminent misfortunes which were certain to befall them with the loss of the kingdom of Naples, for them the most abundant and copious

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Visconti: 'May God grant their wish' (Vienna, 17 January 1733: *Epist.*, p. 945). On 3 April 1734, General Carafa, supreme commander of the Italian troops, fled to Apulia with Visconti and 5,000 men to await reinforcements from northern Italy, which were never to arrive. They were defeated on 25 May 1734 at Bitonto (Schipa, *Regno di Napoli*, p. 116; Redlich, *Werden einer Grossmacht*, p. 201).

12 On the 'siege': 'The Spaniards, in order not to give cause to the besieged to defend themselves with a great quantity of artillery and consequently damage the city, have chosen to go through the mines which abut the ramparts near the sea, and they do not even use rifles or take the defences, which harmlessly assault them, with big artillery or guns. The people are such inquisitive spectators that they sometimes advance where they could be hit. As the besiegers are no less courteous to the besieged than to the city, when they know they could cause injury, they wave a handkerchief and shout in a loud voice for the people to remove themselves... The low plebs rush to look for the cannon ball, and the garrison waits to fire the second volley. The inquisitiveness is not confined to the most humble people. The professional class and the nobility come in their carriages, although at a distance and not so dangerously close' (quoted by Ajello, without documentation, *Il problema di riforma*, pp. 237-238). Don Carlos entered Naples in triumph on 11 April flanked by his former tutor Count Santo Stefano (fateful for G.) and Prince Bartolomeo Corsini, and had himself crowned king of Naples on 15 May (Redlich, *Werden einer Grossmacht*, p. 201).

13 Sant' Ermo surrendered on 26 April after resisting for five days; Ovo surrendered on 4 May after one day of resistance; Castelnuovo on 6 May after two days. Gaeta, although well-fortified and with sufficient food for six months, was defeated on 6 August 1734 by 10,000 besiegers commanded by Montemar, and it surrendered its garrison of 1,500 dead and wounded men by honourable capitulation. Pescara surrendered a fortnight before, on 23 July (Schipa, *Regno di Napoli*, pp. 110-111, 118).

source. They raged against General Carafa, censuring his conduct and charging him with cowardice, that he should have opposed the enemy at the borders and barred its entry and not retreated to Puglia. And their clamour at Court was such that Carafa was summoned to Vienna to account for his conduct, and the command of the German troops was given to the Prince of Belmonte.[14] Where they hoped for salvation, however, they found ultimately slaughter and ruin; for as this new general had been urged to do battle with the enemy, he rashly met the Spanish army on the plain of Bitonto where the thick vines and stone walls and the dense scrub bordering it rendered the German cavalry useless, and without thinking of having the cavalry dismount, he decided to do battle. This had such an unfortunate and dishonourable result that he was forced to lay down his arms and surrender himself as a prisoner of war, together with the other generals and officials and all the army.[15] Count Montemar, therefore, had the pleasure of triumphing totally over the enemy, and in one action of bringing all the kingdom's remaining provinces, Puglia, Basilicata, Terra d'Otranto, and the two Calabrias under the dominion of his sovereign.

Of the kingdom of Naples there remained only the city of Capua, which could have resisted the siege for a long time, because the troops which had retreated from the Mignano Pass had united to garrison it.

14 Giovanni Carafa (d.1743) entered the Imperial army under the emperor Leopold. After a demanding and illustrious career, in which he became commander-general of the Imperial troops, he came into conflict with the viceroy Giulio Visconti. When reinforcements failed to arrive in March 1734, and the defence of Naples seemed useless and impossible, he withdrew the Imperial troops. He was taken before the Supreme Council of War, judged among the main culprits for the loss of the kingdom of Naples, and exiled to Wiener Neustadt. After a period of imprisonment, he retired to Venice, where he died (*DBI* 19, pp. 559-561: C. Russo). Ferdinando Pignatelli di Belmonte (1689-1767), was the brother of Marianna Althann, who had been the mistress of Charles VI (Charles of Austria) in Spain. Schipa (*Regno di Napoli*, p. 113) surmises that Carafa's fate was sealed by either the jealousy of Count Traun or the vanity of Belmonte's sister Marianna.

15 The battle of Bitonto occurred on 25 May 1734. Schipa (p. 116) states that the Austrians lost about 1,000 men, the Spaniards only 300. Chandler relates that at Bitonto Montemar at the head of 16,000 Spaniards defeated 6,200 Imperial troops under Pignatelli. He states that it was at Bari one month later, on 26 May 1734, that Montemar with 15,000 Spanish soldiers defeated Pignatelli with 4,095 Imperial troops. There were no Spanish casualties, and 4,000 Imperial troops were taken prisoner and their officers released on parole (*The Art of Warfare in the Age of Marlborough* (London 1976), p. 304).

Being bereft of all hope of relief, however, the commander[16] decided finally to surrender it on honourable terms, since it was agreed that the garrison and the troops there could embark at the ports in the Adriatic and be given safe passage to Fiume or Trieste.

The Spaniards of Vienna thus saw, within a few months, the kingdom of Naples fly out of their hands, and that nearby Sicily was about to follow suit and even more precipitately, since it was even more destitute and exhausted of forces, arms and people than Naples. And as the Sicilians had Naples' example before them, and the fact that the Spaniards had enough ships and vessels on the seas of Naples to take possession of Sicily, they voluntarily offered to admit them, and news came that they had sent their legates to Naples to surrender. Lipari had already hoisted the Spanish flag and Lipari's inhabitants had joined their ship to those of the Spaniards.[17] And yet who would have believed it? Given the state of affairs, the marquis of Rialp wrote to Count Visconti, who had embarked with the navy of Bari and escaped to Ancona en route via Trieste to Vienna, instructing him not to leave Ancona, but to set up residence there awaiting His Majesty's orders on what had to be done about the kingdom of Naples. And with Sicily about to surrender, the count of Sastago, who was viceroy there, was removed and Marquis Rubi, a Catalan, appointed in his place, and sent to Sicily with instructions that, if on arrival he found the kingdom in enemy hands, to go on to Malta and await there His Majesty's orders on that kingdom. And this was in order that his secretariat could pretend still to send, as before, dispatches to the viceroys of Naples and Sicily, but with one residing in Ancona and the other having to rule Sicily from Malta. In Vienna, on the

16 Hunger forced the surrender of Capua on 24 November 1734 (Schipa, *Regno di Napoli*, p. 120). Traun stated: 'It was not possible to resist the Spanish army with a few men, because for quite a while the Lord God has declared himself for the many, that is, the greater number' (Tommaso Leccisotti, 'Carlo Borbone e Montecassino', *ASPN*, 41 (1962), pp. 289-326).

17 The Sicilian Canon Antonio Mongitore wrote in his diary of the 'immense jubilation' of the Sicilians who, on hearing of the successes of the Spanish army in Naples, realized that they were 'about to be liberated from the tyranny of the Pharaoh'. He attributed it to Vienna's 'rabid thirst for the money of the Sicilians, which could never be quenched by any of the immense sums which they received'. For this he blamed, nevertheless, 'the Catalan officials, who betrayed the sovereign, disregarding justice and his good name' (Mongitore, *Diario palermitano* (Palermo 1871), pp. 222 and 227, quoted by Vittorio Russo in *P.G. e il suo tempo*, p. 705. For the conquest of Sicily: Schipa, *Regno di Napoli*, p. 122).

other hand, although there was nothing more to be done for Milan and much less for Naples, and no more appeals came from tottering Sicily, the president, the count of Montesanto, did not suspend the Council, and obliged the councillors, regents and secretaries, with the officials of the secretariat, to attend as before, and when asked what was to be done there, replied that they were 'to spend those hours reading the gazettes and discoursing on the strengths and weaknesses of the present war'.[18]

In that unhappy state to which things had been reduced, everyone will be able to understand my agitation and consternation. If with Sicily still not lost I was having difficulties in being paid my allowance, what was to be my unhappy lot when, with it lost, I had no hope of finding other means of support in Vienna? From Naples there was nothing to expect. My brother was not only unwilling to send me anything, but was even writing to me of poverty, and that the new Spanish governor was so harsh and severe with anyone communicating by letter with Vienna that he was endangering himself by writing to me, and that in order not to ruin him I should be careful when writing, and that it would be better if I refrained from doing so. I well understood that it was a very timely opportunity for him to go on enjoying my property without any fear of having to give me an account of it. On turning to friends in Vienna in this general consternation, instead of comfort, I found desperation and predictions of even greater calamities and misfortunes: each one was trying to save himself in such universal shipwreck, not to lend aid to others. I was frightened, furthermore, by the infinite number of Spaniards in Vienna, all living on the kingdoms of Naples and Sicily and the State of Milan, who were given preference over everyone in the subsidies. This was so especially with the Catalans, who were shouting that they would perish

18 'In Naples... Charles recognized the "privileges, capitulations and graces" of the Kingdom in 1713, 1717 and 1720. He unfortunately honoured his promises, in so far as no attempt was made to recast the administration. He unfortunately broke them by an extravagant use of Neapolitan revenues and prebends to pay the salaries of his Spanish council in Vienna, and to maintain other exiles... In fact, in Italy Charles VI's achievement was at once idiosyncratic and reactionary: reactionary, because he loyally maintained the traditions of the old Spanish administration until after 1730; and, in consequence, idiosyncratic, because he so largely obstructed the effective penetration of Austrian administrative institutions into a country which the Austrian Habsburgs had conquered by force of arms during the War of the Spanish Succession. From this point of view alone, Rialp's secretariat deserves a somewhat melancholy prominence in Austrian as well as Italian history' (John Stoye, 'Emperor Charles VI', *Trans.RoyalHist.Soc.*, 12 (1961), 63-84, pp. 78-79).

from hunger if the emperor did not come to their aid.

And I had already begun to find, with Sicily still not lost, that the little money which the official Llacuna was supposed to pay me was often put to other use by the president to supply the needs of so many Spaniards. Although deluding myself that at least with a new viceroy appointed in Sicily, the duties levied on the consignment of his dispatches and patents would suffice me for many months, I was disappointed, because as Marquis Rubi was a Catalan, he was exempted from all duties on dispatches and seals, as were in general all the Spaniards. I therefore had reason to fear that, even if Sicily were not invaded, I would have difficulties with my payments, and in fact only with great effort, clamour and shouting to the president could I extract two allowances, which were my very last.

All the foreigners, unaware of all this, after I had left Vienna and was passing through their cities, expressed amazement at my being forced by hard necessity to leave Vienna, that even an emperor could give me no more than 1,000 florins a year for my support.[19] They ceased to be amazed, however, on considering the circumstances relating to the unfortunate loss of the kingdoms of Naples and Sicily and the State of Milan. There was nothing strange or new, they used to say, in a monarch's losing a kingdom or many provinces. Ordinary events often gave rise to such losses. This, however, was no reason to abandon those who have deserved some grant, who remain in the presence of the prince, maintained at his court, for whom if one fund fails, he makes provision elsewhere.

All this is true, but it was my fatal destiny that the situation was different and unprecedented, so that not even an emperor could have helped me. I used therefore often say tearfully that my misfortunes were so pitiless, terrible and mighty, that they had made the strongest columns, on which I had depended and by which I had been supported, collapse and fall to earth. What ensued is completely different and a similar example cannot be found in ancient or modern history. Never

19 G. wrote, seeking the patronage of the duke di Lauria Ulloa, that his decision to return to Italy could only have been prevented by the emperor's restoring his pension by taking it from the hereditary Austrian states, 'which, given the costly war under way and his support of the infinite number of Catalans on his back, who had previously lived on worn out Italy, was an impossible task' (Venice, 25 September 1734: *Epist*., p. 1055: Chapter Nine: Appendix [73]).

before has a prince willingly attracted an infinite number of persons from other kingdoms and provinces, and as years went by, continued to invite more, and, if it had been possible, would have brought to Vienna and Italy all the Spaniards in the Spanish kingdoms and kept them in his court and in the city where he resided, although for the most part they were useless. He endowed countless others with offices, posts, pensions and other grants to fill the kingdoms of Naples and Sicily and the State of Milan. Multitudes were supported on the dominions of Italy, whence came the great stipends to maintain in Vienna the Council of Spain, made numerous by the many regents, councillors, secretaries and the immense crowd of officials in the secretariats; whence came the salaries to maintain the Spanish secretariat of state; whence came the pensions assigned to the many Spaniards at Court, for whom a separate committee was set up to ensure their punctual payment; whence came the daily allowances and other subsidies destined for the other infinite horde of Spaniards who were in Vienna, useless, without employment and idle, kept solely to make dung and grow in numbers; whence came, finally, the money to assist them with dowries for their daughters and sisters, sickness, funerals and even for luxuries. The purse believed to be always safe and inexhaustible was wretched Italy, as there was little to exhaust in Flanders, and that little was barely enough to maintain the Council of Flanders, composed for the most part of the same Spaniards. There was nothing to be done in the kingdoms of Hungary and Bohemia, since apart from being burdened with costs and financial obligations, the nationals asserted their own rights and prerogatives in not allowing foreigners a share of the revenue coming from their countries. The same situation prevailed in all the other hereditary Austrian states, which were unable even to supply the costs and ancient pensions required of them, and often lacked the money for the salaries of the Austrians themselves and others at the Court actually in the service of the emperor. After thus so wretchedly losing the Italian states which were the sole perennial source of water to quench the thirst of so many, there was nowhere else to make good such a grave and ruinous loss. Small streams and brooks were not enough, and other broad and boundless rivers were necessary to compensate for it.

It had happened on countless other occasions that on losing a province or a kingdom the prince had not had much difficulty

accommodating elsewhere those of his court employed in offices pertaining to the countries lost, because they were few, and if they lacked employment, he could subsidize them in the meantime with pensions and other assistance. When Spain under King Philip IV lost the kingdom of Portugal, the Portuguese employed in Madrid and the other Spanish kingdoms were given permission to return to their own regions, so that Madrid was relieved of the burden of them. And for those for whom it was not safe to return, as they were few in number, it was easy to provide either other employment or pensions for their support. When Spain herself in 1706-1707 lost the State of Milan and the kingdom of Naples, and then that of Sicily and Sardinia,[20] it immediately abolished the Council of Italy, and the nationals employed in it were given permission to return to their homes. And the others, being few, were easily employed in other councils and similar posts.

Vienna's case at this time, however, was quite different. It involved not a few but an infinite number of Spaniards, part of whom could not return to Spain for fear of encountering something worse, and part did not want to return to Spain to their own regions, where many had neither the sky to cover them nor the earth to support them. And being accustomed to the abundance and splendour with which they had been maintained there until then, they did not want to be a laughing-stock to their compatriots by returning poor and wretched, and they claimed that the emperor should help them in gratitude for their loyalty in following him. And on the other hand, the emperor showed that he completely sympathized with them and would not abandon them. Not only, therefore, did one not see any reduction in Vienna in their numbers, in fact they increased, since all those employed in Naples and Sicily, who wanted to appear zealots in his service on leaving their posts, came to Vienna, certain that the emperor would welcome and support them.

To the Milanese, Neapolitans and Sicilians, on the contrary, he easily and quickly gave permission to return to their countries, even to those who had taken up arms for the emperor on that occasion. They were frankly informed that the emperor could not compensate them for the

20 After a long war of nearly twenty-five years, in 1668 Portugal became independent by the Treaty of Lisbon, after the death of Philip IV (1605-1665). Sicily and Sardinia had been lost by Spain after the war of the Spanish Succession at the Treaty of Utrecht in 1713.

losses which they would have sustained in their fiefdoms and estates by remaining in his service, and he could not, moreover, support or employ them elsewhere. This was in order that the Spaniards might be alone and without any companions to reduce the secret subsidies for which they hoped. Only the two national regents, the one for Naples and the other for Milan, were not permitted to return, although they did not draw any money, since it was not desirable to dissolve the Council of Spain so soon, and for the regent of Milan the delusion persisted that soon that state would be recovered. Almost all the Neapolitans who were in Vienna returned in May to their homes in Naples.

Although I had collected nothing more from my monthly allowances, and Sicily while not lost was soon to be so, I remained in the hope ultimately of redress and to see how things would eventuate in Lombardy, since many deluded themselves that after General Merci had crossed the Po, he would be in a position to bring on a battle with the enemy army and report victory, perhaps bringing a change in Italian affairs. These hopes also came to nothing, since the battle of Guastella and the other of Parma had the opposite outcome.[21] And bad news continued to come from Sicily. It was ready to surrender, and on the appearance of the Spanish navy, Palermo was immediately surrendered, and thus one by one the other cities and towns of that kingdom were surrendered.[22] I finally resolved to implore help and advice from friends

21 G. relates in his letter to Carlo how, as General Mercy arrived at Trente, the Neapolitans were competing to buy offices and titles and at exorbitant prices (Vienna, 20 February 1734: *Epist*., pp. 1037-1038). At the battle of Guastalla, 19 September 1734, Charles Emanuel III led his troops against the Austrians under Count Lothar von Königsegg. 5,000 French and Piedmontese soldiers and 7,000 Imperial troops were killed (Domenico Carutti, *Storia del regno di Carlo Emanuele III*, 2 vols (Turin 1859), 1, pp. 99-103; Ricuperati, *Piemonte sabaudo*, in *Storia d'Italia*, 8, p. 480. Compare Chandler: at Guastalla there were 40,000 French and Sardinian troops, of whom 6,000 were killed and 100 taken prisoner. Of the 27,000 Imperial troops, 5,800 were killed and 100 taken prisoner (*The Art of Warfare*, p. 304). The battle at the gates of Parma on 29 June 1734 was an even greater calamity, because of the personal withdrawal of Charles Emanuel, owing to the fatal illness of his wife Polissena, queen of Sardinia. As a result, not only was the Austrian commander, Florimond-Claude de Mercy killed, but also many thousands of soldiers on both sides (Carutti, *Storia del regno*, pp. 95-96; Ricuperati, *Piemonte sabaudo*, p. 479). Of 53,000 French and Sardinian troops under General Coigny, 4,000 died, and of 37,000 Imperial soldiers, their general Mercy and 6,000 men were killed (Chandler, *The Art of Warfare*, p. 304).

22 In Sicily, there were only 6,000 Imperial troops, and since there were no reinforcements or money, the commander Marquis Roma and the viceroy Count

and the magistrates whom I believed could be of help to me with His Majesty the emperor, by making known to him my unhappy state and how unsafe I would be from the persecutions of the court of Rome by returning to Naples, now that the kingdom was in the hands of the Spaniards. These were grateful to His Holiness for facilitating their conquest of Naples, and the Infante Don Carlos was keeping at his Court the pope's nephew, Prince Corsini, who had been made his Master of Horse.[23] Those to whom I was appealing, therefore, could not want to sacrifice me and expose me to the anger and indignation of that Court.

I found everyone sympathetic and regretful about my return to Naples, but the universal consternation was so great that no one, in the affliction and misery to which things were reduced, dared or could find a solution, knowing that I would have been absorbed by the infinite number of ravenous Spaniards who had to be fed. I could not in my extreme need avail myself of Prince Eugene who, weighed down by grievous cares, was completely engrossed in dispatching the army which he was to command on the Rhine to resist the French and prevent their making new gains in that area.[24]

Sastago, as in Naples, surrendered without a struggle. The general Prince Lobkovic held out in the citadel of Messina until the end of March 1735, and at Syracuse and Trapani until July (Redlich, *Werden einer Grossmacht*, p. 201).

23 Bartolomeo Corsini (1683-1752): marquis of Casigiano, duke of Santa Colomba, prince of Pitigliano, eldest son of a family of vast wealth, nephew of Clement XII and cousin of Cardinal Neri Corsini of the Holy Office (Inquisition), who goaded on his colleagues in the persecution of G. Santo Stefano deferred to him in everything and cultivated him as the favourite in the papal court. As viceroy of Sicily (1737-1747) it was believed that Corsini used his position to increase his vast wealth (*DBI* 29, pp. 612-617, p. 613: V. Sciuti Russo; Ajello, *Storia di Napoli*, 7, p. 497). Costantino Grimaldi, in his troubles in 1734, felt driven to request the patronage of Prince Corsini (Ajello, *Il problema della Riforma*, p. 246). The representative of Charles VI at the papal court, Cardinal Cienfuegos, wrote of Corsini's presence at the court of Charles Bourbon: 'It is easy to see how Spain seeks to win over the court of Rome by both love and fear' (11 December 1734; Pastor, 34, p. 367, quoting the Vatican archives).

24 Prince Eugene had taken part in thirty-one campaigns (Henderson, *Prince Eugen of Savoy*, p. 278). Other considerations perhaps explain his failure to help G. Passionei was also a constant visitor at Prince Eugene's palace. The Sardinian envoy, moreover, claimed that the library of Prince Eugene had been chosen largely by Passionei (Canale to the fateful Marquis Ormea, 17 August 1737; *ibid.*, p. 260). Another friend of Eugene of fateful significance for G. was Alessandro Albani (1692-1779), who had been Eugene's friend since 1720 when Albani was nuncio in Vienna. He was later entrusted with giving his approval for all Eugene's purchases of antiquities in Rome (*ibid.*, pp. 264-265). In 1733, however, Eugene had written in his *Memoirs*: 'It

I did not neglect appealing to the Spaniards themselves, knowing, however, that all would be futile. And many times I begged the president, the count of Montesanto, to see that I was not forgotten in the assistance given to the Spaniards. I found true sympathy but nothing to hope for, since there was not enough even for them. I went to the marquis of Rialp, whom unfortunately I found very different from before, completely depressed and disconsolate, and so far from being able to help me that his advice was rather to leave, as he said he himself would have done, to live the few years left to him in peace.[25] The one who finally made me lose all hope and think seriously of taking refuge elsewhere as best I could was, however, the cavaliere Garelli, in whom, instead of comfort, I found great bewilderment and consternation. As he was librarian and first physician to the emperor and empress, he used to go often to the Court and was well regarded by both, and knowing the confusion and disorder there, he told me that if he were alone and without three small children, two girls and a boy, he also would escape.[26] This was so as not to see such distress or witness the disorder which he foresaw must ensue in Vienna from so many Spaniards, who ultimately had to live. As the Viennese were not able to provide them with the necessary food, they were exposed to a thousand insults and dangers.

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was about this time that I clearly perceived the diminution of my influence' (*ibid*., p. 217). Eugene returned with his army to Vienna at the beginning of October 1734. G. had left on 29 August. The crown prince of Prussia, who had accompanied Eugene on campaign, observed that by that time his 'body was still there but not his mind' (quoted by Redlich, *Werden einer Grossmacht*, p. 199).

25 G.'s last reference to Rialp comes a year later from Venice and is related to the eager demand there to reprint G.'s account of the councils and ministries of Vienna, which some people said would have made the emperor realize how badly his court had been administered, 'although now it is not needed, with the Council of Spain closed. And the marquis of Rialp, even if in a better state in his mortal illness, has been left incapable by old age, the passions of the spirit, and a weary convalescence, to the point where he has retired from all business' (Venice, 7 May 1735: *Epist*., p. 1092).

26 Pio Nicolo Garelli (1671-1745), son of Johann Baptist, could also probably have used his great influence more over G.'s pension, since he was one of Charles' inner circle. Misfortunes in Pio Nicolo Garelli's life perhaps explain why he did not help G. He had married at the age of thirty-nine in 1714. His bride was aged nineteen. She died in 1721. 1734 was made an even more grievous year for the widower Garelli because of the death of his eldest child, his nineteen-years-old daughter. His younger daughter was then aged seventeen, and his son was fifteen (*ibid*., p. 24). Prince Trivulzio later wrote to G., advising him not to dismiss Garelli: 'keep him as a friend, because when times change he can help you and cooperate with you to your advantage' (Venice, 9 February 1736; *Giannoniana*, p. 529).

Since the library was without the subsidies which used to come from Naples, Sicily and Milan, he would have told the emperor of his wish to dismiss the custodians and others employed there, lock up the library and take him the keys, in order that they could think about finding employment elsewhere before being left without salaries. As a good friend, therefore, he advised me to leave and take refuge as best I could in Naples, now that hard necessity was forcing me to do so, in order not to die of hardship and hunger with the others in Vienna, and not to have to go on deluding myself that the emperor might assign me the equivalent from another source. Things had come to such a pass that even those in actual service at Court and the emperor's own physicians, were considerably in arrears in their quarterly salaries. He went on to tell me that previously in the times of the emperors Leopold and Joseph, who did not rule Italy,[27] one lived better in Vienna and there was an abundance of everything, and the Viennese conducted themselves in a more sincere, loyal and upright way. Later under the present emperor, having the whole of Italy and Flanders, troubles had increased along with vice and dissoluteness because of the advent of so many Spaniards. By squandering the treasures coming from Italy, they had corrupted everything, greatly increased the price of goods, the rents of houses, the wages of male and female servants and everything. The Viennese cared nothing about the loss of Italy, but the evils which they did fear were on account of the Spaniards who remained there, and if with Italy they had lost also the Spaniards, that for them would have been a gain not a loss.

The one giving me this advice and exhorting me to leave, however, was someone with whom for the eleven continuous years of my sojourn in Vienna I had endeavoured to keep up a close friendship, often going to his home. And he was so affectionate and trusting with me that, since he had to follow the emperor and empress when they went to take the waters of Karlsbad at Prague and then to Linz, he had nevertheless left his father, who was old and gravely ill, there having been little hope of finding him alive on his return, to no one else but me, enjoining me to assist him. And I had to advise him every week of his condition which, during his absence of at least six months, I conscientiously did. It pleased God to let him live until his return and several months after,

27 It was not until the War of the Spanish Succession (1701-1714) that the Spanish territories in Italy fell to Austria (B., p. 246).

for which he expressed his great satisfaction and his obligation to me. Garelli was someone from whom there were no secrets at Court, and he knew its innermost depths and what it was worth. Above all, however, he was so wealthy and rich that when the very opulent inheritance left by his father was added to his vast estate, it was commonly believed that his wealth amounted to at least half a million florins.[28]

Who then would not be frightened at hearing such a man's bad prognostications of more serious evils to come? I told him that I would be guided by his advice, but asked him, before I took that step, to do me the favour of speaking to His Majesty the emperor on my behalf, since he often had occasion to speak to him, and, if there were no hope of other assistance, whether His Majesty would allow me to return to Naples or wherever my fateful destiny would lead me. Garelli promised to do this and finally I received an answer. When he spoke to His Majesty, the emperor expressed regret at my leaving, but that one had to go with the times; that he had for this reason informed the count of Conversano, the prince of Ottaiano, and other Neapolitans, who had taken up arms for him and were in Vienna, that they might return to their homes, and that if matters changed, he would not forget their devotion and loyalty.[29]

This was the axe which severed all my hopes. As a result I decided to go, and being forced to leave Vienna by hard necessity, to expose myself to the discretion of my persecutors.[30] And I blamed my cruel fate

28 Johann Baptist de Garelli (1649-1732) was a doctor to three emperors: Leopold I and his sons Joseph I and Charles VI, and first physician to the dowager empress Amalie Wilhelmine, sister-in-law of Charles VI. At Garelli's death, Charles wrote in his diary: 'I am truly sorry. He served as my physician for thirty-six years' (Süttner, *Die Garelli*, p. 67). He left a rich inheritance to his son, who left an estate of some one million florins, 13,000 books and 1,500 rare books published in the fifteenth century (*ibid*., p. 66).

29 Count Giulio Antonio Acquaviva d'Aragona: G.'s friend, the duke of Conversano. Giuseppe Medici di Ottaiano (1688-1743), duke of Sarno and prince of the Holy Roman Empire. He was a regent in the Vicaria, an Imperial plenipotentiary magistrate, and a claimant to the Grand-Duchy of Tuscany in 1737 (B., p. 247). 1734 was a tragic year for all of Garelli's group, when all pensions and posts ended for Neapolitans and Sicilians. Only Nicola Forlosia retained his post as first custodian in the Palatine Library, and Bernardo Lama, who was employed in Rialp's secretariat (Ricuperati, 'Pio Nicolò Garelli', in *Van Swieten u, seiner Zeit*, ed. Erna Lesky and Adam Wandruska (Vienna 1973), pp. 137-153, p. 150).

30 Marini (*Mezzogiorno*, p. 241) documents the uniquely murderous significance of Domenico Passionei, the nuncio of Vienna, 'in instigating against G. a new and more vast Curial action, and in having revived the old proposal to arrest him'. G. commented to Carlo on 1 May 1734 from Vienna: 'The bad thing is that we try to

which, through others' indifference, foolish arrogance and stupidity, had allowed me to lose the strongest columns which were my support.

In the meantime I was managing as best I could in Vienna at my own expense, and when my little ready cash was finished, I had no choice but to begin on the capital of 1,000 florins kept in the city's bank. I tried to sell some books from my small library, which had little by little grown to the value of approximately another 1,000 florins, but with the universal consternation, either there were no buyers, as everyone's spending was restricted, or it was necessary to throw them away at a very low price, and I decided not to sell them. I resolved, therefore, to avail myself of part of the capital, and as June had already begun, I sent to the bank to withdraw 200 florins. The bank then advised me that with everyone running to withdraw their capital, orders had been given not to give it back, because otherwise the bank would crash. If, however, the bank were given a little time, in a short while small sums would be returned in their entirety and large amounts would gradually be returned over a period of time.

I had already begun to see with my own eyes the miseries predicted. People were moving from large to small houses, some had stopped keeping a carriage, and others reduced the number of male and female servants. No help could be hoped for from others, and instead of comfort one found worse troubles, distress and ruin. The anguish which most bitterly pierced my heart, however, was to see the sadness and affliction of my hosts, whom I was unable to help, and from whom in their poverty I could expect no help.

I tried finally every expedient, and after June had passed as God wished, through the great efforts of friends, in July the bank returned six hundred florins. I therefore breathed more freely, and after paying the rent and the wages of the man-servant and the maidservants, I decided to leave towards the end of the following month, August.[31] I

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think up remedies, and when we apply them to sickness we make it worse. It would thus be better to abandon ourselves solely to divine providence and hope for nothing from human help, since if things turn out as they have in the past, woe betide us' (*Epist*., p. 1048). Passionei wrote to the cardinal secretary of state, Giuseppe Firrao, on 10 July 1734 to give him 'a simple little hint' of G.'s impending departure, so that Firrao might warn the nuncio of Naples to prevent 'such a pernicious person' returning there, and suggested new ways to apprehend G. (AAV., *Germania*: Marini, *Mezzogiorno*, pp. 241, 284 (doc. 21)): Chapter Nine: Appendix.

31 G.'s decision to return then was influenced also by repeated and 'pressing' letters

could have extended my stay in Vienna into the approaching winter, but with matters steadily worsening and my thinking that by delaying it until the coming spring I would have used up the ready cash and been left without money for such a long journey, hard necessity forced me to hasten it as much as possible. And as I had to go to Naples via Trieste, and embarking from there, make my way through the Adriatic to Venice and thence to Manfredonia, I did not want the season to be so advanced as to render the Adriatic dangerous and stormy. By good fortune I found a companion in my friend Abate Cusani,[32] who was also returning to Naples by the same route, which alleviated not a little the worry and inconvenience of the trip.

In the meantime I informed my brother in Naples of the hard necessity forcing me to leave and live the few years remaining to me by myself in the solitude of *Due Porte*, where I was planning to end my days, removed from all human society. While sympathizing with me, he could not hide his displeasure at my return, which would have obstructed his evil designs on my property.[33]

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from Naples from his friend Vincenzo d'Ippolito, who had been promoted from the post of councillor in the Council of Santa Chiara to that of president of the Sagro Real Consiglio, and hoped to obtain an important post for G. (Panzini, *Vita*, p. 133). G. hoped also to obtain a pension on the income of Sicily from the Bourbon government (letter to Cirillo, 26 June 1734; *ibid*.) See also G.'s letters to the duke of Lauria (*Epist*., pp. 1054-1059).

32 Marcello Papiniano Cusano (1690-1766) was born in Benevento of a family of illustrious teachers; came under the influence of Fr Antonio Torres; studied Law and Theology, concentrating on history and ecclesiastical reform; was ordained in 1713; went to Turin to hold a chair of Civil Law, 1724, and to Vienna in 1730 (after things became too reactionary in Turin) and was part of G.'s circle. He was also the intermediary who passed on to G. for the *Acta eruditorum* the works of Matteo Egizio and Costantino Grimaldi. He finally surmounted great difficulties and returned to Naples with the aid of his patrons Bernardo Lama, Rialp, Ferdinando Galiano, and Nicola Cirillo. He was appointed to teach Law at the University of Naples. He became bishop of Otranto in 1753 and Palermo in 1754 (B., p. 248). He arrived in Naples with a trunk of G.'s manuscripts and texts. G.'s affection for him became strained when he failed to write to G. for many weeks after his return to Naples (Venice 21 January 1730: *Epist.*, p. 683, among other references). *DBI* 31, pp. 502-505: A. Gisondi.

33 Carlo's letters could not have been easy reading. See G.'s reply of 7 November 1733 and 18 December 1734 from Vienna: *Epist*., pp. 1014, 1064. Seven years earlier, on 21 September 1726 G. had made reference in his letters to Carlo about the earnings from the sale of the *Civil History* and the fees paid to Carlo in Naples for the successful cases conducted by G. (Vienna: *Epist*., p. 396). On 9 April 1729 also, G. had written: 'If these books were your livelihood I am sorry to hear it, because I did not think I had to provide for you for the whole of your life, or that at the age you are now you

I did not neglect to take leave of the magistrates of the Council of Spain and the president who, while sympathizing with my lot, bemoaned their own and the unhappy state to which things had been reduced, for which there was no remedy. I did the same with all the other good friends, who greatly increased my affliction by revealing their intense grief and great regret at my leaving. Among them the beloved Forlosia, the dear Gabriele Longobardi, the emperor's private physician and my very loving friend, and the learned, wise and kind Bernardo Lama, whom I admired both for his great ability in languages and the profound learning in all the most serious sciences which adorned his beautiful mind. Only the cavaliere Garelli showed not regret but satisfaction at my departure, as though a great weight had been lifted from his shoulders, either because he saw me going away from the troubles predicted or because he feared, being as rich as he was mean, that in my need I might have had to disturb him by asking him for help. Time, discoverer of the truth, will perhaps reveal the true reasons.[34]

In the meantime I recovered from the bank the remaining four hundred florins, and as for the books, seeing that only by throwing

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could not look after yourself' (Vienna, *Epist*., p. 612).

34 Bernardo Andrea Lama (c.1685-1760), a Neapolitan, held the chairs of Greek and then Eloquence at the University of Turin from 1718. Because of his progressive views and disillusion with Turin's reactionary administration, he moved to Vienna. Rialp liked him and employed him in the Council of Spain and granted him large pensions and allowances (Panzini, *Vita*, p. 131). He was employed in the Palatine Library in 1743 and taught Italian to the children of Maria Theresia. He continued to write and translate until his death (*DBI* 63, pp. 103-106: A. Merlotti). See Eric Cochrane, 'Giovanni Lama e la storia ecclesiastica', *Archivio storico Italiano*, 123 (1965), 49-47; also Ricuperati's sympathetic portrait of him in *L'esperienza*, p. 263. Panzini confirms that it was on Garelli's advice that G. left Vienna (*Vita*, p. 133). Garelli's biographer records also that the nuncio Passionei was Garelli's 'closest friend' (Süttner, *Die Garelli*, p. 45). They were both personal friends of Prince Eugene, especially in the 1730s (J.G. Keysler, *Travels through Germany, Bohemia, Hungary*, 4 vols (London 1760), 4, pp. 195-197. It is conceivable that Passionei, ironically the self-styled Jansenist, used his evil influence to discredit G. in the eyes of his two most powerful Viennese patrons and friends, or to minimize G.'s needs. In a letter of 25 May 1736 to G. after his arrest, Jacob Vernet writes that Garelli had not replied to the news of G.'s arrest (TAS, *Mss. Giannone*: *Giannoniana*, p. 482). The most distressing suspicion of the forsaken prisoner of Miolans in reference to his friend Garelli must have been that he, Garelli, had abused G.'s trust and told Passionei of G.'s plans to leave Vienna. Carlo wrote on 18 October 1735: 'Your mistake began with your leaving Vienna, which saddened all your good friends and enemies of Rome, and doubly afflicted me' (TAS, *Mss. Giannone*: Ricuperati, *Carte torinesi* (Turin 1962), pp. 55-56).

them away could I have had some return from them, I decided that it would be better to take them with me, and after packing them carefully into chests, directed them to Trieste. All the furniture and furnishings in my rooms I left for Fräulein Ernestina von Leichsenhoffen, in gratitude for her love and solicitude for me and my affairs, and to make some compensation for the great trouble she went to for me with an affection and warm-heartedness which, given my advanced age and need for loving attention, I could not have found greater among my closest relatives. And the gratitude which I owe her and the sense of obligation which I profess to her compel me to retain an indelible memory of her. Irrespective of how long I live, how far away I am, how long the time, irrespective of the many persecutions, anguish and pain I have suffered, her sublime virtues and most innocent ways could never and will never be erased from my mind. And I firmly believe that, despite my great affection for her, I am not deceived in, or exaggerate beyond the truth, her noble and rare excellence, and I dare to assert that few women in our time may compare with her, certainly not those whom in the course of my life I have had the opportunity of knowing in Germany and Italy.

I recognized in her a great piety in the way she did not neglect on rising each morning to say devout prayers, and then to go to church and assist at the sacrifice of the mass, and then on returning home to see to domestic matters and attend to her labours with tireless diligence. On Sundays and other holidays manual work ceased, and she devoted herself to going to church to hear the sermons, or to reading and rereading at home the Holy Scripture of the Old and New Testament, which she had in a German translation. And she was so well versed in it that often, when confirming passages or places quoted by the preachers and not finding them exact, she would note the mistakes and wish that their memory and accuracy were greater. She reposed complete trust in God, and in Jesus Christ as the one and only mediator between God and men, and she held the saints in the veneration due to them as servants of God and imitators of Christ.

For her mother Madame Leichsenhoffen her respect and reverence were so great that she and her two sisters thought even her faults slight and worthy of pity. They thus had to bear them patiently, and love and respect her as their mother. The goodwill and harmony of mind between them were admirable. It seemed as though one spirit

reigned in their three bodies. I never saw any quarrel or dissension arise between them, and although Fräulein Ernestina was younger than the eldest, the latter willingly yielded to her because of the excellent virtues which she admired in her. And she for her part availed herself, with moderation and without abusing it, of the subordination which everyone in the house manifested towards her. And they did so rightly, because for diligence, solicitude and ability all had to bow to her. In her economy and housekeeping, her subtle and delicate needlework, kind and courteous manner, gentleness of speech and bearing, she was unparalleled and thus inspired the love of all who had occasion to deal with her, and even the servants loved and respected her as much as feared her. Transcending the many virtues adorning her, however, was her strength of mind in patiently bearing the mundane hardships which often worried and almost overwhelmed her. On the death of the old Ploikner, her grandfather, she suffered the most extreme hardships which could befall earth's most unfortunate, the tale of which could not but draw sighs and floods of tears from the hardest individuals. The forbearance with which she sustained them, however, was greater than the calamities themselves and she always trusted in God and fervently prayed that he give her strength to bear them, if it were not his will to put an end to them. Thus it was that she was so compassionate and charitable to the poor and needy that often she denied herself food to give it to them, and she used to say that no one knew better how to pity the afflicted than those who had experienced how terrible was the face of poverty, and in their need had found others who had helped and comforted them.

How can I restrain my tears when I remember these remarkable virtues adorning her, and that, as my cruel fate has separated me from one so dear and loveable, I have had to leave her perhaps in danger of being plunged back into the old troubles, with me unable, from the distant countries to which I had set out, to assist and deliver her from some necessity brought on her by her cruel destiny and mine. All will understand from this our mutual sorrow at such a hard separation, and my indignation in cursing those who were the cause of such confusion and disorder, since so many evils had arisen solely from their stupidity, fatuity, and mad arrogance and insolence. It was thus necessary to yield to the fates, and my only comfort lay in her proven constancy, which

after enabling her to suffer patiently past hardships, might keep her courageous in those of the present. And she was especially inclined to be patient, because of my promise that, wherever I were, I would not fail to help her in her need as much as my fortune and little strength would permit. And I did not fail, not only before leaving, but also when staying in Venice, to confirm my sincere and honest promises with deeds.[35]

I left Vienna with Abate Cusani on 29 August of that year, 1734, after living there for eleven years and three months, and returning by the same way via Gratz and Lubiana, I arrived after ten days of travelling at Trieste. After two days spent there waiting to embark and having the chests of my books sent on in a Venetian rowing boat, we headed for Venice. The passage, although short, was so wretched that it was necessary to stop two days in a canal within the lagoons near Caorle,[36] because a contrary wind was preventing our putting out to sea to go to the Venetian ports. When the wind finally dropped after three nights of torment, we resumed the voyage and arrived in Venice on 14 September, where the owner of the boat took us to the rooms of an innkeeper in an inn called *Della Verona*.

Here because of the torment suffered during those three nights in the middle of the lagoons, I began to fall ill,[37] and after having had the chests of books taken to customs to prevent their being opened, as they had to be transported elsewhere, I devoted myself as best I could to regaining my health and hastening our departure for Manfredonia before the season advanced and the weather made sailing dangerous or at least uncomfortable. For this two things were necessary: to find a comfortable ship to take us and to obtain passports from the Spanish ambassador resident in Venice, as the other Neapolitans were doing who wanted to go to the kingdom of Naples, which had already come under the domination of Spain.

When I was somewhat recovered, I went to the ambassador, the count of Fuenclara (see Fig. 20),[38] and told him who I was, and after

35 On the back of the draft of a letter addressed to Prince Trivulzio is written in another hand, which, Bertelli suggests, may be that of Ernestina: 'don pietro carisimo mio sig. tre checo, checco, Bettina, jo t'amo' (TAS, *Mss. Giannone*: *Giannoniana*, p. 406).

36 The lagoons of Caole lie between the Tagliamento and the Piave rivers (B., p. 52).

37 Panzini reveals that G. suffered from severe asthma (*Vita*, p. 167).

38 Pedro Cebrián y Agustin, count of Fuenclara (1687-1752), Spanish ambassador in Venice from 1734 to 1736; in 1736 he became ambassador in Vienna, where he

recounting what had happened to me and the hard necessity forcing me to retire to Naples, asked him to grant me a passport, as he was doing for the other Neapolitans. He offered most courteously and kindly to give it to me and said that he would order the secretary to send it to me. And in fact, since the birthday of the Prince of Asturias[39] was to be celebrated at his palace in the next few days, he invited me to attend in the evening and enjoy the reception and some fine music which had been arranged. I thanked him profusely and promised not to fail in fulfilling my duty and enjoying his most kind favour. I therefore went and had the opportunity of meeting there Prince Trivulzio (see Fig. 21) and Marquis Visconti whom I had known in Vienna, Marquis Valignani, the duke of Mandragone and other Neapolitans of ours. And I had the good fortune of meeting the ambassador of France, who was most kind and courteous to me.[40]

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arranged the marriage of a son of Philip V, Charles III, to Maria Amalia, daughter of Charles VI. In 1742 he was made viceroy of New Spain (*EI*, 12, p. 804). The cardinal secretary of state, Giuseppe Firrao, when writing to the Venetian nuncio, Jacopo Oddi, believed wrongly that in the intrigue to have G. denied a passport for Naples, this 'Spanish ambassador [Fuenclara] has made no small contribution with his zealous representations. To confirm him, therefore, in his holy aversion to Giannone, it will be well that when you happen to speak to him, you refer to him [G.] in a natural way, yet bring to his [Fuenclara's] attention what G. wrote against the Spaniards in the third volume of his *History* book 30, ch.2, page 475; where... he characterizes that nation as the most insolent imaginable, accusing it of tyranny and cruelty, and by comparing the government of the Spaniards with that of the ancient Romans, he uses every art to render it odious and abhorred' (Rome, 30 July 1735: AAV, *Venezia*: Marini, *Mezzogiorno*, pp. 249, 294-296 (doc. 32)). In an infamous passage, G. had written on the Spaniards in the *Civil History*: Chapter Nine: Appendix.

39 The Prince lived from 1713 to 1759, and became king of Spain in 1746, taking the name Ferdinand VI. Under his able and reformist administration, Spain enjoyed peace and prosperity. He abandoned the policy based on Spain's ambition in Italy (Williams, *Dictionary of English and European History*, p. 148).

40 Alessandro Teodoro Trivulzio (1694-1763), count and prince of the Holy Roman Empire, who established the rich and famous Biblioteca Trivulziana. As he had remained loyal to the emperor, he was living not in his palace in Milan but in Venice during the period of Savoy's rule in Lombardy (B., p. 252). He became one of G.'s most steadfast patrons and friends (see Chapter Ten: Appendix [49] for his letters). Federico Valignani, marquis of Cepagatti, author of *Chieti, Centuria di sonetti istorici* (Naples 1729), dedicated to Charles VI and reviewed in the *Acta eruditorum lipsiensium* (November 1730, Suppl. pp. 520-21) on G.'s recommendation (Bertelli, *Opere di P.G.*, p. 1184). In gratitude for G.'s recommendation, he sent him in Vienna two fine snuff boxes in tortoiseshell. Their friendship continues throughout the *Epistolario* with a happy exchange of favours and thanks. In G.'s last recorded letter to Carlo, he refers to the marquis, who has returned to Naples and promised to

El Excmo.S.r D.n Pedro Cebrian y Augustin, Conde de Fuen-Clara, Grande de primera Classe en España, Señor de va
s Baronias, y Villas, Caballero del Insigne Orden del Toyson, y R.l de S.ta Genaro del Consejo de su Magestad. Comendador
de Alcantara, de las Pueblas, Mayordomo mayor de la Reyna de Napoles, y Sereniss.mo Infante D.n Phelipe, Embaja.dor por su M
tholica a Venecia, Polonia, Viena, y Napoles, Virrey Govern.r y Cap.n Gen.l de esta Nueva España y Presidente de su R.l Audiencia, y Chancilleria
Virrey 41 Entro publicam.te en 16 de Henero de 1743 a2

Fig. 20 Pedro Cebrian y Augustin, Count Fuenclara (1687-1752), Spanish ambassador in Venice, by Jose da Ibarra (Museo Nacional de Historia, Mexico City). Wikimedia Commons, public domain.

recommend G. (Venice, 26 February 1735: *Epist*., p. 1077); see also Panzini, *Vita*, pp. 135, 137, for Valignani's kindness and patronage in Venice. Charles-François, count de Froullay (1683-1744), French ambassador, was born of a family distinguished by civil, military and ecclesiastical honours. His military career began at the age of ten, when he was made major in the king's guard of musketeers. In 1732, under Fleury's administration, he was appointed ambassador to Venice. He became marshal in the War of the Polish Succession (1733-1735), and lieutenant-general in 1738 (*DBF* 14, p. 1410).

Fig. 21 Prince Alessandro Trivulzio (1694-1763). Wikimedia Commons, public domain.

At the same time, my arrival became known at Venice, and one morning, when going to Piazza San Marco, I found myself unexpectedly surrounded by a large number of gentlemen. All greeting me by name and introducing each other, they jostled to meet me and show such affection and kindness that I was covered with confusion and could hardly thank them or reply to their many questions, especially about my leaving Vienna and where I was thinking of going. When I told them the reason and my intention of retiring to Naples to live the few years

left to me by myself with my studies, they began to ask me to stay with them. They said that I would not find it disagreeable to stay in a city where my name had become so famous and illustrious through my *Civil History* which they kept in their public library, and that nowhere else could I find the respect which the Venetians had for me. When I replied that my advanced age made me now think of an honourable retirement, they continued to insist that I not leave. And I was both confused and astonished to find that, when walking about the streets, every gentleman whom I met would greet me by name and stop to speak to me. If I went along the street of the bookshops, they would all crowd to meet me, and every citizen showed the same curiosity, and the same happened when I was in Piazza San Marco. As I was reluctant to find myself exposed to so many eyes, which often prevented me from attending to my affairs, I told Abate Cusani to ask the owner of the ship with whom we had arranged our passage to Manfredonia to make haste and have the chests of books and other luggage taken on board in order to leave. The owner, however, even after the luggage had been loaded, delayed the departure as sailors do, at one moment because of an unfavourable wind, at another on some other pretext.[41]

At this time Domenico Pasqualigo, a Venetian gentleman from a family as old as it was illustrious, and the brother of the governor of the University of Padua, came to see me to tell me that as the chair of Civil Law was vacant at that University, the governors would be glad to confer it on me, if it were my pleasure, and that for me they would increase the salary so that I would not leave Venice, since the Republic was willing to do anything to have me in its employ.[42]

41 G.'s delay in leaving was truly opportune. The cardinals of the Holy Office notified the vicars of Ferrara, Pesaro and Fano, and the inquisitors of Rimini, Ancona, Fermo, Pisa, and Livorno of the order to arrest G., should he pass through their cities. The inquisitors all eventually replied, naturally, that they had not seen G.: Dionigi Bellingeri from Rimini, 19 September 1734; Alessandro Origoni from Ferrara, 22 September 1734; Felice Maria Lazzaroni from Ancona, 23 September 1734, and finally on 24 April 1735; Umberto Maria Vialà from Fermo, 20 September 1734; and Bernardo Bern[ardi] from Pisa, 4 October 1734 (AAV., *Rossiano* 1800: Marini, *Mezzogiorno*, pp. 245, 290-292 (docs. 28, 29, 30)).

42 Domenico Pasqualigo (born in 1674) (B., p. 257). Panzini (*Vita*, p. 137) refers to his letter on behalf of the university offering G. the chair; see also the letter of Alvise Mocenigo, Venetian ambassador to Rome, 30 January 1735: Chapter Nine: Appendix. The governors of the University of Padua had been prepared to issue licences to read G.'s work (Christopher Black, *The Italian Inquisition* (New Haven

I thanked them profusely for the offer, but told them that to my great disappointment I could not accept it, because, although my profession as a lawyer demanded a knowledge of civil law and I was not ignorant of it, as I had never taught it at a University, I lacked practice. And now being of an advanced age, I felt that it would be difficult to do so with the exactness and mastery necessary in such a worthy University, adorned by so many illustrious professors. My old age did not allow me to exhaust myself in a calling new to me, in which unfortunately I would be unsatisfactory and ineloquent, but that, even though I had decided to decline, such beneficence and affection obliged me to express my gratitude and respond to such a favour, and I offered whatever of my work was professionally and academically relevant and to remain there employing myself in other posts within my capacity and of greater service to the Republic.

My moderate and sincere reply much increased the respect of those gentlemen for me and their wish to keep me there. They were, therefore, satisfied with my reasonable excuses, and although they delayed several months before appointing the chair to anyone else, they set about thinking of other ways to accommodate me, should I wish to stay in Venice.[43] In the meantime they endlessly vied with each other to

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2009), p. 206; without documentation). G.'s refusal of the offer of the chair of Civil Law at Padua is elucidated further by Pier Luigi Rovito, as being based on G.'s rejection of traditional values: 'His conception of "culture" in Roman law, expurgated of interpretive pollution, led him to use all his rational potential, but he did not spare very severe judgements on how the Romanistic sources were pleaded in the courts and taught in universities' (in *P.G. e il suo tempo*, pp. 317-318). G. was offered also the post of consultant of the Republic, when that came vacant. Rome moved immediately to block his appointment.

43 When the offer was made of the chair of Law at Padua, G.'s remorseless persecutor Passionei wrote to Rome's secretary of state, Firrao, on 15 January 1735 to prevent G.'s finding in Venice 'a safe refuge' (Marini, *Mezzogiorno*, p. 246). On 30 July 1735 Firrao wrote from Rome to the Venetian nuncio, Jacopo Oddi, that G. had been hoping for the chair of Humanities at the University of Padua, but that efforts to discredit him with his powerful patrons had been successful (Marini, *Mezzogiorno*, p. 248, doc. 32). The Inquisitors gave reassurance that G. would not be appointed to the chair: 'Your Excellency has wisely informed our Tribunal of what motivated Cardinal Ottoboni in reference to Giannone... You will, however, be able to assure the pope that the attempt to have Giannone appointed to the chair will be unsuccessful, and will be equally so in the future'. Alviso Mocenigo III, Federico Tiepolo, Zergi Contarini (Inquisitori di Stato, *Lettere agli Amb. a Roma*, 1715-1745, B., p. 167; Pierantoni, *Lo sfratto*, 20). It was a member of the Mocenigo family, Giovanni, whose denunciations had led ultimately to the condemnation and burning at the stake in in Rome in 1600 of Giordano Bruno (Ingrid Rowland, *Giordano Bruno* (New

honour me with visits or invitations to dine with them or to take me to see the city's most remarkable sights and most magnificent buildings of churches, convents and their superb marble palaces, and also their splendid, sumptuous festivals.

While I was staying in Venice, the Spanish ambassador suddenly sent to advise me to delay my departure because something new had intervened. When, accompanied by Marquis Valignani, I went to see him to learn the reason, he told me that he had been forbidden to give me a passport for Naples until he received a letter ordering it from the count of Santo Stefano, the prime minister of the Infante Don Carlos at Naples.[44] I was taken aback by the news, and, since I was constantly favoured by the French ambassador resident in Venice, often being invited to dine with him, I went to ask him that, if ever he were to hear whence came such news, he would not keep it from me for my own information. And he revealed to me that the Spanish ambassador had received a letter from Rome from Monsignor Rato, the bishop of Cordoba, then in Rome as minister of the king of Spain, which ordered him not to give me a passport without first being advised by the count of Santo Stefano.[45]

York 2008), p. 77).

44 Manuel de Benavides y Aragón, count di Santisteban (Italian: Santo Stefano) del Puerto (b.1682), son of Francesco; viceroy of Sardinia in 1676, then of Sicily 1678-1687 and finally of Naples 1687-1696 (B., p. 8). He was the tutor of Charles Bourbon, although his ability to educate the young prince was criticized. He became effectively chief minister of the court of Naples, assisted by Marquis José Josquin Montealegre, and had the complete trust of the court of Spain. The English consul, Edward Allen, wrote: 'The Count of St Stefano never leaves the Prince one moment, and seems as if his whole thought and attention was engaged and occupied about his person. None ever speaks to him unless the said Prime Minister be present, and the Prince hardly ever answers anything, and never but in general terms. The Secretary executes and dispatches all affairs' (Harold Acton, *The Bourbons of Naples* (London 1956), p. 32). His omnipotence and arrogance made enemies for him of Montealegre and, it would seem, also of the King and Queen (*EI* 30, p. 797). He was eventually forced into a position where on 15 August 1738 he indignantly tended his resignation, and it was accepted. He was given money for his journey back to Spain, and left on 23 August 1738, to vanish into obscurity (Ajello, *Storia di Napoli*, 7, p. 514). As Michelangelo Schipa observed (*Regno di Napoli*, 4, p. 5), Charles Bourbon for a long time let others exercise complete power in his name. Santo Stefano, therefore, was able effectively to block G.'s return to Naples and nullify all the efforts of his patrons on G.'s behalf.

45 In the haste to arrest G. after his leaving Vienna, the secretary of state, Giuseppe Firrao, also alerted Gaetano Stampa (1678-1742), the Venetian nuncio (1720-1735), to exert pressure on Cardinal Luis Antonio Belluga y Moncada and Monsignor Tomás Rato y Ottonelli to sabotage G.'s appeal through the Spanish ambassador

I realized immediately that the blow had come from the court of Rome, which having taken so badly my stay at the Imperial court of Vienna, did not want me to return to Naples, fearing perhaps my being employed in the Court of a new prince and causing new trouble and jurisdictional strife. They were much mistaken in this, since in that Court did I not have any merit or esteem which would induce it to avail itself of me, and I was returning to Naples for no other reason than to live there by myself in seclusion.[46]

My departure from Vienna and the reason had become common knowledge, and the nuncio Passionei had immediately advised Rato in Rome with the precise details of my route through Venice to obtain the passport for Naples, as the other Neapolitans leaving Vienna were doing.[47] In this he believed that he was doing something worthy and

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Fuenclara (18 September 1734: AAV *Venezia*: Marini, *Mezzogiorno*, p. 243). Rato (1682-1738) was ambassador of Spain in the Roman Curia (B., p. 255). Belluga wrote also to Santo Stefano to refuse G. a passport to return to Naples, and the latter wrote to Rato to organize it (Marini, *Mezzogiorno*, p. 244). Santo Strefano also enlisted Rato's cooperation to block G.'s petition to the court of Spain. Rato abused his official function as ambassador of Spain to the Roman Curia by thus collaborating with the ecclesiastical establishment effectively to prevent G.'s return to Naples (Panzini, *Vita*, p. 135). See Chapter Nine: Appendix [46].

46 G. wrote to Carlo that a high official there in Venice revealed to him the plot of the court of Rome, carried out by means of Rato and others, and advised him to wait for the end of the pontificate of Clement XII, when circumstances would change and G. could return to Naples with some honourable appointment (Venice, 18 December 1734: *Epist*., p. 1064).

47 Passionei boasted to Firrao, the secretary of state: 'I found so opportune my observations to discredit Giannoni to the Republic of Venice and make him held in aversion by it' (13 November 1734: Marini, *Mezzogiorno*, pp. 246, 292-293 (doc. 31)). Passionei's unrelenting letters to Rome on the fate of G. in chronological order are as follows: 27 September 1732: Marini, *Mezzogiorno*, pp. 234, 279-281 (doc. 17); 10 and 24 July 1734: Marini, *Mezzogiorno*, pp. 239, 241, 284-285 (docs 21, 22): Chapter Nine: Appendix; 4 September: Marini, *Mezzogiorno*, p. 241; 18 September: Marini, *Mezzogiorno*, pp. 240, 288-289 (doc. 25); 2 October: Marini, *Mezzogiorno*, p. 245; 16 October: Marini, *Mezzogiorno*, p. 240; 30 October: Marini, *Mezzogiorno*, p. 246; 13 November: Marini, *Mezzogiorno*, pp. 246, 292 (doc. 31); 11 December: Marini, *Mezzogiorno*, p. 247. Almost all his letters are written in code. The equally unrelenting replies of Firrao to Passionei are 24 July 1734: Marini, *Mezzogiorno*, pp. 241, 285-286 (doc. 23): Chapter Nine: Appendix; 2 October 1734: Marini, *Mezzogiorno*, pp. 240, 289 (doc. 26); see below. See also Firrao's letter of 4 September 1734 to the Holy Office: Marini, *Mezzogiorno*, p. 241. There was also an exchange of letters between Firrao and Gaetano Stampa, the nuncio of Venice, on 2 and 9 October, and 13 and 20 November, 1734. It is not difficult to imagine the grim enthusiasm of Firrao's other correspondent, Naples' papal nuncio, Ranieri Simonetti, archbishop of Nicosia, during his span of office between 1730 and 1743, who worked so tirelessly to defame

meritorious, carrying out the duties of his office which, according to the concept of it held by Pope Benedict XIII, involved and was reduced to such matters. In Rome, therefore, they had time to dupe Rato, and because he was new and perhaps had never heard of me and my *History*, to describe it in the usual way to anyone who had not read it as impious and heretical, and its author as no less impious and unbelieving.

And I did not delude myself that the same evil arts would be practised on the count of Santo Stefano in Naples, so that from him I might expect to receive a similar prohibition, as events proved. Not many days passed before the Spanish ambassador had a letter from Naples from the count refusing me the passport. I even learnt later that he had sent orders to the borders of the kingdom to the commanders of those towns that, even if I were furnished with passports from the Spanish or French magistrates, I would not be allowed to enter the kingdom.[48]

The ambassadors both of Spain and of France were taken aback at the ban placed on a native of the kingdom, disallowing him from retiring to his own country, when he had not left it as an outlaw or exile, but to go to the Imperial court of Vienna to the feet of the emperor, at that time his sovereign, by whom he had been benignly welcomed and maintained at his Court by being assigned a certain allowance. There he had lived for eleven years and three months and would still be there, if the changes in the Italian dominions and Sicily had not altered matters, and, whereas

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to the authorities also Biagio Garofalo, Costantino Grimaldi and Pietro Contegna (Marini, *Mezzogiorno*, p. 231).

48 Only Fuenclara's reply of 16 October 1734 remains of this communication:
'My Lord,
From the letter of the 5th of the current month, Your Excellency informs me that it is the decision of His Majesty that if don Pietro Giannone, who has been staying in this dominion for some time, requests a passport to enter that Kingdom, you instruct me not to issue it to him. In acknowledgement of this information I shall be guided by Your Excellency's instructions' (Naples State Archives, Affari Esteri Venezia: quoted in *Vita*, ed. Nicolini, p. 294).
After Rato's letter that G. be refused a passport on the pope's orders, Montealegre advised the cities along the Adriatic side of the kingdom to refuse admittance to G., but that 'it is not the wish of His Majesty that he be arrested or harmed in any way' (17 October 1734: *Giannoniana*, pp. 55-56). On Montealegre, therefore, also rests the guilt for G.'s persecution. Ajello observes that it was not as harsh as the letter sent to Rato and Rome (*Storia di Napoli*, 7, p. 517). The French ambassador, Marquis de Froullay, 'who more than anyone else held in great esteem the ability and merit of Giannone' (Panzini, *Vita*, p. 136), enlisted the support of the court of France to have G. admitted to Naples, but without success (cf. G.'s letters, now lost, to Niccolo Cirillo of 13 and 30 October 1734, *ibid*., pp. 135-136).

on his coming to Venice, that Republic was doing everything possible to keep him and not let him leave, his return to his own country was to be obstructed for no other reason than to gratify the court of Rome, which did not want him in Naples. As the Spanish ambassador was moved by this to pity my unfortunate lot, he encouraged me to be of good cheer, that he would write to the court of Spain, and that I might draft a full petition to His Majesty the king of Spain, Philip V, which he would send, accompanied by his letters to the Court and addressed to the chief minister Patiño,[49] whose niece was his wife, on the wrong done me by preventing my return to Naples. I thanked him profusely for this and promised to take him the petition.

In the meantime, the sudden news obliged me to have my belongings and the chests of books removed from the ship, and as Abate Cusani was leaving, I tried to find a more comfortable place to live, now that I had to stay in Venice for the approaching winter. When I found a suitable place, I moved there to live on 24 October, and had my books moved there and arranged in new book-cases in the best way possible, so as to use them in the severe months ahead.

Since the Venetians were ignorant of the real reason, they rejoiced at my decision to stay in Venice, and, as the new place of abode was near Piazza San Marco,[50] their visits were more frequent, and as a matter of courtesy I did not neglect to return any visit. In this way I became acquainted with various Venetian men of letters, both noblemen and citizens, who greatly honoured me by the respect which they showed me, and I found that many were truly learned and profoundly so in the sciences. Among the noblemen were Abate Conti, Antonio Corner, Domenico Pasqualigo, Francesco Bettoni, Father Rota, a Benedictine,

49 José Patiño (1667-1736) was born in Milan of aristocratic Spanish origin. He was once a Jesuit, but was then chief minister without portfolio (1726-1736) of Philip V. Elizabeth Farnese was his patroness. He organized the Spanish navy and championed Charles Bourbon in Italy. G. asked the Spanish ambassador (Fuenclara), for assistance in having his pension paid from the dispatches of Sicily (Venice, 8 January 1735: *Epist*., p. 1067), but recommended strict secrecy on the matter to Carlo (15 January 1735: *Epist*., p. 1069). G. expected support from the secretary of state Montealegre, his friend the regent Domenico Castelli, and also Antonio Grimani, the nephew of Cardinal Grimani (1655-1710), who was viceroy of Naples (1708-1710) (29 January 1735: *Epist*., p. 1072).

50 Panzini (*Vita*, p. 133) states that G. boarded with a certain Antonio Mazzoleni at the Ponte Sant' Angelo, now the Guidecca, which Bertelli suggests was more probably between San Marco and the Accademia (B., p. 257).

and Marquis Ghezzo, and others whose names I cannot now recall. Among the citizens were Abate Moazzi, Apostolo Zeno, whom I knew in Vienna, the official theologian of the Republic, who was a Servite; Father Lodoli, who was a Franciscan and the reviewer for the Republic of the books printed there or brought into Venice; Father Crivelli, Tucci, and several others.[51] And as there used to be a gathering of learned men in the evenings at the home of the gentleman Giustiniani,[52] I was also invited, but later could not continue to attend, because it was not only inconvenient, but also dangerous for my health, as I had to return home at night through the dense and heavy fog which often covers the city and blocks the streets.

Before seeing Venice, I believed that, as it was a city constructed on the sea, its climate would be salubrious for me, having been born and grown up in a part of Mount Calgano no more than one thousand paces from the Adriatic, and then having lived in Naples, a maritime city, for almost thirty years. I found, however, quite the contrary, since I had made a wrong assumption in believing that the city had been constructed in that corner on many small islands and reefs scattered between them, joined later by bridges and buildings. This gave it the appearance of a city at once magnificent, different and astonishing, seeming to rise out of the sea, the waters of which filled its streets and surrounded all its great buildings. It is not, however, so. The city was built in that corner which was completely marshy and full of ponds and lagoons, formed by the many rivers which in that part and in the environs enter the sea. Not only the Brenta and other minor rivers contribute, but also the broad, splendid rivers of the Adige and Po, the waters of which spread out over the land of that deep recess for many miles. The buildings, consequently,

51 For this gallery of Venetians, see Chapter Nine: Appendix.

52 Panzini (*Vita*, pp. 137-138) mentions also Marquis Valignani, Domenico Napoletano, dramatic poet (who dedicated four satires to G.), the generous English consul Joseph Smith, Count Giuseppe Terzi, a famous lawyer, Donna Maria Riva (see below) and Domenico Lalli Giustiniani, who was a member of an old and distinguished Venetian family, but not enough detail has been given to identify him (B., p. 258). He was probably Girolamo Ascanio Giustiniani, who held a salon in his palace (Manlio Brusatin, *Venezia nel Settecento* (Turin 1980)). Lino Marini observes that, despite the activity of the Curia, G. had a long, productive and pleasant sojourn in Venice (*Mezzogiorno*, pp. 252-253). He was also greatly honoured there and held in profound and loving esteem by his friends. See the replies of the Venetian Inquisitor Tommaso Maria Gennari to the Holy Office of 25 December 1734 and 1 January 1735 (Marini, *Mezzogiorno*, pp. 247-248).

are not based on reefs but on soft, muddy earth, into which great beams closely joined together are driven, on the tops of which rise the mass of the buildings. If the waters were not irrigated, moreover, by the waves from the sea, which make them salty, and if the ebb and flow of the sea did not set them in motion, they would certainly make the city pestilential and uninhabitable. It is always necessary, therefore, to keep the canals clear and clean to make the water flow and not turn into a swamp. Despite great conscientiousness, in summer some of them give off such a stench that only those born in the place can live there healthily for long. One should not think of Venice, therefore, as being built on the sea or seashore, but on marshes irrigated by the waves of the sea. This is so true, that the Venetians themselves, especially the women, who have never gone out of their lagoons, have no idea of the proud, pounding sea. I remember once being taken by Senator Pisani out to the Lido in a *peota*,[53] in which there were some women in our company. The moment they saw the foaming, surging sea and sensed the shuddering and the noise, they were as terrified as if they had seen a fearful and horrible monster.

This situation, which renders the city safe from danger and attacks of enemy armies and naval fleets, and facilitates the transport of goods by riverboats, has therefore made it wealthy. It also makes the air which one breathes, especially when the south wind blows, oppressive, humid, and foggy, and only those born there and used to it can live there healthy and unharmed. It was certainly not at all healthy for me. And especially because of my being accustomed during the summer months to the pleasant sunny countryside, I was sorry to find myself in a place where there were only stone and water to look at, and not even the sea, but only marshes and swamps. As a result, I could never restore myself to perfect health.

Among the gentlemen lavishing such courtesy and kindness on me, the senator Angelo Pisani di Sant' Angelo distinguished himself, and with great cordiality and love often invited me to dine with him and courteously and affectionately offered me whatever I needed. And although it was the end of October, since the summer holidays in Italy are extended for the whole of November and he was to go to his villa

53 A Venetian rowing boat.

at Rovera di Crè, near Rovigo on the Po delta, he immediately asked if I would keep him company and come and enjoy the pleasantness of the countryside in that region, which would not be disagreeable for me. As I wanted nothing more than this, thinking thus to restore my health before the onset of the severe months of winter, I willingly promised to follow him.

In the meantime, the Jesuit emissaries of the court of Rome had found intolerable my fine reception in Venice and my warm welcome and kind treatment by all the gentlemen. They began, therefore, to practise their usual arts to malign me[54] to them by spreading the rumour that I did not deserve such a fine welcome, when in my *History* I had treated the Venetians as being of 'little faith'; that on the dominion of the Adriatic I did not conform with the sentiments of the Republic; that I had given a different account of the incident involving Pope Alexander III and the emperor Frederick Barbarossa and the defeat of his navy by the Venetians; and that I thought that Frederick's ignoble submission and the story of the pope's proud treatment of the emperor were fairy tales.[55]

54 Here, as before, is evident the evil zeal of Passionei. As seen from his letter of 18 September 1734, he had been able to corrupt also Marco Foscarini, the successor of Alvise Mocenigo in the post of Venetian ambassador to the Viennese court, to write to the State Inquisitor of Venice denouncing G. and wrecking his hopes, and also those of G.'s friend Biagio Garofalo, for appointment to the University of Padua. Passionei ended his report to Cardinal Firrao with the words: 'It is extremely important to use every caution so that... it is never known that the information came from this quarter... so that the matter proceeds smoothly and is treated with the most precise circumspection which the great delicacy of the affair demands' (Passionei to Firrao, 18 September 1734). Passionei himself wrote the denunciation of G. for Foscarini, and sent a copy of it to the Inquisition of Venice and to Firrao the cardinal secretary of state: Chapter Nine: Appendix.

55 The right to rule the Adriatic was based on a donation from Pope Alexander III (1159-1181) for the victory over Otto, the son of Frederick Barbarossa. As in the *Civil History*, G. continued to maintain that the pope had no right to grant the dominion of a sea:

> 'And what they have written of Pope Alexander's having granted on this Occasion to the Venetians the Dominion and Keeping of the Adriatic Sea, whence the Solemnity of marrying that Sea every Year on Ascension Day, has its Rise, is no less Romantick; as if it had been in Alexander's Power to give the Dominion of the Seas, as other Popes pretended to give that of the Land. Such Extravagance is not to be credited of Alexander, who was very moderate and knew very well the Bounds of his Power' (bk 13, ch.1=Ogilvie, 1.604); see further, *ibid*., pp. 604-605.

Bertelli observes that in this G. supported the thinking of Lorenzo della Valla (B., p. 260). In 1440, Lorenzo della Valla demolished the authenticity of the 'Donation of Constantine', by which it was claimed that that emperor, on moving to Constantinople, conferred temporal power in the West on the pope. Valla

In reference to the accusation that I had described the Venetians as being of 'little faith', it was easy to convince them of the deception, since in the passage quoted in the second volume [Italian edition], I was not expressing my own view but referring as a historian to the view held of it at the time by Frederick's supporters. It was a more laborious matter clearing up the other deception, to expose which required more than a few words. Following the advice in particular of some gentlemen who were my friends, I decided to show in two short essays, that in reference to both the dominion of the Adriatic and the history of Alexander III, I had not compromised the Republic in the slightest way; that, on the contrary, the act of Alexander III, as I had represented it, made even more resplendent the honour and dignity of the Doge and the Senate.

To do this in ease and comfort, I so much more eagerly accepted Senator Pisani's offer to accompany him to his villa, for which we left by water at the beginning of November, and after passing through the lagoons, sailing on the Adige and thence on a tributary of that river, we came to Rovigo. On arriving in Rovere di Crè, I truly hoped to regain somewhat my health in that still green countryside. Resuming my neglected exercise, I began wandering through the plains when the weather and the advanced season permitted.

Given that the villa is surrounded by wide ditches of water and some swampy plains, and the estates are bounded only by long, narrow canals where the water stagnates, I understood why the air could not be of much benefit to me, as I eventually experienced. Added to this were the excessive blandishments and lavish table which Pisani used often provide in the many banquets for the bishop, the podestà [the head of the commune], and other gentlemen of Rovigo. I thus fell sick with fever, of which a Jewish doctor at Rovigo cured me with nothing more than a strict and severe diet lasting many days. I began, therefore, to be more careful in the future, seeing that my digestion would prevent any benefit from the country air. With little eating and much walking, therefore, I managed fairly well there for some weeks, during which I was able to finish the two papers, having for that reason brought the books which I thought sufficient to complete them.

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demonstrated that it was an eighth century forgery. The matter was reversed with the Venetian rule of the Adriatic, where power was conferred by a pope on a secular power, but was equally fraudulent.

I met on that occasion Monsignor Soffietti, bishop of Adria, who at that time had his residence at Rovigo.[56] He was a prelate both learned and wise, and a lover of culture and ecclesiastical history. He told me that, as he was of Greek origin, he was working on a book dealing with the organization and discipline of the Greek Church. I also met Count Silvestri,[57] son of that Silvestri well known in the republic of the men of letters for his Italian translation and commentary on Persius, and for his other published works, for which his compatriots believe that, he no less than Celio Rodigino,[58] has brought renown on his country. From his works I single out that written in Latin, *Chronologia in tres partes divisa* (Chronology Divided in Three Parts), where, with more precision than other scholars, he discusses the real year of Christ's nativity and reconciles the contradiction which seems to exist between the gospels of saints Mathew and Luke. He showed me some manuscripts of his father and some monuments of Roman antiquity which he was investigating, both medals and marbles, and a book which he was about to publish pertaining to the topography of the Po delta and a description of the marshy places around Adria.[59]

The summer holidays were continued until the cold drove us out and I returned to Venice on 5 December. Pisani affectionately and sincerely invited me to stay at his house where he had an empty apartment which, therefore, he showed me many times. I replied that as I did not know whether I was to stay in Venice, and as the apartment was very big for me alone, I did not want to move there in winter where I would have had to suffer extreme cold, having been used to the stoves of Vienna. I asked him, therefore, to let me stay that winter in the rooms taken by me, which I had already provided with mats and other covers, but that,

56 Giovanni Soffietti (1675-1742), bishop of Chioggia in 1716 and of Adria from 1733 (B., p. 261).

57 Carlo Silvestri (1690-1754), historian and archaeologist (B., p. 261; not in *DBI*), son of Camillo Silvestri, for whom see below, n.60. *Istorica e geografica descrizione delle antiche paludi Adriane, ora chiamate lagune di Venezia* (Venice 1736).

58 Celio Rodigino: Lodovico Ricchieri (1469-1525), humanist, born in Rovigo. His famous *Lectiones Antiquae* in sixteen books (Venice 1516) were the first fruits of his reading and observations on learning down to his own time: 'a monument of erudition' (*EI*, 29, p. 242).

59 Camillo Silvestri the Elder (1645-1719). Author of *Giovenale e Persio spiegati con la dovuta modestia in versi volgari* (Padua 1711); *Cronologia*, originally Italian, Latin trans. by his son Carlo, published posthumously (Rome 1728). See M. Zorzi, *Vita del signor conte Camillo Silvestri* (Padua 1711); *DBI* 92, pp. 632-635: Enrico Zerbinati.

if it were necessary to stay in Venice, in the coming spring I would take advantage of his most kind offer.

Having returned to Venice, I saw to the fair copy of the essays written at the villa: 'On the dominion of the Adriatic' (*Al Dominio del mar Adriatico*) and 'The action of Pope Alexander with Frederick Barbarossa' (*Atto di papa Alessandro con Federico Barbarossa*),[60] and before making them public, had them read by a few gentlemen from whom I could be confident of sincere and sound advice, and a precise opinion and emendations for correcting them. They wholly approved them, and one even advised me to print them. I had no wish, however, to do so, as it was enough to circulate the manuscripts in order to undeceive those ignorant of the truth of those events: that as I had not attacked the right of the Republic, I had acted both as a good Neapolitan citizen and a faithful and veracious historian. As soon as some copies were transcribed, and had been read and highly praised by many, they circulated everywhere. Because the people were both garrulous and curious, eventually every gentleman or citizen wanted a copy.

In this way the slanders spread by the Jesuits to make me fall from the favour and affection shown me by the Venetians were cleared up. These priests did not, however, restrain these priests. Not many days passed before they let it be known that in France a small book in French had appeared, which attacked not only the *Civil History* but also its author, describing him as both impious and an unbeliever. They showed it to some people and indicated to others even the library where it was, which was that of the Pisani di Santo Stefano,[61] later made doge, so that anyone who wanted could read it. Senator Pisani was the first to inform me of the rumour. I was taken aback, not knowing of the booklet and its author, and asked him to obtain it from his relative Pisani for me to read. It seemed strange that, at the same time as the *Civil History* was being translated into French, this very harsh censure of it had come out in France.

Pisani did not fail to obtain it, and when he showed it to me I realized immediately that it was only a small fascicule of the *Journaux de Trévoix*, where the book of Fr Sanfelice had been condensed, to which I have

60 *Opere postume: Apologia*, 1 (1770), 313-332; Bonnant, 'P.G. à Genève', p. 131; *Giannoniana*, pp. 405-406.

61 Luigi Pisani di Santo Stefano (1664-1741), doge of Venice in 1735 (not in *DBI*).

already referred. When the Jesuits, on whose behalf the *Journaux* were compiled at Trévoix, saw that the work of one of their society had been referred to in the *Acta* of Leipzig and other journals as fatuous, ridiculous and slanderous, to restore as best they could Sanfelice's reputation, they had summarized it in their *Journaux*, making it look less immoderate and perverted. I laughingly told Pisani that the Jesuits of Venice were unfortunately inept in fabricating deceptions, which were quickly exposed. They should have realized that the booklet was not a new but an old work, to which sufficient reply had been made, and that they did harm in dragging up these stories which could bring them only shame and disgrace.

Pisani's wish to read the reply given to Sanfelice was even more aroused, and although I had not made any mention of it in the four months of my stay in Venice, I was constrained to entrust it to Pisani, to whom I was so obligated, on condition that he not show it to anyone else. It was difficult for him, however, on reading it, to contain himself and not give it to read to other gentlemen who were his friends. It thus circulated in Venice, as in past years it had circulated in Rome, Naples and Vienna. For this, not I, but the Jesuits themselves were solely responsible.

In the meantime, to keep the promise made to the Spanish ambassador, Fuenclara, I had drafted a full petition for His Majesty Philip V, and took it to him, asking him earnestly to recommend me at that Court, so that I might retire to Naples and end my days there in peace. And after the ambassador had read it and assured me of its correctness, he promised to have it included in his dispatches, and earnestly recommended it to his friends and relatives in Madrid. And since he was most solicitous in favouring me, he enjoined me to prepare another similar appeal addressed to the Infante Don Carlos in Naples. This was because, with the kingdom now governed by a different system from that previously, it was likely that the court of Madrid might not want to make its own provision for it, but would refer it to the new court of Naples, where the Infante was ruling, not as supreme commander of the Spanish armies or as the deputy of his father King Philip, but in Naples and Sicily as the rightful and special king of those kingdoms.

While I was in Vienna, it was heard that the Infante Don Carlos, having changed his title of supreme commander, as he was described in

the edicts with which his father the king of Spain had announced him, and having taken the city of Naples and the greater part of the kingdom, had assumed the title of king. And this was done through a letter said to have been written by King Philip to the city of Naples,[62] in which, while commending the Neapolitans' loyalty to their old and natural lord by admitting his armies into the kingdom and their city with the Infante his son, in gratitude for such love he was giving them the Infante as their own king, whom they were to obey. And indeed he did so after Sicily was conquered, in order that the two kingdoms, separated from the crown of Spain, might have their own rightful and special king who, by establishing his royal residence in Naples, might rule and govern them from there.[63]

He could not have proposed anything more welcome and desirable to the Neapolitans, since after the course of almost two and a half centuries they ceased to be provincials and regained a special king, who eventually would be made their own national king. It was believed, however, that this was an ambitious and fanciful idea of the queen, the mother of the Infante, who, not content to have him established in Italy with the duchies of Parma and Tuscany as a great prince, now wanted, with the union of the two kingdoms, to establish him as a great king. For the Neapolitans, certainly, it was very gratifying and acceptable, but no one knew how it could be lasting and secure, since, on the pretext that these two kingdoms, through the peace of Vienna in 1725. were in no way to be detached from the Spanish crown,[64] war

62 Philip V, on this occasion, sent his son two letters: an official one written in Spanish, and a personal note written in his own hand in French. Both are in Naples State Archives (*Affari esteri,* Spagna: Schipa, *Regno di Napoli*, p. 114).

63 Ajello (*Preilluminismo giuridico*, p. 33) draws our attention to the fact that G. understood the great significance of the crowning of Charles Bourbon king of Naples: 'Each one must pledge, now that the prudent Neapolitans have the reins of Fortune in their hands, that they do not let them go; for I do not know whether such a propitious and auspicious opportunity will ever come again to them for thousands and thousands of years' (Vienna, 29 May 1734: *Epist*., p. 1051). Ricuperati (*Storia di Napoli*, 7, p. 440) also points out that, although G. had dedicated the *Civil History* to Charles VI, he had always espoused the ideal of a national state.

64 Philip V (1700-1746) granted the throne to the Infante Don Carlos, the first born of his second wife, Elizabeth Farnese. Don Carlos, Charles Bourbon, reigned as Charles III, king of Naples and Sicily, from 1735 to 1769. The first Treaty of Vienna of 30 April 1725 had established the alliance of Spain with Austria against France. In 1734 the Spaniards seized Naples and Sicily from Austria. In 1735 Charles Bourbon exchanged the duchies of Parma for Naples and Sicily.

had broken out to recover them. If King Philip with the fleet and the Spanish armies and forces of Spain had recovered them, how, after having been restored to the Spanish crown, could they now, with a simple letter from the king, without the consensus of the parliaments and courts of Spain, be split up and granted to the Infante, who was not the successor to the Spanish crown, and how could this wrong be done to the Prince of Asturias? It was known that the kingdoms of Naples and Sicily had been united and incorporated in the crown of Aragon by the ancient kings of Spain, and known also that King Alfonso[65] had gained the kingdom of Naples, although through his adoption by Queen Joanna II, and more through his bravery and industry. It seemed, therefore, that Alphonso could have legitimately left it to Ferdinand, his natural but legitimized son. Ferdinand the Catholic, nevertheless, considered the separation unjust, and after driving out Frederick,[66] the descendant of Ferdinand, restored it to the crown of Aragon, claiming that Alphonso had gained the kingdom with the armies and forces of the kingdoms of Aragon.

As these kingdoms had now been regained by the troops and fleet of Spain, and as the campaign had been mounted in the name of the king of Spain with Spanish generals in command, with the Infante there only as the supreme commander of the army, how could they be detached by means of a letter from the Spanish crown, and the supreme commander transformed into the sovereign king who does not have his own army or navy, and is unable to maintain the same royal dignity without Spain's troops and militia? If Spain recalls its armies and fleet, how will that new king remain, since Naples and Sicily lack their own militia, and the Neapolitans and Sicilians have not had armies and any military profession now for two centuries?

Such was the talk at that time in Vienna, but in the meantime the Infante Don Carlos was being hailed in Naples as king and referred to as such in dispatches and documents. Added to this later was the news of moves afoot on his behalf in Rome for him to present the *chinea*[67] on

65 Alphonso V, the Magnanimous (1396-1458).

66 Frederick I of Aragon (1451-c.1504), king of Naples (1496-1501).

67 Since the kingdom of Naples was considered a feudal estate of the pope, every year on the feast of saints Peter and Paul its sovereigns offered tribute to the pope. Their ambassador, bearing the tribute, rode on a white mare or mule (the *chinea*, meaning 'white'). The ceremony may be traced back to Charles of Anjou, 1266 (B., p. 266).

the eve of St Peter's feast-day, claiming that the pope should confer the kingdom on him. And although the pope did not concede it to him in that year of 1734, since Capua and other cities were still in the hands of the emperor, but accepted it from the emperor, in the following year when the kingdom was completely evacuated of German troops, the pope no longer wished to accept it from the emperor and decided to suspend the whole matter until the outcome of events in Italy was clear.

As I was already in Venice where there were often Neapolitans, they showed me the new silver coins minted in Naples for the Infante, on which could be read the name of Charles with *Neapolis Rex* added. The Neapolitans, it is true, did not go on to determine the number, not knowing whether to call him the sixth, seventh or even eighth. If it were not wished to take the emperor into account, the Infante had to be called Charles VI, but being French through the Bourbon family, if Charles VIII, king of France, were to be counted among the kings of Naples, the Infante would have had to be called Charles VII. The Spaniards, however, were strongly opposed to this, and would not suffer having the French king to be taken into account. As a result, wisely, no number was set on the coin, although the significance was never understood of the motto on the actual coin over the Sebeto river: *de socio princeps* (from ally to leader),[68] which cannot apply either to the city or to the newly appointed king. The Sicilians, however, did not have the confusion of King Charles VIII, and simply omitted the title of emperor on their coins, which also were shown to me in Venice, and they determined the number, calling him *Carolus III, Siciliae Rex*. This was because, not having been subject to the Angevin kings, they recognized as Charles king of Sicily only the

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Clement XII long refused to formalize the investiture of Charles Bourbon. Joseph Addison gave an account of how in 1701, for example, the Spanish ambassador had outwitted both his Imperial counterpart and Clement XI, and won investiture for the kingdoms of Naples and Sicily (*The Letters of Joseph Addison*, ed. Walter Graham (Oxford 1941), p. 28: letter 23).

68 On 6 October 1735, three Spanish ships brought to Naples 800,000 Spanish 'pieces of eight', from which, with the design of Francesco Solimena (1657-1747), were minted coins of six and twelve *carlini*. They bore on the obverse the arms of Spain quartered with those of France, the Farnese and the Medici, and on the reverse, the personification of the river Sebeto, encircled by the motto suggested by Matteo Egizio and chosen by Bernardo Tanucci, referring to how Charles Bourbon had begun as an ally in the war and become king (*Vita*, ed. Nicolini, 307).

emperor Charles V and Charles II, king of Spain.

With the kingdom of Naples being governed by this new system of having its own king, the Spanish ambassador felt that I should draw up another petition for Charles, king of Naples.[69] And although at that time he had left for Sicily to be crowned there, and meanwhile preparations were being made at Palermo for such a solemn and magnificent ceremony,[70] the Spanish ambassador did not feel that the petition should therefore be left until the count of Santo Stefano had news from Madrid of my appeal to that Court. And having included my petition in his dispatches, he sent it to Sicily, and wrote to the count that a similar petition had been sent to King Philip, and earnestly begged him to arrange for my return to Naples, where perhaps my presence might eventually be of some benefit. While I was awaiting replies from both Sicily and Madrid, with Carnival approaching for the new year 1735, the prince of Torella Caracciolo[71] arrived in Venice from Naples. He was highly regarded at the new court of Naples and had been employed in both the military and political domain in that kingdom. As he knew that I was in Venice, I decided to go and visit him. He received me with much courtesy and kindness, and among other things told me not to pledge myself to the Venetians to remain there employed in the service of the Republic; that he had many times spoken of me to the Spanish ambassador, and told him that with the changes and reorganizing to be carried out in Naples, he considered my presence necessary there, as someone more familiar and informed on the affairs of that kingdom; that I should not, therefore, succumb to the flattery of the Venetians, since powerful letters had been written on my behalf to the courts of Madrid and Naples calling for my return.

69 Nicolini published the text in his edition of the *Vita*, p. 307: see Chapter Nine: Appendix, with Fuenclara's accompanying letter to Marquis Montealegre. Nicolini observes that Fuenclara wisely addressed the letter, in fact, to Montealegre. G. refers also to his having petitioned the Spanish ambassador to have the kingdom of Naples continue to pay the pension which he received from the emperor (Venice, 18 December 1734: *Epist.*, p. 1065).

70 The coronation took place on 3 July 1735 (B., p. 267).

71 Antonio Carmine Caracciolo di Torella (1692-1740), ambassador in Paris from 1735 to 1739. Despite his having as secretary Matteo Egizio (*Vita*, ed. Nicolini, p. 519), who remained hostile to G., he was one of G.'s supporters and tried to bring about G.'s return to Naples (Tanucci, *Epist.*, 1 (1723-1746), p. 324).

I replied that I would follow his advice and had not taken any irreversible step with the Venetians, and that I had placed myself entirely in the hands of the Spanish ambassador, who had so affectionately and efficaciously taken my part in both courts. And I therefore asked him also to grant his valuable influence on my behalf in Naples, by writing to his friends and relatives, and on his return to facilitate the enterprise, since I greatly feared that the court of Rome would make every effort to block me in it, and try anything with the count of Santo Stefano to bring to nothing all labour on my behalf in both courts. He promised to do so, and encouraged me to be firm and in good spirits about it, since matters had been initiated in such a way that he hoped for good results.[72] And in the meantime the month of December had passed and we were already several weeks into the new year, 1735.[73]

72 Pietro wrote to Carlo that his patrons included the count of Colubrano, who was Francesco Carafa, and the marquis of Buranello, whose legal cases, given to G. the young lawyer in 1707 by Argento, G. had successfully defended (Venice, 5 February 1735; *Epist*., p. 1073). Among those campaigning actively for G.'s return were Vincenzo d'Ippolito, Nicola Cirillo, Francesco Buoncuore, Carlo Mauri and Celestino Galiani. The French ambassador, Marquis de Froullay, wrote to his colleague in Naples, Marquis di Bissy, and arranged also that he inform Naples of the recommendations of the Court of Versailles (Panzini, *Vita*, pp. 135-136). Buoncuore (dates unknown) was born in Ischitella. A double bond with G. came from his having been a student of Cirillo and of Vico. When Nicola Cirillo died, his nephew Santi published in 1738 his uncle's *Consulti medici*, which he dedicated to Buoncuore. In 1734 he was made Charles' personal physician (Tanucci, *Epist*., 1, p. 157). Galiani had been the tutor of Harrach's two children, Luigi Ernesto and Ferdinando. G. was most eager that he receive a copy of his *Riposta* to Paoli, and Nicolini quotes G.'s letter of 7 July 1732 in which Galiani expresses his gratitude (Celestino Galiani, *Carteggio* (Florence 1989), p. 141). Galiani had requested and received G.'s erudite and effective assistance for the reform of the University of Naples. For Galiani's efforts to repatriate G., see the 1823 (Milan) edition of the *Istoria civile* (p. 143). See also G.'s very informative letters from Venice to the duke of Lauria Adriano Lanzina y Ulloa, 25 September and 9 October 1734, requesting his assistance (*Epist*., pp. 1054-1058; Chapter Nine: Appendix). To the same duke some twelve years later he sent warm wishes through Giovanni from the Citadel of Turin (TAS, *Mss. Giannone*: P.G., *Lettere autografe*, ed. Minervini, p. 227).

73 The esteem in which G. was held at this time is confirmed in fact by the Holy Office, when given an affirmative reply to its letter to the Venetian Inquisitor Tommaso Maria Gennari, asking if it were true that the favourite reading of young Venetian noblemen was Bayle, Tillemont and Giannone (Gennari to Rome, 25 December 1734, and then more fully, 1 January 1735; AAV, *Rossiano* 1180: Marini, *Mezzogiorno*, pp. 247-48).

Appendix (Chapter Nine)

[2]

The suppressed conclusion to the *Istoria civile*:

> Time and the events in 1734 have clearly revealed in our time how useless it is for the kings of Naples to seek to obtain such investitures, and that the ceremony and pomp of presenting each year as tribute 700 golden ducats and the white mare are all wasted expenditure which could be put to better use. What did it profit the emperor Charles VI to have obtained investiture from Innocent XIII, when Clement XII his successor had not impeded but facilitated the venture of the Infante of Spain Don Carlos, sent by Philip V, his father, to occupy the Kingdom and drive out the legitimate possessor? Innocent's investiture counted for nothing. As void were those just and legitimate titles which Charles VI had to it, not only for having succeeded Charles II, but also by virtue of several deeds of peace, stipulated and signed under oath between the emperor and King Philip. There was also the treaty made in Vienna in 1725, implementing the Treaty of London of 1718 and ratified by so many reiterated acts in subsequent times, and in the many other conventions which followed before and after the Treaty of Seville. Through them the kingdoms of Naples and Sicily, by right of irrevocable transactions, were ceded by the king of Spain in perpetuity to the emperor Charles, and he, conversely, ceded all his claims on the whole of Spain and the Indies to King Philip.
>
> We shall certainly not encounter in history a clearer and more manifest example of the degree to which such titles granted to a prince are just and valid, and the legitimacy of the possessor, as were given to the emperor Charles in reference to those two kingdoms. And yet the vicar of Christ [Clement XII] who should have been so zealous for justice as to declare, vociferate, curse and oppose the invaders, far from it, on the contrary, facilitated the venture, and gave to the troops passing through every convenience and abundance of supplies and provisions, and encouraged the people to surrender. How can it be that he who claims to be the direct Lord of this Kingdom, which he considers a true tributary province of the See, in fact of the Apostolic Camera, and claims that the kings, after having been invested with it, become his true feudal vassals, how did he not oppose the invader?...
>
> At the present time, the popes want quietly to await the success of armies; and all help the victor and drive out the vanquished. When in April 1734 the Infante Don Carlos entered the Kingdom with his troops, and the Neapolitans surrendered, the forts of Gaeta, Capua, Pescara, and the castles of Puglia and Calabria had not yet passed into his hands and were still in the possession of the Kingdom's German army. When,

therefore, June came, and on the eve of the feast of the apostle-saints Peter and Paul, and it was time to pay the tribute and present the white horse with the usual ceremony and pomp, Clement excluded the Infante and accepted from the emperor, as in the past, the tribute and the Chinea. In June of the following year 1735, however, as all those forts and castles had surrendered to the Infante Don Carlos and the German troops had dispersed, then the Roman Court changed its style and the pope refused, on the appointed day, to accept the emperor's tribute and the Chinea.... And (it may be noted) the pope declared that such recognition was due to him for the 'supreme and direct dominion which We and this Holy See have over the Kingdom, over it and Sicily', and he called it 'Our Kingdom'.

Much deeper reflection is merited here, however, on the fact that the dispute, on the emperor's part, concerned subjection; that it concerned a kingdom of which in every sense he was absolute lord and true monarch; that he wanted to become a feudatory and vassal of the Holy See!... [According to the minister Cardinal Cienfuego at the court of Rome, the emperor] does not cease to insist that the payment of the tribute and the presentation of the Chinea be accepted at the time appointed and agreed upon in the investiture; that he was protesting also to make known and manifest the invalidity and injustice of such a deferment, and with it the inconvenience and violence suffered by His Majesty as feudatory of the Holy See. He will use all licit means prescribed by natural defence and laws to preserve his legitimately acquired right and to vindicate his reasons.

This action and protest, signed on 28 June by the cardinal, were, by means of the public notary, presented and made known to the magistrates of the Camera. They accepted them with the customary legal expressions: *sic et in quantum* (thus and in so far), but at the same time they ordered for their decree: *in omnibus esse servandum motum-proprium Santissimi* (but in everything the *moto proprio* of His Holiness is to be maintained).

Who would have believed that human minds can go to the extent of loving and opposing their own subjection and servitude when they are absolute and free; that with nothing serving to drive out the invader and all the defences armed, it is wanted to lavish money on vain and useless matters, rather than using it to augment troops and armies, which are the most efficacious means of avenging wrongs and insults?'

G., whose fate was virtually sealed by the conquest of Naples, ended his statement with the quote:

> O miseras hominum mentes, O pectora caeca,
> Qualibus in tenebris vitae quantisque periculis
> Degitur hoc aevi! [quodcumquest]

(Lucretius 2, 14-16)
(O miserable minds of men, blind hearts,
In what darkness of life, in what great dangers
You spend this little space of years [trans. Cyril Bailey]).[74]

[31]

Plots to prevent G.'s return to Naples—and to arrest him:

Passionei to Firrao, 24 July 1734:

> Having already given Your Eminence some hint from reliable quarters of Giannone's plan to repatriate himself, I must now add that I know of his having intimated his idea here, as is customary, to some magistrates, and was told that he was entirely at liberty to do so. As appearances go, therefore, there is reason to believe that he will be reduced to carrying out his plan, although it is clear, as I was told, that he would leave here only in the new season. I certainly could not say whether he will have the courage to reappear in Naples, where the majority of these Neapolitan gentlemen in this Court assert he would run great risk of some ominous mishap, for having irritated all sorts of people with passages from his most pernicious book. It could be, however, that he has decided to let that new government know in advance through his friends and supporters, even if he is not planning, as is likely, to move to some other part of Italy. I give Your Eminence this information, so that the monsignor nuncio in Naples, if advised in time, may, with the most secret and circumspect negotiations, have time to discover whether he has made his intentions known to some magistrate of the Infante, in order to remove any possible obstacle. I know that he still owns some small property in Naples, which is all that is left to him after the loss of the pension of a thousand florins, drawn by him on the revenue of that kingdom. When I reflect, however, on the difficulties of repatriating himself, I begin to suspect that he might think of establishing himself in Turin. I put forward all this slight information to Your Eminence, so that you may consider all the most appropriate expedients to obviate the evil which he could do to the Holy See, of which he is an implacable enemy, in whatever place he decides to settle. I can tell you that the monsignor nuncio in Naples will need all his customary adroitness to arrange what he will think appropriate, to benefit and not damage the nature of the business. I shall continue all the most precise efforts to ascertain, if I can, where this man, before his departure from here, is planning to go, and Your Eminence will be

74 Fausto Nicolini, 'Bibliografia giannoniana', *ASPN*, 35 (1910), 338-391.

promptly advised.[75]

Firrao to Passionei, 24 July 1734:

Rome

To show complete trust in you, most illustrious Sir, in respect to the person of Giannoni [sic], I must signify to you that it has been resolved here to have him arrested when, to repatriate himself, he passes through the Ecclesiastical State. To do this justly, we must have him seriously investigated in this congregation of the Holy Office because of the impious and rash propositions which he upholds in his works. The present favorable circumstances also advise this, since that Court cannot have any cause to protest at the arrest of a person who has abandoned it, or the government of Naples any cause to interest itself in him before having admitted him under its protection. In order, therefore, that it can be put into effect, many things necessitate our having prior information of his departure, the route which he will take on his journey, and, to guide whoever will have to make the arrest, a detailed personal description of him, and also of the one going with him, if anyone does. Will you, therefore, illustrious Sir, kindly obtain and present all this information to the cardinal legates of Bologna [Cardinal Spinola], Ferrar [Cardinal Alessandro Aldobrandini] and Romagna [at Ravenna Cardinal Bartolomeo Massei], sending by courier your letters to the monsignor nuncio at Venice [Gaetano Stampa], in order that he may with equal diligence forward them to the cardinals.[76]

Firrao to the Holy Office, 4 September 1734:

Rome.

The advice come to us some time ago from the monsignor nuncio of Vienna, that because Giannoni no longer received the allowance made to him by that Court on the said city of Naples, on account of the changes taken place in Naples, he might be considering repatriating himself. The monsignor nuncio was ordered to use every effort to obtain certain information on when he might set out on that voyage, and the route which he might take, and, in particular, whether he were to pass through the Ecclesiastical State. In execution of this order, the monsignor nuncio has sent us the enclosed letter by courier, in which he advises that Giannoni left Vienna on 30 August accompanied by a certain Neapolitan, Abate

75 AAV, *Germania*, p. 294: Marini, *Mezzogiorno*, pp. 244, 284-285 (doc. 22); Bertelli, 'Appunti e Osservazioni', pp. 193-194.

76 In code: AAV: Marini, *Mezzogiorno*, pp. 241, 285-286 (doc. 23).

> Cusani, and Abate Testa, who served as *maestro di camera* for Cardinal Coscia. They left by ordinary carriage in the direction of Trieste, from there to be taken (as he was told) all three to Venice, if in Trieste, as is probable, certain embarcations for the coasts of the Kingdom cannot be found. As we are thus led to believe, from their travelling in this direction, that Giannoni is going to try to disembark with his two companions in Venice on some neutral vessel, to evade the Ecclesiastical State, it is thought that the ship could be stopped at that time by the weather and contrary winds, along the pontifical coast of the Adriatic.
>
> On this reflection, therefore, His Beatitude wishes that the Father Commissioner of the Holy Office examine, without the slightest delay, whether in Giannoni's work there be propositions extreme enough in matters of faith to warrant the tribunal's ordering the arrest of the author; that if on finding such propositions, it is content to refer them with the present note to the congregation of tomorrow morning at the [church of Maria Sopra] Minerva; that if the cardinals believe and judge also that one may justly proceed to his arrest, a circular letter is to be written with the post of tomorrow evening to the Father Inquisitors or vicars of the Holy Office on the ecclesiastical coast of the Adriatic. In it they are to be strictly ordered, when the above-mentioned persons arrive and land, to have all three of them immediately arrested, so that Giannoni cannot save himself under another's name. When, however, they succeed in truly identifying the person of Giannoni, it will be enough to hold him under arrest and release the other two; that they then inform here of their success, so that that the necessary further orders can be sent. The Father Commissioner, therefore, as a pledge of his zeal and diligence, will faithfully carry out the present commission.[77]

Passionei informed also the nuncio of Venice, Gaetano Stampa, of G.'s departure from Vienna.[78] The former decision to arrest G. was now again possible, 'because neither will that Court [Vienna] have any reason to complain about the arrest of a person whom it has abandoned, nor will the government of Naples interest itself in protecting him before having accepted him'.[79] Clement XII immediately had G.'s writings examined by the assessors of the Holy Office to discover whether there were material in matters of faith advanced enough to warrant 'the tribunal's ordering the arrest of the author'; that this be done 'without the slightest loss of

77 AAV, *Rossiano* 1180: Marini, *Mezzogiorno,* pp. 241, 286-287 (doc. 24).
78 4 September 1734: AAV 294: Marini, *Mezzogiorno*, p. 241.
79 Oddi to Firrao, Rome, 24 July 1734; AAV 506: *ibid*., pp. 297-298 (doc. 34).

time'.[80] As there was no time to lose, they did not wait for proof of heresy, but immediately wrote to the Inquisitors of the places on G.'s route back to Naples to arrest him:[81] Ferrara, Bologna, Faenza, Rimini, Ancona, and Fermo.[82] Clement's call for immediate action without waiting for the Inquisition's findings was certainly political and not based on doctrine (see communications between the Holy Office and secretary of state, 15 and 17 September 1734).[83] As well as G., also his companions, abbots Cusani and Testa, were to be arrested, in case G. attempted to escape by assuming their identity.[84]

[39]

G. on the Spaniards:

> ...the Spaniards, as to what belongs to the Art of Government, come little short of the Romans... yet they come far short of the Romans, in this, that when the Romans conquer'd foreign Nations, they treated them with so much Clemency and Justice, that the Vanquish'd themselves look'd upon it as their greatest Honour to be incorporated in their Empire... The Spaniards did not behave so, but treated the Kingdoms and Countries, which they added to their Monarchy, with too much Pride and Insolence. From the Memoirs left us by the Bishop of Chiapa, their behaviour in the New World is well known... But what made them differ the most from the Romans was their want of one virtue, without which all States must go to Ruin, to wit, Economy; for as they were profuse, so to nourish that Vice, they were obliged to have Recourse to the other of Rapacity, oppressing the People with Taxes and Donatives; all which they squandered away so immoderately, that their Armies were frequently seen to mutiny, and the Officers to be very much dissatisfied. The Gold of the New World was not sufficient, nor the many Cruelties and Barbarities they exercised upon those People in order to squeeze it out of them. The other Defect was their not having endeavour'd to extend Trade and encourage Navigation by establishing Fairs and free Ports, in order to have their many famous Harbours more frequented by Ships, as the other Nations,

80 Firrao to the Holy Office, 4 September 1734 (an archival error in date), AAV, *Rossiano* 1180: *ibid.*, pp. 286-287 (doc. 24).
81 *Ibid.*, p. 242.
82 Firrao to Gaetano Stampa, nuncio of Venice, 18 September 1734; AAV, *Venezia*, 181A: *ibid.*, p. 243.
83 BAV, *Rossiano* 1180: *ibid.*, pp. 242-243.
84 Firrao to the Holy Office, Rome, 4 September 1734: Marini, *Mezzogiorno*, pp. 242, 286-287 (doc. 24).

whose Dominions are so situate upon Sea, do; particularly the English, Dutch and Portuguese...[85]

[43]

G. and the chair of Civil History at Padua:

Domenico Pasqualigo to G., offering him the chair:

My most illustrious Sir,

When the Governors of the University entrusted me with the gratifying task of persuading you, Sir, to lecture on the *Pandects*, I had already sincerely hoped from the very first that you would be thus honoured, and confided to you the proposal. If I might advise such a subject, both learned and experienced, I would say that it would be to your prestige to anticipate the proceedings by declaring to me in writing immediately your considered reluctance to take the chair, which at other times you have intimated to me, in order to satisfy the wishes of those Gentlemen who desire it. In the meantime, when in your wisdom you decide, accept my sincere interest in serving you, which I always shall do, as I always have done, with all my heart.

Your most devoted and obliged servant
Domenico Pasqualigo[86]

G.'s correspondence with Cirillo was lost in 1943 when the retreating Germans burned the Naples archive.

Alvise Mocenigo, Venetian ambassador to the papal court and later doge of Venice (1763-1779), to the Inquisitors of the Republic on 30 January 1735:

On Thursday, when having an audience with the pope, at which Cardinal Ottoboni was also present, His Holiness thought it opportune to give me a task on a certain matter, which, although somewhat remote, in a sense related to it. He told me, therefore, that as he had some inkling that some wanted to bring Giannone to Padua to a chair in Law, he [Clement XII] would be gratified if I would alert the Republic that Giannone is someone who, apart from having made himself hateful to the Holy See with his unsound writings, holds seditious maxims not only prejudicial to religion, but also subversive to the State; that Clement would hope that once the Republic were assured of this information, it

85 *Civil History*, bk 30, ch.2=Ogilvie, 2, pp. 475-476.

86 Copied by G. at the end of letters to Cirillo of 2 and 30 October, 1734; letter to Carlo of 24 November 1734; Panzini, *Vita*, p. 137.

> would dispense with taking into its service a man of such nature, and that to do so would also please His Holiness himself. I replied in general terms, showing myself to be ignorant of the fact, and assured the Holy Father of public, sound and pious maxims. As I believe, however, that the matter was important enough to merit the future reflections of Your Excellencies, I considered it my duty to etc., etc...[87]

[46] The veto on G.'s return to Naples:

Santo Stefano's letter of 11 June 1735 from Palermo, informing Montealegre of the refusal of Charles Bourbon to grant G. permission to return to Naples, and Montealegre's letter informing Fuenclara, the Spanish ambassador, of this are in the Naples State Archives, *Affari Esteri*.[88] Carlo wrote to G. that for a year, however, orders to arrest him had been issued to military officials at the ports of Naples.[89] For a thorough account also of the later cowardice of the Neapolitans, see Biagio Ferrante's admirable essay in *P.G. e il suo tempo*, pp. 827-852. G.'s efforts to have his pension continued and repatriate himself and the efforts of his loyal and ostensibly powerful patrons, thus failed. The cardinals of the Holy Office had again turned to Cardinal Belluga y Moncada and Monsignor Rato y Ottonelli, the ambassador of Spain to the court of Rome, to help block the appeal to the king of Spain to intercede with Charles Bourbon in favour of G. They emphasized that G. 'had written inglorious things in reference to Spanish government' in the *Civil History*:[90] above, Chapter Nine: Appendix [39]. G.'s supporters in Naples had inspired G. with confidence in their influential patronage. The new government of Charles Bourbon in its first year had availed itself of the few intellectuals and jurists left, 'all, or almost all, friends and disciples of Giannone'.[91] G. had received pressing letters to return from Vincenzo d'Ippolito, who had nominated him Lawyer of the City in 1723; d'Ippolito was now appointed one of the four members of the Camera of Santa Chiara and the president of the Sacra Real Consiglio. G. expected the support also of Naples' highest officials, Bernardo Tanucci,

87 Venice State Archives, *Secreta, Inquisitori di Stato*; quoted in *Vita*, ed. Nicolini, pp. 291-292; Marini, *Mezzogiorno*, p. 246; see Passionei's letter of 18 September 1734.

88 *Vita*, ed. Nicolini, p. 322.

89 Venice, 27 August 1735: *Epist.*, p. 1110.

90 Assessor of the Holy Office, 15 and 17 September 1734, BAV, *Rossiano 1180*: Marini, *Mezzogiorno*, pp. 242-243.

91 Ajello, *Storia di Napoli*, 7, p. 490.

as secretary of justice, and Marquis José Joaquin de Montealegre, secretary of state, both of them, however, beset by Santo Stefano.

G.'s attempt to return, however, coincided with the period of the ascendency of this man. Bigoted, all powerful, predictably sycophantic to the papal court, he did not hesitate to use the old excuse of reasons of state and public quiet to quash the intercession of G.'s high-ranking patrons and reject G.'s eloquent petitions. As *maggiordomo* of the palace, he was sovereign in all but title.[92]

G.'s plan to return coincided also with the period of the dread Giunta d'Inconfidenza, the tribunal instituted to quell opposition to the new government. As the English consul Edward Allen wrote on 11 May 1735: the Giunta 'is a sort of State Inquisition, and gives great umbrage to all sorts of people... Now all orders and degrees of persons wish for the Germans again'.[93] It was directly under Santo Stefano's control, and his spies, who were rewarded for denunciations, were everywhere. Tanucci, as the secretary for justice, was a member of it, but Santo Stefano's dictatorial control must have been complete. Many citizens were exiled or imprisoned. Ordinary citizens 'sought to escape its clutches by adulation and denunciation'.[94] G.'s friend Vincenzo d'Ippolito was slandered with the accusation that he had gained his appointment by spying.[95] And Montealegre also, although on good terms with G.'s friends, was at that time eclipsed by Santo Stefano,[96] and if he had jeopardized his career and supported G., he may not have been able to do anything. As Ajello suggests: 'It is probable that Montealegre and Tanucci did not consider it opportune to insist decisively on G.'s return'.

Domenico Castelli, who had requested G.'s account of the 'Councils and Ministries of Vienna', retained the post which he had bought, Schipa asserts, by obsequiously supporting the new regime.[97] G.'s friend Adriano Lanzino y Ulloa, duke of Lauria, who had voted to have Sanfelice's *Riflessioni* banned, had, nevertheless, always regarded G. as an extremist. He was to retire, moreover, a year later from his post as

92 Ilario Rinieri, *Della rovina di una monarchia* (Turin 1901), p. xl.
93 London, PRO, Dispatches: quoted by Franco Venturi in *Settecento Riformatore* (Turin 1969), p. 32.
94 Schipa, *Regno di Napoli*, p. 309.
95 *Ibid*., p. 313.
96 *Ibid*., p. 317.
97 *Ibid*., p. 313.

president of the Camera of Santa Chiara, because of ill health.

The unsettled situation in Naples when G. was hoping to return was worsened by the negotiations with Rome over the investiture of its king, which had brought the new government almost to a standstill. The nuncio Ranieri Simonetti (1730-1743) had received precise orders not to recognize Charles as king, because solely the pope in the past had been recognized as Lord and Master.[98] The court of Rome made great efforts, with partial success, in its persecution of Naples' jurisdictionalists. It had had three victories: the appointment of Tanucci instead of G.'s former friend Francesco Ventura to the Giunta della real Giurisdizione (Committee for Royal Jurisdiction) in 1734; the reappointment to the same post of Adriano Lanzino y Ulloa, duke of Lauria (see G.'s letter to him requesting his patronage of 25 September 1734: *Epist*., pp. 1054-1056: see Chapter Nine: Appendix [73]); and the appointment in 1731 of Celestino Galiani instead of Biagio Garofalo to the post of *cappellano maggiore* (Ajello, 'G. fra libertini e illuministi', in *RSI* 87 (1975), 104-131, p. 114). On the blocking of Garofalo's appointment to the University of Padova, see the correspondence of 18 September and 2 October 1734 between Passionei and Firrao: Chapter Nine: n.54.).

Clement XII took a hard line. Even his nephews, Neri and Bartolomeo Corsini, considered compromise more sensible than the reactionary attitude of the 'Santo Vecchio'. Given Clement's poor health and blindness, Bartolomeo wrote to his cousin Neri, the cardinal, 'One could not have foreseen such a long life in our Santo Vecchio'.[99] Cardinal Belluga y Moncada, Rome's plenipotentiary minister, wrote to a correspondent that it was necessary for the salvation of Naples and its prince to burn the works of G. and his friends, and prevent their appointment to government: 'The most heart-rending ill suffered by the Capitol is the atheism or quasi-atheism of the friends whom Grimaldi keeps... and those whom Giannone had'.[100] The nuncio Simonetti portrayed the conservative Tanucci as an anti-Christ![101] Costantino Grimaldi and Pietro Contegna (G.'s steadfast friend from Vienna) were

98 L. Ferrar Mirenzi, 'Bernardo Tanucci', in *Studi di Storia e di Diritto in onore di Carlo Calisse*, 3 vols (Milan 1940), 3, p. 210; Ajello, *Storia di Napoli*, 7, p. 500.

99 Rome, Bibl. Corsiniana: Ajello, *Storia di Napoli*, 7, p. 505.

100 G. Senatore, *Giornale storico di quanto avvenne ne' due reami di Napoli e di Sicilia, 1735* (Naples 1942), p. 38; Ajello, *Storia di Napoli*, 7, p. 504.

101 *Ibid*., p. 518.

forced to retire, in fact, around the time in which G.'s application for repatriation failed,[102] 'which eased the work of marginalizing Giannone'.[103] Costantino Grimaldi and his son Gregorio also fell victim at that time to the terrible Giunta d'Inconfidenza. G. thus had lost the considerable patronage of such friends.

Ajello notes, moreover, that the prestige of Naples' legal profession and the entire magistracy had declined in the last decade of the Austrian vice-regency. Vienna's 'insatiable need for finance' (75% of Naples' revenue went to Vienna)[104] 'had resulted in the sordid sale of offices. In addition, the domination of the Catalans in the magistracy and the public hatred directed at them had inevitably degraded the administration of justice in Naples and brought its magistrates into disrepute'.[105]

On the melancholy state of affairs, Carlo wrote to G. on 17 July 1735 that only Antonio Maggioco and Pietro Contegna had not abandoned G. in his misfortune.[106] Ajello observes, nevertheless, 'Many of Giannone's actual friends and supporters preferred not to facilitate his return home, in order not to weaken the anti-curialist struggle at that time... preferring... more complex and less direct political methods'.[107] The reforms championed by G. were being steadily implemented; for example, in 1732 the ecclesiastics had been subjected to a census and made to declare their wealth. On 28 August 1735, six months after G. presented his petition to Charles Bourbon at the beginning of March 1735, it was ruled that benefices were to be granted only to residents and clients of the kingdom of Naples.[108] Tanucci at that time, however, wrote to a correspondent: 'The Court is a sea subjected in the extreme to the cardinal and uniform winds, but also to unpredictable ones, hence outcomes are impossible to calculate'.[109]

Rome under Clement XII refused to implement the investiture of

102 Schipa, *Regno di Napoli*, p. 307.
103 Biagio Ferrante, in *PG e il sue tempo*, pp. 850-851.
104 *Storia di Napoli*, 7, p. 504.
105 *Ibid.*, p. 535.
106 TAS, *Mss. Giannone* quoted by Ajello, *Storia di Napoli*, 7, p. 585.
107 'Vico e Riccardi', in *Boll. del Centro di Studi Vichiani*, 3 (1973), 82-131, p. 90.
108 Marini, *PG e il Giannionismo* (Bari 1950), p. 132.
109 Spain, Simanca General Archives, Estado libros, quoted by Ajello, *Storia di Napoli*, 7, p. 518.

Charles Bourbon until 10 May 1739.[110] It was thus not possible to begin on a more extensive reform until then, already too fatally late for G., who had been sacrificed also to that end.[111]

The refusal of G.'s request for repatriation and that his pension be continued by the court of the new king remains, nevertheless, a permanent stain on the honour and careers of Naples' highest officials, Tanucci and Montealegre, who, with Santo Stefano, played a vital part in the tragedy of G.: his arrest, imprisonment, and the 'death' of what would have been one of the masterpieces of the European Enlightenment, his *Triregno*.

The application presented by Carlo to have G. paid by Naples was finally rejected unanimously on 26 June 1739 by a meeting of the presidents of the Sommaria through their spokesman Marquis Matteo Ferrante, the fiscal lawyer. He stated that the sovereign was not obliged to ratify the grant made by the emperor to G.; that, moreover, the *Civil History* 'had not been written for the benefit of the public or the Kingdom but for the use of the author, and it would be a fine thing if the King had to assist all those who had written [on his behalf], for which the Kingdom's entire income would not be sufficient'. It was stated also that such a grant could no longer help G., and that Carlo even less could logically claim it.[112] Not only had Matteo Ferrante once been well regarded by G., but among the other presidents of that session of the Sommaria were the intellectual and renowned lawyer Domenico Caravita, to whom Arthur Duck had dedicated his *De usu et authoritate iuris Romanorum*, extolled by G.,[113] and Carlo Marui, physician to Charles Bourbon, who had been a friend of Cirillo. The drawn-out negotiations with Rome for a Concordat (signed in 1741), Biagio Ferrante suggests, must also have influenced the negative ruling.[114]

G. to Carlo, Venice, 10 September 1735:

110 Pastor, 34, p. 396.
111 Ettore Rota, *Storia politica d'Italia. Le origini del Risorgimento 1700-1800* (Milan 1938), p. 776.
112 Naples State Archives, *Camera della Sommaria, Notamenti*, vol.180, session of 26 June 1739; Biagio Ferrante, 'Il sussidio di PG', in *P.G. e il suo tempo*, pp. 832-835.
113 Ricuperati, *L'esperienza*, p. 139.
114 *Ibid*., p. 841.

> perhaps if I went to that Court [Naples], one would see things change, but for now one must be patient and wait for better times, and I pray God to give me health, which is my main concern. In order to put an end to your delirium, I have been forced to reveal what should not be committed to paper. Know how to keep everything a secret and in profound silence, and not think you can confide it to anyone who seems a friend. I know from long experience that all who dress like that are wolves.[115]

[52]

G.'s circle in Venice:

- Antonio Conti (1667-1749), Venetian patrician, philosopher, mathematician and polymath; his *Prose e Poesie* 2 vols (Venice 1756) were published posthumously. He corresponded with foremost Italian figures of his time, was involved in the controversy between Newton and Leibniz, also in that on Newton's chronology, and had contacts with the rationalists of England and France, in particular with Voltaire.[116] Nicolini notes that there is no mention of G. in his letters to Celestino Galiani and other foremost Italian intellectuals, even in the years 1734-1735;[117] and there is no reference to Conti in G.'s *Epistolario*. Caution and fear of the power of the Inquisition could most certainly explain such omissions.
- Antonio Corner was a Venetian senator and member of one of the most distinguished aristocratic Venetian families. In his immediate family there was a doge of Venice (Francesco Corner, doge 1656) and a cardinal (Federico Corner, 1531-1590).
- Francesco Bettoni was a Venetian merchant and one of the first to welcome G to Venice.[118]
- Francesco Rota (born 1694), philosopher and mathematician, Benedictine; correspondent of Muratori.[119]
- Marquis Ghezzo and Abate Moazzi remain unknown.

115 *Epist*., p. 1113.
116 Badaloni, *Antonio Conti*, p. 7.
117 *Vita*, ed. Nicolini, p. 296.
118 Venice, 25 September 1734: *Epist*., p. 1055.
119 B., p. 257.

- Apostolo Zeno (1668-1750), Venetian poet and scholar, official poet and historiographer to Charles VI in Vienna (1718-1729). Zeno was the son of a failed physician. As an orphan he was superbly educated by his uncle, the bishop of Capodistria in the Venetian Republic, at the exclusive Ducal Seminary in Venice. Instead of an ecclesiastical career or one in the bureaucracy (open to non-patricians), he chose the arts and scholarship. By 1700, he had written seventeen libretti; for example, those for Alessandro Scarlatti's operas *Oduardo* and *Griselda.*[120] He then turned to historiography. '[H]e called for a return to the historiographical models which had been authoritative when scholarship and historiography were one, namely Machiavelli and Guicciardini'.[121]

On 25 May 1723, he wrote negatively from Vienna to his brother on the *Civil History*: 'About the Neapolitan History, here the good speak quite badly of it, and the bad quite well. It is believed that the author is coming here in the next few days. In Naples his work has been publicly condemned and banned. The author referred badly even to the tongue of S.Januarius, and was in danger of being stoned by the people, who pointed him out in the street and derided him'.[122] Zeno supported G. on his arrival in Vienna,[123] and in the last brutal misrepresentation of G. in reference to the stolen manuscript (see Chapter Eleven). In a later letter of 1 February 1727, however, he wrote that he did not know 'whether the four volumes of the History of Naples by Giannone had been condemned by the public as they deserve, because of the things written in many places contrary to the maxims and interest of the Venetian Republic. In Rome certainly they have been fiercely banned'.[124]

Along with Scipione Maffei and Antonio Vallisnieri, Zeno responded to Muratori's call to launch a journal in Venice in 1710, *Il Giornale de' Letterati*, to foster learning by reviewing the work of Italian intellectuals.

120 Donald Grout, *Alessandro Scarlatti* (Berkeley 1979), p. 92.
121 Brendan Dooley, *Science, Politics and Society in Eighteenth-Century Italy* (New York 1991), pp. 16-22. *DBI* 100, pp. 649-653: Marco Bizzarini.
122 A. Zeno, *Lettere di Apostolo Zeno*, 6 vols (Venice 1785), 3, p. 369: no. 595.
123 26 June 1723: *Epist.*, p. 55.
124 *Ibid*., pp. 168-169, no. 706.

The *Giornale* did not make any reference to the *Civil History*.[125] Louis Bourguet, a friend of Liebniz, wrote: 'The *Giornale* continues to be printed, but there is no mention of all the works appearing in this country or perhaps of the best. One has to admit that the savants of Italy are extremely reserved. They dare express only half their feelings and even... the most able among them are precisely the ones who reveal nothing for fear of trouble'.[126] Generali observed that 'the revealing attitude of total rejection of Giannone's work is indicative of the general moderation of the ambience of the *Giornale*'.[127] Zeno attempted to maintain good relations with the Jesuits, and succeeded.

- Paolo Celotti (1676-1754), a Servite, was theologian to the Republic from 1717 to 1752.[128] He rejected totally the idea that the Inquisition was part of the state. It was an absolutist and autonomous organization. He rejected the idea of 'heresy', which he defined as 'an error of the intellect, and denied the danger to society of someone qualifying himself in his mind (*foro interno*) as a heretic and rebel against God; such a person was therefore not subject to the Office of the Inquisition, and much less to the punishments which it fulminated against heretics'.[129]
- Carlo dei conti Lodoli (1690-1761), a Franciscan, was an important figure in the Venetian Enlightenment. He was Venetian censor for almost twenty years. His tolerance was based on the assumption that publishing could not flourish under repressive censorship. Given his profound literary and bibliographical erudition, his comments were always greatly appreciated.[130] Of G.'s *Civil History*, he wrote that, although it contained a chapter 'hardly respectful to the Serenissima, it had always been justified, because it so illuminates the reasons of the politically powerful' [*i dominanti*].[131] His work entitled

125 *Ibid*., p. 137.
126 Dario Generali, 'Il Giornale de'letterati d'Italia e la cultura veneta del primo Settecento', *Rivista di storia della filosofia*, 2 (1984), 243-281, p. 244.
127 *Ibid*., p. 247.
128 B., p. 257.
129 *DBI* 23, pp. 466-469: Paolo Preto.
130 Mario Infelise, *L'editoria veneziana nel '700* (Milan 1989), pp. 64-65.
131 *Ibid*., p. 66.

Elementi dell'architectura lodoliana was published posthumously, ed. by Andrea Memmo (Rome 1786). He was described as 'impetuous, inclined to cynicism, of singular ways not always moderate. He did not lack enemies, who pursued him to that place where hatreds and envies are silenced'.[132]

- Giovanni Francesco Crivelli (1690-1743) of the Somascan Order, Venetian polygraph, physicist, and mathematician.[133] He was a gifted cembalist and wrote on musical theory. Among his many works were two very successful compendia, one on arithmetic, the other on geometry, and the *Elementi di fisica* with a famous introduction on the history of physics. He was a member of the Academy of Bologna, the Berlin Academy, and the Royal Society of London.[134]

No reference could be found to G.'s friend Tucci.

[55]

The denunciation of G.: Passionei to Firrao, 13 November 1734:

> Vienna.
>
> I found so opportune the proposal made by me to discredit Giannone and have him held in aversion by the Republic of Venice. And I have never neglected to pursue the matter about which I informed Your Eminence with all adroitness, by repeated emphasis to its minister [Marco Foscarini]. And in fact, to make him fully informed of the offensive and hard manner in which Giannoni referred to the rights claimed by the Republic in the Adriatic, which renders him unworthy of the protection sought by him there, I confronted him with it in the text of the impious *History*, at the same time protesting to him that he was obliged to inform the State Inquisitors about it [Alvise Mocenigo III, Federico Tiepolo, Giorgio Contarini; Marini]. I am sending it enclosed here in the strictest secrecy to Your Eminence, and when it has arrived in Venice, where it was sent last Saturday, I do not doubt that it will be a very great obstacle to the favour which Giannone was hoping for in that

132 Bartolomeo Gamba, *Galleria dei letterati ed artisti illustri della Provincia Veneziana nel secolo Decimottavo*, 2 vols (Venice 1824), quoted by Bertelli with a rich collection of sources, B., p. 257.
133 B., p. 258.
134 *DBI* 31, pp. 138-139.

> capital, where also I understand his sights were set on having a chair at the University of Padua [see above, Chapter Nine, n. 43]. Everything will serve to enlighten Your Eminence, who, knowing better than I, however, the importance of this very secret denunciation and the rigour with which one proceeds in Venice, will graciously not make any other use of it which could ever prejudice this ambassador, who has been induced by my persuasion to take this step.

Passionei thus wrote the denunciation of G. for Foscarini, and a copy of it was sent also to the State Inquisitors of Venice:

> ... I hear that he may decide to make a home in Venice. All this would not have induced me to inform that most grave tribunal of such a man's coming there, if it were not combined with a matter most proper for the very wise considerations of Your Excellencies. In the second volume of his work, in chapter 5, book 13 [chapter 1 not 5] he refers, therefore, to the dominion of the Adriatic in terms positively contrary to the rights of the Most Serene Republic, and not only reveals himself to be hostile in theory, but does so without any of that consideration which in such matters was maintained by the most fervid supporters of Imperial jurisdiction. He was led to do so, I believe, by its relevance at the time in which he wrote, and by the desire then present among the Imperialists to establish trade and navigation on the coasts of Trieste. So much is in my competence to inform Your Excellencies about a man cut off from the Court where I have the honour to serve.[135]

[70]

Petition of G. to Charles Bourbon, 5 March 1735:

> Sacred Royal Majesty,
>
> The lawyer Pietro Giannone, Neapolitan jurist, in supplication expounds to Your Majesty how, while practising the profession of law in the supreme courts of the city of Naples, he began to write the *Civil History of the Kingdom of Naples* for the greater clarification of its laws and political system. He set about writing it when that kingdom reposed under the most felicitous rule of His Catholic Majesty Philip V, king of Spain, whom may God preserve for many long years, the father of Your Majesty. Since a work so vast, however, which covers the history of its civil government for the period of fifteen centuries, could only be completed after long and difficult labour for more than twenty years, it was published at the time when the kingdom, borne on by human

135 In code, AAV, *Germania*: Marini, *Mezzogiorno*, pp. 246, 292-293 (doc. 31).

vicissitudes, had passed under the rule of the emperor Charles VI, to whom it seemed right and proper, as the possessor of the kingdom, to dedicate the work.

As soon as it was published in 1723, however, its contents ensured that the work could certainly not please the court of Rome. In it the exalted privileges and supreme royal prerogatives of the kings of Naples in that kingdom, not inferior to those which the kings of France exercise in Gaul, were maintained with vigour and Christian frankness. In it, moreover, were revealed the many corrupt practices and intolerable abuses, especially in reference to the immense and excessive acquisitions of the ecclesiastics and, above all, the monastic order, which had almost absorbed the whole kingdom. And its sole aim was to have the abuses amended in legitimate and honest ways. When published, therefore, it certainly would not have pleased the court of Rome which, goaded by the monks themselves, did not fail to ban it, but in the actual ban could not describe any statements as heretical, but only claim that the work contained statements which were erroneous, scandalous and schismatic and similar terms customarily used in the ordinary, standard banning of books opposed to the maxims of that court. And, moreover, the congregations of Rome, when banning books, so facilely and readily add the words *immo etiam haereticas* (to be precise, even heretical), that, when in Naples itself a few years before, three books had been published which maintained that ecclesiastical benefices must be conferred on nationals, all three were banned with the words *immo etiam haereticas*. Despite all the animosity contained in the censure, which was entrusted to the monks themselves, those words could not be applied to the work of this suppliant. The work is, indeed, contrary to the court of Rome, because of the jurisdictional controversies which it examines and resolves against ecclesiastical jurisdiction, extended arbitrarily beyond just limits, but not because it may contain any heretical statements or be contrary to the holy Catholic faith, in the bosom of which the author was born and intends religiously to live and die.

Notwithstanding this, Sacred Majesty, some friars, fearing that if their prodigious acquisitions were revealed, the Neapolitans in the future would be made more cautious and less profuse in enriching them, went spreading the claim among the ignorant people that the work was a mass of heresy. By bringing down on the author the most oppressive persecutions, they forced him, in 1723, the year in which the work was published, to betake himself to Vienna, to the feet of His Majesty the emperor. After he was graciously welcomed by him and had presented him with the work in question with the humble request that it be examined by his council, to that effect the author then presented other copies of it to the supreme magistrates who composed the council.

And they, far from observing in it any taint of irreligion, on the contrary deemed it very useful for that kingdom, and considered that in it the supreme royal rights and exalted privileges of the kings of Naples were demonstrated with conclusive evidence to enable them justly to combat the continued assaults attempted there by the court of Rome. His Majesty the emperor deigned to order that the suppliant be detained in Vienna at his Imperial court, by assigning to him on the royal rights of dispatch of the secretariat of the kingdom of Sicily 1,000 florins per year for his support, until provision could be made for him of a post commensurate with his merits and rank.

Since for that reason the suppliant had to stay several years in that court, many occasions arose enabling him zealously to show his devoted service in the defence of the royal privileges, both in the kingdom of Naples and that of Sicily, against the assaults of the court of Rome. Among other matters, he opposed with several texts the Bull devised in Rome in 1727 in the pontificate of Benedict XIII on the [court of the] Monarchy of Sicily, and showed that the Bull meant the ruin of that illustrious prerogative of the kings of Sicily, and that it was necessary to remain strong in rendering effective the pragmatic sanction of the wise king of Spain, Philip III, by preserving the ancient royal rights, and not prejudice them with new concessions to Rome. This was all the more important because that Bull did not revoke the Bull of Clement XI, but on the contrary confirmed it, so that in future times the kings of Sicily were to regard the jurisdiction exercised by them not as stemming from their ancient, true and legitimate titles, but from the new concession of the pope, by whose hand it was always to be controlled, interpreted, and even, if it pleased him, revoked. It was made clear, moreover, that those royal privileges were exercised before the Bull of Urban II [1088-1099] by the Normans, rulers of that kingdom, and were handed down to them by the emperors of the East, who were in power throughout the whole of the eastern empire, of which the island of Sicily was at first a part.

In 1730, similarly, through the commission given to him by the city of Naples, the suppliant had to contest the appointment made by Rome to the archbishopric of Benevento of Monseignor Doria, a Genoan, who in fact took possession of it without obtaining from the Collateral Council of Naples the royal *exequatur* of the bulls of institution. The suppliant showed, by means of a published plea, that although Benevento belonged to the Pope, the archbishopric was to be considered like all the other archbishoprics of the kingdom and consequently conferred on a national and not a foreigner, and that its bulls were subject to the royal *exequatur*, no less than all the others of the other bishops and archbishops of the kingdom.

For these and similar reasons the court of Rome conceived for the

suppliant an even greater aversion, concealing it under the pretext of the *Civil History*, which it tried to claim was schismatic and destructive of the ecclesiastic hierarchy. The opinion held of the work by the most learned universities of Europe and their most illustrious professors, however, was completely different, which is made clear by the translations into various languages done of it so far into French, English and German. And distinguished authors of different nations, the most distant and remote, have testified that through this work they were more familiar with the kingdom of Naples than their own regions and provinces, and quoted it in their tribunals in Flanders and elsewhere, no less than is done in Naples.

In this state of affairs, last year the kingdoms of Naples and Sicily were restored by the victorious armies of the most powerful and felicitous King Philip of Spain, father of Your Majesty, to their ancient ruler, and this powerful monarch, through his magnanimity and paternal love, and equally for the benefit of those kingdoms, was pleased to give them their own king, by granting them the dearest and most precious pledge possible of his love, which was his own son, the most esteemed person of Your Majesty. You with your loving presence bless those kingdoms by having restored to them the ancient royal seat, to the extreme satisfaction of your devoted subjects. The suppliant, therefore, considers it his duty to return home and employ the last years of his life in Naples in the service of Your Majesty and the kingdom. He flatters himself that his work could not be improperly employed in championing the royal privileges and supreme royal rights, as he had done in the past. This is all the more possible because, with the restitution of those kingdoms to the rule of Your Majesty, his sojourn in Vienna was becoming ineffectual. There, moreover, he had lost his means of support, which was based on Sicily, without any hope of being able to have it provided elsewhere. He requested permission, therefore, from His Majesty the emperor, and when he explained to him the just and no less true motives for his repatriation, it was graciously granted.

After leaving Vienna at the end of August and arriving in Venice at the beginning of September last year, 1734, he immediately presented himself to His Excellency Count de Fuenclara, ambassador of the king of Spain, Your Majesty's father, to the Republic of Venice. He graciously welcomed him and showed every readiness to grant him the requested passport enabling him to take ship on the Adriatic and go to the kingdom of Naples. Not many days later, however, when His Excellency was reminded about sending the passport and the suppliant was ready to leave, he was informed that the ambassador had been advised not to send it, and that he was to stay in Venice until further orders. This surprised and afflicted him in no small way, as he feared that Your Majesty was not

happy for the suppliant to repatriate himself. With due respect, therefore, he abided by the will of Your Majesty, and with total resignation awaited your further orders.

He was later, however, somewhat comforted when informed that this impediment had come about through the work and intrigues of the court of Rome, which, when advised by the nuncio of Vienna of the suppliant's departure for Naples, made every effort to take advantage of some not well informed minister[136] to ensure that he be prevented from continuing his voyage to Naples. The court of Rome wished to keep him away from there, not only to add to his affliction, but also for fear that, if he lived there, the assaults which from day to day it attempts on the royal rights of the kings of Naples and Sicily would be observed, and someone would be there who could provide the legitimate evidence of a just defence. And, since these insidious intrigues have been revealed everywhere, no one will be surprised to learn how a native of the kingdom, who has devoted his life to expounding its laws and establishing the royal rights and exalted prerogatives of the kings of Naples over it, has been prevented from returning there. His merits, therefore, are to be transformed into crimes deserving the sentence of perpetual exile only because he is not pleasing to the court of Rome, which, in fact, assumes that the prince himself has to serve as the instrument whereby the court of Rome can put into effect against one of his loyal subjects the hatred and aversion which it has always shown to the author of the *Civil History of the Kingdom of Naples*.

The suppliant appeals, therefore, to the great clemency and pity of Your Majesty, humbly begging that you take into consideration his unhappy situation for having fulfilled his duty, and deign to order that all impediment be removed and the suppliant be permitted to return to Naples, his birth-place. And, in order that he may live there under the exalted protection of Your Majesty, safe from the insidious practices of others, he begs you to be mindful of the persecution suffered by him in defence of the supreme privileges of the kings of Naples and Sicily, of his rank as one of the oldest lawyers of the supreme courts of the city of Naples, and of the expertise demonstrated by his writings in the field of the royal rights, laws and civil government of both kingdoms. In view of this, he begs Your Majesty will deign to employ him in the post considered most appropriate by you, either in those same supreme courts in which for long years he practised his profession, or wherever the exalted providence of Your Majesty will deem more suitable for your royal services. By serving under the honorable banner of royal authority,

136 Nicolini, ed. *Vita*, p. 445, considers this an allusion to Santo Stefano. It could refer also to Tomàs Rato y Ottonelli, Spanish ambassador to the court of Rome.

> the suppliant may then be safe for the rest of his life to employ with appropriate zeal, his weak strength in defence of the royal rights which Your Majesty possesses in both kingdoms. He thus places his trust in the great magnanimity and clemency of Your Majesty, and prays unendingly to Our Lord that he will bless ever more your most felicitous armies and grant you long and prosperous years, no less for the peace and repose of your kingdoms and vast dominions than for the happiness of your devoted and most faithful vassals.[137]

In his letter accompanying G.'s petition which Fuenclara addressed to Montealegre (no doubt attempting to circumvent the hostile influence of Santo Stefano), he wrote:

> It is my duty to send this petition into your hands, in order that you may place it in those of His Majesty... Allow me to tell you that the disgrace of the lawyer Giannone derives solely from his having defended the royal rights against the little founded claims of the Roman Court; and that the particular talents of this subject may be very useful in the service of His Majesty, for the light which he can throw on matters continually being raised between the kingdoms of Naples and Sicily and the Roman Court. The Court of Rome constantly exerts itself to keep these matters secret and buried, in particular on the present occasion of a new king, in order to go on exploiting the great benefits which you draw every year from those opulent kingdoms... and I am advising you also that I have written in the same terms to our Court, remitting also to them another similar petition.[138]

[73]

A request for support for his return to Naples:

G. to Adriano Lanzina Y Ulloa, duke of Lauria, 25 September 1734:

> The singular affection stemming from your magnanimity and courtesy which Your Excellency graciously shows me, your very devoted servant, both many years ago when you honoured me there for my weak ability employed in your service, and recently at the time of my sojourn in Vienna, when with your great kindness you honoured me with your valued commands, urges me with confidence to write you this my

137 Naples State Archives, *Affari Esteri*, Venezia: Petition to Charles Bourbon, attached to Fuenclara's dispatch to Montealegre of 5 March 1735: *Giannoniana*, p. 41; *Vita*, ed. Nicolini, pp. 441-446.

138 Venice, 5 March 1735; Naples State Archives, *Affari esteri*: *Giannoniana*, pp. 40-41.

devoted letter. I now venture to inform you of my necessary departure from the Court of Vienna, from where, given the common lot of all the others on whom the support of Italy was based, and finding myself without a livelihood, I was constrained to depart. Hard necessity obliges me, as I am now old, to seek the last port in my toilsome wanderings, and by repatriating myself, to seek a safe refuge to pass those few years of life granted to me by divine providence in peace and quiet living to myself.

Among my great protectors I could not think of one more efficacious and loving than the most worthy person of Your Excellency, who, when properly informed of all the previous events, will not permit me to be stopped by those wishing me ill. On the contrary, your authority will facilitate my finding there the truly safe and stable peace which I seek. When I took leave of His Majesty the emperor, I found him all compassion. In his clemency he granted that my potent reasons were irrefutable, and as such the only answer to resolve them was for me to consider a new allowance on the hereditary Austrian States. This, in the present state of affairs, with the pressure of the costly war and the assistance given to the numerous, or rather infinite, mob of Catalans on his shoulders, who formerly lived on depleted Italy, was not only a hard and desperate task, but also an impossible one. With the foremost magistrates of the Court I found similar compassion, but not assistance or hope, although in some of them approval of my decision and advice to put it quickly into effect, for fear of the greater distress and anguish which they foresaw. And I found the same among my good and loving friends, who, knowing better than I the secrets and enigmas of the Court, being more intimate with it, exhorted me to leave, and not to expose myself there to the terrible face of poverty, to which end it seemed everything was leading. With the emperor's permission, therefore, and that of his magistrates, I was given leave to repatriate myself and submit to that prince whom God, in the strange ways of his impenetrable providence, to the good fortune of the Neapolitans, had bestowed on them.

On arriving in Venice, I found to my total disbelief, that my name was held in high esteem and much respected by the ambassador of Spain, the count of Fuenclara. He welcomed me with great kindness and courtesy as a person well-known to him, of whom, as I said, many here had had very good and favourable reports. And he praised also my decision to repatriate myself, and offered me all his favour and protection. He kindly deigned to order passports for Naples, and, in fact, as last Thursday was the birthday of the Prince of Asturias, celebrated by him with much pomp and ceremony, he invited me in the evening to his home to take part in a grand reception prepared by him. There I was received with distinction by His Excellency, and the other persons of honour whom he had invited. And when news of my arrival had spread through Venice, I

had the honour, to my great embarrassment, on going to the palace of the Procurators of San Marco, to have many noblemen and senators wanting to meet me, especially the Pasqualino gentlemen, Leonardo Diego, Francesco Bettoni, the senators Canale and Ricca, and very many others. They wanted to have long discussions with me, and invited me with much kindness to their homes, where I was welcomed with incredible courtesy and treated with honour far beyond my rank and merit, with their offering me also employment and my remaining in the service of the Republic. I, however, excused myself, saying that I could not accept any service except that of my prince, and that my ardent wish was to die where I was born, but I thanked them profoundly for the honour offered to me. I had thus refused their courteous invitations, and in order not to set sail on the Adriatic with good weather at an end, I hastened the continuation of my trip, which is set for the coming week, weather permitting.

I bring all this to the attention of Your Excellency, to ask that, on my arrival there, you vigorously protect me, and in the meantime prevent what those envious of me might attempt to upset my retirement. And as Your Excellency is worthily placed in that royal Court in the great rank deserving of both your former and new service, I ask you to make known to it my humble sense of that devotion which a very humble subject owes to his natural lord. I may, therefore, be considered not undeserving of that exalted and powerful protection which great princes and sovereigns dispense as a mark of their clemency and graciousness to their lowest and most humble servants and vassals. My long experience of the courtesy and kindness shown to me by Your Excellency makes me hope that my sincere entreaties will be heard. Asking you, therefore, to keep me in your most precious grace, on which now more than ever I am relying, I remain, making you a most profound reverence,

Your most devoted, obligated, and true servant,

Pietro Giannone.[139]

G. to Adriano Lanzina Y Ulloa, duke of Lauria from Venice, 9 October 1735:

From my previous letter which some weeks ago I was emboldened to write to Your Excellency you will have learnt what happened on my arrival in this city, and the great courtesy and kindness with which I was welcomed by the ambassador of Spain, Count Fuenclara. He has continued his favours to me, and I am assured by friends who have dealings with him, that when the occasion arises, he speaks of me with consideration. When he heard from others that I was preparing to leave for Naples, he let me know through Marquis Valignani that, for my greater favour, I

139 *Epist*., pp. 1054-1056; *Opere di P.G*., ed. Bertelli, pp. 1180-1183, no. 20.

might patiently remain here for a few more weeks. I promptly obeyed, both because my sojourn here has not been tedious, given the affection and cordiality shown to me by these noblemen, and also to restore myself to perfect health. I look forward, moreover, to the acknowledgement of the favours which Your Excellency there will have granted me, and wait for better news from here, which will serve to guide and instruct me. When Marquis Valignani spoke at length with the embassy's secretary of the ambassador's wish to discover for my information the motives and reasons for the delay, he could learn nothing except that I could rest assured of His Excellency's wholehearted intention to favour me, and that this delay was not to bewilder me. From this I could glean only that perhaps the ambassador, having informed that Court of my arrival in Venice, intended to wait for acknowledgement from there to guide him. This, however, does not exclude my suspicion of perhaps another reason, that from there or the secretary of state or another erudite person, suddenly, because of some sinister information given to him about me by those who wish me ill, someone had written to the ambassador to proceed with caution until there is new acknowledgement from that Court. So far I have not had time to extract the truth by other more appropriate and effective channels, but hope to do so in the coming week. In the first case I would not much worry about it, as I imagine that it can be quickly remedied. If, however, it were because of some insinuation coming from there, instigated by those wishing me ill, it would be a very sensitive matter. I would find myself exposed to their slander without any prior mature examination having been made of the circumstances relating to a subject's ability to retire to his own country. These, on the contrary, are privileges so broad and universal, which do not exclude the most enormous crimes, no matter how criminal.

I, however, cannot discern any crime by me because of my published works, or even for Rome's attempted condemnation, which was not able to find in them any heretical propositions. The briefs of Clement XI qualified the works of the regent Argento, Councillor Grimaldi and Sig. Riccardi on the well-known controversies over the benefices, by proscribing them with more terrible clauses than were used for my work. It is subject only to one of the ordinary decrees of simple burning, which have become familiar today in Rome's Congregations for any book which does not accord with its maxims on immunity and the claimed ecclesiastical jurisdiction. And the only crime able to be imputed to my book is that of having defended vigorously and with Christian frankness the supreme rights and exalted royal jurisdiction of the previous kings of Naples as true monarchs of the Kingdom. I delight, in fact, that, since great and divine providence has let us see in our lifetimes what our elders sighed for in vain, in endowing us with the good fortune of

having our own king [the Infante Don Carlos], you cannot have a more appropriate and proper function than in these very happy times, and in the new system which the Kingdom is felicitously confronting. As Your Excellency, from long experience and your own acuteness, understands the constitution of the kingdom, you will well understand that I expound the truth of it and write with a consciousness of veracity. So much more, therefore, do I vigorously charge myself to undertake the defence of the truth and, for the efficacy of your courageous protection, to disperse all that fog which perhaps the envious have been able to spread to malign me among those who, being new in the government, are exposed to their attacks.

I ask you with all my strength for your patronage in this matter, in order that if, because of ominous information, some order should be given to this ambassador, you may clarify things and convince him of the truth, so that, with all obstacles removed, I may receive from him the favours which he seems disposed to grant me.

A person well regarded by Your Excellency will bear these my petitions in my name, in the hope that they will be heard, so that on my return, without exposing myself rashly to anxiety, I may obtain that honest retirement sought uniquely for my peace and to decide my future and later plans. I would thereby not miss those opportunities which I have proposed for love of country and my peace. Everything is promised by the great generosity and affection which, in your vast kindness, you have always shown me, for which I well understand the degree of obligation in which I find myself, and it will be eternal and never erased for the rest of my life. May God for the consolation of that kingdom preserve the very distinguished person of Your Excellency for long and happy years. And in the hope that in this urgent matter you always put into effect your most gracious favours, I remain, Your Excellency, making a most profound reverence,

Your truly most devoted and obliged servant

Pietro Giannone.[140]

140 *Epist*., pp. 1056-1058; *Opere di P.G*., ed. Bertelli, pp. 1183-1186, no. 21.

Chapter Ten: 1735: Venice, Modena, Milan, Turin, and Geneva

I meanwhile remained in Venice, bearing as best I could the severity of that horrible winter. In this country the only provision made to combat the cold was furs and flimsy firewood in their fireplaces, not permanent fires or stoves, as I was used to having in Vienna, where, although under a harsher sky, thought had been given effectively to combatting it. As a result, my stay became more uncomfortable and troublesome, and I awaited impatiently the approaching spring, both because the weather would become milder and I deluded myself that I would receive news of relief from either Madrid or Sicily.

In the meantime at Carnival the gentlemen did not cease their kind welcome, and often invited me to watch from their windows the spectacles being held in Piazza San Marco or the operas in their theatres, and the very kind Grimani brothers, in particular, often thus favoured me. And although I had no wish to watch spectacles or attend operas or comedies in the theatres, I made the effort in order to please them and not abuse their kindness.

I was eventually warned that the Jesuits, who greatly resented that the reply to Sanfelice was passing through many hands and being read with pleasure and praise, were setting traps for me. Whenever I happened to be in Piazza San Marco they had persons there noting all that I said and did. I should therefore be careful and reserved when speaking and, in fact, that I would do better to say nothing, since an evil interpretation was put on my every word, and I was often slandered for things not even thought, much less said. I learnt afterwards that, apart from the Jesuits, the Holy Office in Rome had urgently charged the

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Inquisitor of Venice to have my movements watched and endeavour to have me accused in his tribunal.[1]

I made good use of the advice and was rarely seen there, and some mornings, weather permitting, I used to visit the bookshop of Pitteri,[2] dealer in books, where sometimes Abate Conti and Abate Moazzi were to be found, or some other gentleman who was my friend, and I would spend a few hours with them in learned discourse. In the afternoon I used to go to Bettoni's[3] house, where I would find Pasqualigo[4] and other gentlemen. And as he had a library of excellent books and was eager to have new books which were published in France, Holland or England, we duly spoke about new works which had been printed and also the events of the war in Italy, Poland, and the Rhine or of the Turks with the Persians.

Near Bettoni's house was the convent of the nuns of San Lorenzo,[5] where I had become acquainted with Lady Maria Riva, a gentlewoman as attractive in her physical charms as she was endowed with beautiful gifts of mind and learning, revealing a spirit and acuteness of thought superior to her sex. I often went, therefore, to pay my respects to her.[6]

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1 The 'reply' to Sanfelice was the *Profession of Faith*. See the report of 6 September 1735 of Sebastiano Bonapace, Capitano Grande (Venice State Archives, Inquisizioni di Stato: *Giannoniana*, pp. 370-371): Chapter Ten: Appendix. For an account of the persecution of G. see Marini's monumental account: 'Nella "miseria de' tempi". L'opposizione curiale a P.G. 1723-1735', in his *Mezzogiorno*, pp. 193-263; also Bertelli's fundamental article, 'L'Incartamento originale del Sant'uffizio relativo a Pietro Giannone'.

2 Francesco Pitteri (1709-1760), printer and bookseller, publisher of Goldoni. In 1735, his bookshop was the most frequented in Venice (Mario Infelise, *L'editoria veneziana nel' 700* (Milan 1987), p. 148). He published the work of Fra Sarpi in 1739 with the false place of publication of Helmstadt (*ibid*., p. 84). His financier was Filippo Beroardi (died 1740) (*ibid*., p. 150). At Pitteri's death his debts exceeded his credits (*ibid*., p. 158). See also Bertelli's extensive note (B., p. 270).

3 Bettoni: see Chapter Nine: Appendix [52].

4 Pasqualigo: see Chapter Nine, n.42.

5 Charles de Brosses wrote of them: 'All those I have seen through the grate at mass, chatting and laughing together as long as the service lasted, have struck me as good-looking and habited in such a way as to highlight their beauty. They have a charming little coiffure and simple dress, but one that is, of course, perfectly white, revealing their shoulders and breasts to just the same degree as the dresses in the Roman style worn by our actresses' (*Lettres familières*, 13 August 1739, ed. Bézard, 1, p. 176)

6 Maria Riva was descended from the famous Andrea de Riva, who had been hanged by Louis XII. For reasons relating probably to family politics and financial considerations, she had been placed in the convent. Maria Riva became the mistress

And since the French ambassador[7] used often go there to visit her, it happened many times that when we would meet, he would not allow me to leave, but on the contrary seemed pleased to have my company, and discoursed with me on various subjects. Once he told me that he had heard that my *Civil History* had been translated into French and that he had still not been able to obtain a copy from France. I replied that this was not surprising, since the translation was not yet finished, but that I would write to Bousquet,[8] a dealer in books in Geneva, who was in charge of the printing, to ask him that, if the first volume happened to be printed, to send it to me immediately, in order that His Excellency were the first to have it. He eagerly pressed me to send for it, and manifested a great wish to have it. I wrote therefore to Bousquet, expressing my surprise at such slowness, now that four years had elapsed since sending him the appendices, corrections and illustrations which he had requested, with my portrait engraved in copper and the drawings of the medals, and still not even the first volume had been seen in print. I asked, if it happened to be printed, to send it to me, as it had been most solicitously requested by the French ambassador resident in Venice, where I was and where he should send it.

Bousquet replied that both he and his company were glad that I was in Venice,[9] because being closer I could better supervise the edition and

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of the French ambassador, Marquis de Froullay. The Inquisitors of Venice eventually had her lover recalled to Paris and her transferred to Ferrara, where she was married to a Colonel Moroni (*Vita*, ed. Nicolini, p. 314). Her fate resembles that of the tragic Gertrude in *Promessi sposi*. Her biographers represent her as a notorious coquette, in contrast to the respectful and gracious tribute paid to her by G. Panzini (*Vita*, p. 138) also referred to accounts of her 'uncommon erudition', which drew to the convent 'the best men and the most distinguished personages in Venice'.

7 The count de Froullay: see Chapter Nine, n.40.

8 Bousquet: see Chapter Eight, n.24.

9 In a subsequent letter of 29 January 1735, Bousquet refers to this reply which he sent on 6 November 1734. It is clear that G. had already considered going to Geneva:
Bousquet to G., 29 January 1735:

'Monsieur, we are extremely surprised that you have not yet replied to our letter of 6 November, which we had the honour to send you in Venice, following your orders [G. was expelled on 13 September 1735]. We certainly received yours of the same day, to which we did not reply, because we were waiting for your letters and reply to ours, which we confirm to you, and because M. De Bochat continues to work on the translation of your book. It does not proceed as quickly, however, as thought, since in order to do it well, he is checking with much attention all the references, which are very often incorrect.

We ask you, Monsieur, to send us in reply a letter of introduction for Monsieur

clarify the translators' uncertainties which arose from time to time in the translation. Although they had before them the English translation, they did not know how to resolve them, and because of that the translation was still not finished; that they did not want to begin printing until everything was exactly completed, and asked for my assistance and forbearance in clarifying the uncertainties as they would send me them, so as to avoid errors in the translation. I realized from this that the end was not really in sight, and thus told the ambassador that it was necessary to wait longer, given both the printers' slowness and the translators' scant knowledge of matters relating to the kingdom of Naples.

My stay in Venice, meanwhile, had made a great many people want to have my work, and as it had become very rare and there was no hope of a copy from the bookshops, either in Venice or Naples, since there were none, they induced Pitteri and Beroardi, who gave Pitteri the money to finance his printing-house, to have it reprinted in Venice. And when they learnt that the French translation would take a long time and was embellished with new notes and appendices, they came to tell me of their proposal to reprint it and to ask for my assistance, and that I give them whatever new material I had, in order that the reprinting be better not only than the first edition done in Naples, and the English translation, but also than the French, and that they would be obliged to me and would agree with whatever was required, in accordance with my conditions.

I replied that if they seriously wished to embark on that enterprise [a Venetian reprint], not only would I give them what I had sent in new appendices and medals to the French translators, but that I also had so

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your brother in Naples to help us proceed against Sig. Giuseppe Porzelli, a bookseller, who owes us money and does not want to pay. We much rely on your help in this matter and beg you not to refuse it and to reply if you will by the first courier.

Before going to Paris, I must go to the fair in Frankfurt at the end of March, whence I shall be back at the beginning of May, and then, Monsieur, we shall give you a positive answer to the remainder of your letter. We can tell you in advance that you will be able to have a room at my place, a bed and my desk, which will be a true honour and pleasure for me. Nothing in this matter, in fact, must cause you the slightest trouble. Be only kind enough to be patient for a few months and we shall speak more positively to you. And be convinced of our secrecy, and that we are completely your very humble and obedient servant' (Florence Nat. Lib., *Magliabechiano*: *Giannoniana*, pp. 524-525).

much more pertaining to the *History*, continuing on from it, that it could be made into another volume. As a result, the new reprinting would be even more sought after than the first, having been enlarged, not only by the notes and medals relating to the four volumes, but also by a fifth volume not previously published. I nevertheless warned them that, as I was exposed to the eyes of all in Venice and especially the Jesuits, who were assiduously spying on all my movements, if it ever came to their notice, they would use any obstacle to block it and immediately inform the court of Rome, which would not fail to do the same (I did not then know of the order already given to the Inquisitor).[10] My stay in Venice had made me realize that the Venetians were as garrulous as they were curious, and they loved to know more about others' doings than their own. If impenetrable secrecy, therefore, were not maintained, the work would never be completed.

In addition I did not wish to be responsible for obtaining permission for the printing from the relevant magistrate and this should be their responsibility. I expressed my willingness to give my manuscripts to the revisor[11] or to anyone charged with examining them, and whatever he felt should perhaps be removed or changed or better explained, I would gladly do, since I was sure that, as this fifth volume contained nothing contrary to our religion and good customs and much less to the rights of princes, any variations and changes would be limited to trivial matters, not altering the substance of the work. And lastly, in reference to my honorarium, I proposed that one hundred sets of this reprinting were to be mine, of which they were to pay me in money for fifty as they were sold to others, and for the other fifty they could choose between giving

10 Panzini (*Vita*, p. 109) states that the catalyst, *De Consiliis* (The Brief Account of the Councils and Ministries of Vienna), had been published not in Germany but in Venice by Francesco Pitteri in 1734 and the beginning of 1735. This is corroborated by the Holy Office, where it was examined by the consultor Fr Tommaso Sergi in August and condemned on 17 August (BAV, *Rossiano 1180*); and the secretary of state, Cardinal Firrao, wrote of it to the nuncio Jacobo Oddi on 27 August as though 'it had not been long published' (see Marini's meticulous discussion, *Mezzogiorno*, pp. 250-251). It was not only condemned as heretical, but provided the excuse to defame G. to the Venetian government and set in motion plans for his arrest. The Venetian ambassador to the papal court was sent the decision of the cardinals of the Holy office 'to confine him [G.] so that he have no freedom to spread among the masses such wickedness either in writing or by word of mouth' (27 August 1735, published on 7 September 1735: BAV, *Rossiano 1180*: Marini, *Mezzogiorno*, p. 250).

11 A kind of censor.

me the price of them or the actual copies. I believed this to be a fair and reasonable proposition which they would find satisfactory.

Beroardi and Pitteri were all the more eager on learning that, as well as the appendices to the four volumes, the new edition would be enlarged by another volume, and they even more enthusiastically insisted on beginning it. And as to the secrecy, they declared that its impenetrability could not be more important to anyone than to them, and that I might rest assured of this. It would be their responsibility to obtain permission to publish it, and if they could not obtain that Venice be given as the place of publication on the title page, they would simply put there another city in Italy or Germany. And in reference to my honorarium, they were content with my proposition and this would be faithfully fulfilled, and if it were necessary to put it in writing, they were willing to do so. I replied that they should first attend to the more important matter of initiating the business of the licence, and that we would be guided by how possible it appeared to obtain it. In the meantime I would begin revising the manuscripts and putting them in order.

With these negotiations and occupations we had already entered March, and Senator Pisani began to remind me of my promise to move to his house in the coming spring. I had until then in no way lost hope of being able to retire to Naples, because of an undertaking given by the Spanish ambassador. This was in spite of the not very courteous reply which he had received from the count of Santo Stefano. He wrote that King Charles was unable to make provision for my petition without first receiving a reply from Madrid, seeing that an appeal had been made also to that Court. Later, however, he was advised from Madrid that King Philip had remitted provision for my appeal to the Infante, king of Naples, who had been sent my petition, and that everything depended on the count of Santo Stefano, who directed the young prince as he thought fit. I began to lose hope no less than the ambassador, knowing the dependence which he manifested on the court of Rome and his natural propensity to gratify it, and that a letter from a cardinal would carry more weight than all the recommendations of any royal minister. And although the marquis of Montealegre, secretary of state and war

of the Infante Don Carlos, and Tanucci, secretary of justice,[12] showed that they were fully inclined to favour me, there was no hope of the secretary's resisting, since confirmation had come from Naples of the count's total dependence on the Roman court. He was promoting to the magistracies the subjects recommended to him by the court of Rome, and demoting those not in that Court's grace and favour.[13]

Moved by this to foresee every ominous outcome, I decided to move to Pisani's house (Fig. 22) and confirming my promises, told him that I would move there towards the end of the month. After the apartment was cleaned, therefore, I went to live there on 24 March.[14] Pisani's

12 José Joaquim de Montealegre, duke of Salas, secretary of state and war, was a state councillor, second in power only to Santo Stefano. He had been the favourite of the Spanish minister Patiño (Acton, *The Bourbons of Naples*, p. 29), to whom the Spanish ambassador to Venice, Count Fuenclara (his wife was Patiño's niece), had written asking that he intercede on G.'s behalf with the Bourbon government. G. had expected to have his support (Venice, 29 January 1735: *Epist.*, p. 1072), but Montealegre's power was overshadowed by Santo Stefano, and when the latter was obliged to leave in 1738, it was tragically too late for G. Montealegre also was unpopular, because fundamentally 'he was just another Spaniard' and an arch intriguer. The Queen's clique eventually engineered his retirement in 1746 (Acton, *The Bourbons of Naples*, pp. 54-55). Bernardo Tanucci (1698-1783), statesman, lawyer, and teacher of Jurisprudence at the University of Pisa; he came to the attention of the Infante Don Carlos Charles Bourbon, duke of Parma and heir to the grand duchy of Tuscany, who then called him to Naples, where in 1752 he became minister of Justice and in 1754 of External Affairs (see Ajello's observations in *Storia di Napoli*, 7, p. 537). Tanucci was an anti-curialist, despite accusations of inertia and timidity. In 1773, by the famous bull of Clement XIV, the Jesuits were expelled from the Bourbon states, a measure for which Tanucci had long and ardently striven. Through him Giovanni Giannone and his descendants were granted a small pension. On his long period in office Pastor wrote: 'He continued his policy which was most detrimental to the Holy See and in which he had the support of officials who were to a man supporters of Giannone' (34, p. 397). *DBI* 94, pp. 830-835: Girolamo Imbruglia.

13 Of the twenty-four magistrates deposed by the new regime, three were dismissed to please the court of Rome: the regent Carlo Lucini, to whom G. was warmly disposed (Venice, 10 September 1735: *Epist.*, p. 1115), Pietro Contegna and Costantino Grimaldi. The last was dismissed 'because he is too good a friend to his wife and too bad a friend of the court of Rome' (Ajello, *Il problema della riforma*, undocumented ed., p. 246). The intellectualism, moreover, of Grimaldi, 'who had written many books', which would also have tainted Contegna and Lucini, quite apart from their anti-curialism, also explains their dismissal (Naples State Archives, 'Consulta della Camera della Sommaria': Ajello, *Storia di Napoli*, 7, pp. 459-717, see below). All three would have warmly and effectively recommended G.

14 G. wrote to Carlo of a visit from an acquaintance: 'I was pleased that he found me in a noble apartment assigned to me for my use by Sig. Pisani in his well-furnished palace, without any prompting whatsoever, so that now I can receive more appropriately the constant visits of the city's aristocratic gentlemen and men of letters' (Venice, 3 April 1735: *Epist.*, p. 1084).

satisfaction in seeing me in his home was no less than mine on seeing the affection and pleasure with which he welcomed me as his guest. This was especially since my rooms were on the upper floor where, neither disturbing anyone nor being disturbed, I had my book-cases moved with the books and my few possessions, and as a result, being separated from everyone, I could attend to my studies. And when I was not invited to dine with anyone else, without my having to bear any of the costs of the kitchen, a place was always set for me at his table, to which, contrary to the custom of other Venetian gentlemen, he used often invite other gentlemen who were his friends or learned literary persons.

Fig. 22 The palazzo Pisani, Venice (translator's photo).

In order not to take advantage of such courtesy and not inconvenience any of his servants, as I needed someone to look after me and my simple affairs, I decided to have my son come from Naples, whom I was having educated there.[15] As he was already an adult around twenty years of

15 G. had written to Carlo from Venice, 12 February 1735: 'I am greatly cheered by the

age and somewhat proficient in grammar and the art of writing, he could be useful not only for my studies but also for other needs, and in particular since I was living alone in rooms separate and distant from the Pisani family, I had a real need for someone to keep me company, should something unforeseen occur. I wrote therefore to my friend Mela in Naples to send him when convenient and to advise the youth not to reveal that he was my son, since I had informed Pisani that, as I needed a youth to assist me, and I wanted to be reasonable and not impose on the members of his family, I was having the youth come from Naples without, however, involving Pisani in any expense. And Pisani with the same affection and warm-heartedness replied that whatever pleased me pleased him, and that I might arrange for my comfort and convenience as I thought best.

The youth arrived in Venice towards the end of April, and as he fulfilled all my needs, I continued my stay with greater ease, having one of my own family to help me.[16] At the same time, however, I had to consider that, although spared the expense of food and accommodation, I still had to buy clothes for myself and the boy, and other necessities which arose from day to day, and the money recovered from the Bank of Vienna had been for the most part spent on travelling and other expenses, and above all by the seven months of living at my own expense in Venice. There remained only one hundred gold Hungarian coins, and when eventually these were finished, there was nowhere to turn for help. I did not want to impose on the kindness of Pisani, whom I well knew could not have done more for me: he was by nature as charitable and magnanimous as he was

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enclosed note from Sig. Mela, in which he assures me of Giovannino's good nature and docility and that he will suit my needs; and that in the few months remaining, he will see that he applies himself to writing, without letting him abandon grammar, because I would like him to be well taught so that I am not forced to act the pedant with him' (*Epist.*, p. 1075).

16 As G. was finishing a letter to Carlo, Giovanni arrived, and G. wrote: 'I believed him to be much taller. From these first moments I can imagine that he is sound, and well-mannered... You will be able to let Sig. Mela, and his mother know' (Venice, 30 April 1735: *Epist.*, p. 1091). Giovanni wrote that he was welcomed with open arms and 'utterly consoled... for not having ever previously been civilly treated' (*Memorie :* see below). G. had received a letter from his brother-in-law exculpating himself and his wife from the charge of having neglected Giovanni. Vittoria, G.'s sister, had not received from Carlo the copy of G.'s portrait or any acknowledgement or word of thanks for all those long years of G.'s absence, 'so that she did not know for whose benefit she was keeping that boy in her home... [F]or my part, I shall try to help them in what small way I can' (Vienna, 12 December 1733: *Epist.*, p. 1021).

lacking in wealth. And there was no lack of envious people who both blamed Pisani for having taken on this responsibility which was beyond his strength, and also tried to make me think that I was supported by a ruinous and frail column, and that one could expect only weak support from a poor gentleman. I replied that I was not unaware of this, but taking into consideration that Pisani could be of benefit to me without adding to his expenses, I had willingly embraced his offer. In reference to my dining there, Pisani himself had told me, and I had already observed, that the cost would have been the same, when he saw that for food I was content with satisfying my natural needs, so that I did not drink wine or eat an evening meal; that as for my apartment, he was in no way disadvantaged, because the rooms had been left empty; Venetian gentlemen, moreover, were not accustomed to rent other rooms in their own palaces where they lived. These people, therefore, had no need to be concerned about my support or Pisani's economizing, or to be so inquisitive and censorious about what others did.

What distressed me more was that, despite all this help, I could not much protract my stay without other assistance. And there was nothing to hope for from my brother in Naples.[17] From him, on the contrary, I met with the most extreme and unprecedented cruelty in my unhappy situation. I had been constantly urged by many people, since my *History* was unavailable in the bookshops, to try to have more copies sent from Naples, which they would buy at any price. I wrote, therefore, to my brother asking him to send me via Manfredonia as many as he could from those which were left, because in Venice I would sell them

17 Some six years earlier, G. had learned that Carlo was living on the sales of the *Civil History* (Vienna, 9 April 1729: *Epist.*, p. 12). He heard from a friend, who had bought twelve sets from Carlo in Naples at eight ducats a set, '...and I remember around that time the hard and sordid way you did nothing but cry poverty' (Venice, 18 December 1734: *Epist.*, p. 1064). With Giovanni's arrival and his disclosures, however, G.'s attitude to Carlo hardened. In a letter G. referred to Carlo's penury and embezzlement, and failure as a lawyer:

G. to Carlo, Venice, 30 July 1735:

'You play the philosopher and do not want simply to confess that it is your inadequacy, bad manners and prodigious obstinacy in your own twisted whims, which have reduced you to the lack of cases of which you write. And now from experience I am convinced that certainly no one will want to abandon into your hands the defence of cases which you do not know how to bring to fruition... And you even imagine that it is the abhorrence felt at my name that has brought you to such a pass' (*Epist.*, pp. 1107-1108).

for double what he was selling them for in Naples, and thus at least provide for my needs.[18] And he replied with unprecedented effrontery that I send the money if I wanted them, because he had pledged those which he had. It was necessary, therefore, to reply severely to him and write to friends to persuade him to send them, otherwise I would revoke his power of attorney and assign it to others. With great difficulty and effort, I was barely able to obtain ten copies, which were most welcome, for, after giving two sets to Pisani (and later I had to give another to his son, Benedetto Pisani) and another to the Spanish ambassador, the rest were gradually sold for six *zecchini* a set, and the proceeds helped me meet all my other needs without touching that little money left from Vienna.

While continuing my stay in Venice as best I could, deluding myself that, with the rigour of winter over, I might at least be restored in spring to perfect health, the contrary happened, because the endless fog and often driving rain made my stay as tiresome as had the past winter. And at that time I was fortunate enough to be present at the most solemn functions and major celebrations and spectacles which by custom took place in Venice; on the death of the Doge Ruzzini, to observe the stately funeral held for him; to be present at the election of the new doge Pisani and the festivities for his enthronement; and, on the death of the Patriarch, to see the magnificent entry of the new patriarch,[19]

18 G. tells Carlo not to worry about selling the remaining copies of the history to the Neapolitans, who remain 'mean and poor no less in spirit than in resources' (Venice, 23 April 1735: *Epist*., p. 1089) '...and the nuncio of Vienna [Passionei] imprudently makes such a fuss there as to arouse the curiosity of many cardinals and prelates who write here to have copies sent by post with no worries about the great expense of the postage. And I know that last week *Cardinal Albani asked for six copies'* (4 June 1735: *Epist*., p. 1098: my italics).

19 Carlo di Marco Ruzzini (1653-1735), was doge 1732-1734. He was a distinguished diplomat and had participated at the conferences of Karlowitz, Utrecht and Passarowitz. Not in *DBI*. Alvise Pisani was doge 1734-1741. He was previously Venetian ambassador at the court of Queen Anne. On his election as doge on 17 January 1734, he and his family held celebrations said to be unprecedented in Venice, marked by the liberal distribution of largesse. The celebrations continued for three days and were illuminated at night by huge candles bearing the Pisani coat of arms (John Julius Norwich, *A History of Venice* (New York 1982), p. 387). *DBI* 84, pp. 232-234: Giuseppe Gullino. The new patriarch, successor to Marco Gradinego, was Francesco Antonio Correr (1676-1740), a Capuchin priest from an illustrious family. He came to Venice in 1700, and was immediately designated patrician. He was the last of his family and renowned for his goodness (Michelangelo Rossiglione, *Cenni biografici e ritratti di padri illustri dell'Ordine Cappuccino 1581-1850* (Rome 1850), 1, p.

the new procurators of San Marco[20] and other splendid displays and festivities, which, if not gladdening me, should at least have dispelled the melancholy and gloom which had come over me. As I was preparing, nevertheless, to see the festival of the Bucintoro,[21] having been invited by those gentlemen (who so kindly arranged for me to see all the festivities with every convenience and comfort) on Ascension Day, which that year fell on 19 May, I suddenly fell gravely ill with tertian fever. The doctors were somewhat worried, given my delicate constitution and advanced age, and decided to use cinchona to cure me. Although I was restored to health, hard reality prevented my following my plan of enjoying the country and continuing my morning walks, and I did not ever feel perfectly healthy and robust. With the season continuing to be variable and rainy, although summer was beginning, in less than four or five weeks I again fell ill with the fever more violently than before, and it sapped all my strength and left me in a worse state. The doctors resumed using cinchona, which cured the fever but not the languor. Pisani with much affection and kindness did not neglect to assist me, but I told him that I would never recover, unless I left the lagoons and was in the country. I asked him therefore to hasten his summer holidays in Rovere di Crè, where he used to go, as this would be my most effective medicine. His domestic affairs, however, in spite of its being almost the end of June, did not permit him to go, and he told me that he hoped shortly to be free and to leave immediately for there.

To these afflictions was added the news from the Spanish ambassador that the count of Santo Stefano had written to him that I should no longer think of returning to Naples, and that such was the provision made by His Majesty King Charles for my petition referred to him by Spain.[22]

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183).

20 This magistracy is recorded from 1049, when the office devolved perhaps on a single official, but by 1442 there were nine. Apart from the care of the basilica and works of Beneficenza, their duties included teaching and the administration related to wills. They were honorary members of the Senate, and each had an apartment. They bore the title of *Messer* (*EI* 28, p. 297). They were one of the oldest and most important Venetian magistracies, and they had their offices in the two palaces facing the Piazza di San Marco, the *Procuratie vecchie* (Old Attorneys' Offices) and the *Procuratie nuove* (New) (B., p. 277).

21 Bucintor: see Giovanni's *Memorie* (below) for his description.

22 On conditions in Naples, and reasons for G.'s inability to return: see Chapter Nine: Appendix [46].

The feeling with which the ambassador told me made me realize that it was a great disappointment for him, hence I did not neglect to thank him profusely for having interceded on my behalf, and to blame my hard destiny which on all sides did not cease to persecute me. I had already been informed from Naples not to expect any other reply, given the count's total subjection to, and dependence on, the court of Rome, which, moreover, he ostentatiously flaunted to everyone. When in fact Prince della Torella had returned to Naples and I wrote asking him to intercede for me with that prime minister, he had not deemed me worthy even of a reply.[23] It was learnt later that the Count had boasted of completely disregarding all the efforts to have me return to Naples, and that he had informed Rome of his constancy. And he could not refrain from telling the Vicario of Naples, in order to have it passed on to the new archbishop, Spinelli,[24] appointed to replace the deceased Pignatelli. Whenever the opportunity arose, he did not fail to tell all whom he met about it, expressing his satisfaction in thus having well served the pope and his Court.

So much animosity did not deserve the moderation with which in the Fourth Volume of my *History*[25] I described the government of the count of Santo Stefano his father, when he was viceroy of Naples in the last

23 There is perhaps another reason for the prince's silence. After meeting G. in Venice, during the same year, 1735, he was appointed ambassador to Paris and, as mentioned, took as his secretary the tutor of his children, Matteo Egizio (Salvatore Ussia, in *P.G. e il suo tempo*, p. 744). After Egizio's review of the *Civil History* some thirteen years before, and after the controversy relating to his collaboration with Sebastiano Paoli on Paoli's *Annotazione*, he remained hostile to G. until the end of his life.

24 Giuseppe Spinelli (1674-1763), born in Naples, nuncio in Flanders (Brussels), archbishop of Corinth and later Naples, where he replaced Francesco Pignatelli as archbishop. Spinelli was made cardinal by Clement XII on 17 January 1735. When nuncio in Flanders, he was responsible for having Van Espen dismissed from the University of Louvain (Pastor, 34, pp. 287-290). He later succeeded in obtaining from the viceroy Santo Stefano the suppression of the chair of Ecclesiastical History at the University of Naples because the simple-minded could not understand controversies over matters of faith, and might come to doubt 'sacrosanct dogmas' (Naples State Archives, *Camera di S. Chiara*: Elvira Chiosi, *Lo spirito del secolo* (Naples 1992), p. 28). To Spinelli is also attributed an attempt to introduce the Inquisition into Naples (*ibid*., p. 58). See G.'s letter to Carlo on Spinelli's persecution of Van Espen (Vienna, 29 September 1725: *Epist*., p. 291).

25 G.'s praise, however, was measured, and he observed that, if the viceroy Francisco (the father) had not changed the currency of Naples, 'his fame in our times would have been much brighter and more luminous' (bk 40, ch.2= Ogilvie, 2, pp. 829-831).

years of Charles II. I refrained from referring to the fictitious genealogy worked out by Vidania on the Benavides family.[26] I passed over in silence the dissatisfaction in Naples, when his father, disregarding that it was to the detriment of the public, had the new currency revalued a second time for his own benefit, and the other stratagems employed to make himself immensely rich.[27] So wretched and unfortunate is the plight of the writers of our time, that, to avoid hatred and malevolence, it is not enough for them to remain silent about vices, but with shameless adulation actual faults have to be transformed into virtues and eulogized, and have great value set on them as being worthy of praise and commendation (I learnt from personal experience the truth of what Pliny the Younger wrote in his eighth epistle of Book Five, in reply to Capito who had suggested that he write history, that this was a very dangerous matter in his times because, as he told him: 'Praise will seem insufficient and reproof excessive, even if the praise be very fulsome and the reproof moderate').

On receiving this reply from the ambassador, I told him, when taking my leave, not to impute to me bad manners or disrespect if in the future I did not set foot in his palace. This was because, by going to live in the home of Senator Pisani, even though as his guest and not his employee, I was not included in the strict laws of that Republic, which prohibited to nobles all contact with ambassadors. I was exposed to the malevolence of the Jesuits and other satellites of the court of Rome and did not want to give them the slightest pretext to slander me. I had come to the ambassador only on that one occasion after moving to Pisani's home when forced by necessity to learn the final decision made in Naples about my return. I did the same with the French ambassador, even though we often met at the convent of San Lorenzo, excusing myself

26 *Al Rey Nuestro Señor Don Francisco de Benavides... Representa los servicios heredados y proprios y los de sus hijos Don Diego... y Don Luis... y la Antiguedad y Calidad de su Casa, y de las incorporadas en ella* (Naples 1696); written by the *cappellano maggiore* and prefect of the University of Naples, Diego Vincente de Vidania (1650-1731) (B., p. 278).

27 See the illuminating essay of Luigi de Rosa, in *P.G. e il suo tempo*, pp. 537-556. He claims that G. did not comprehend the significance of the viceroy Santo Stefano's devaluation, which was aimed at stimulating the market for the products of the kingdom. De Rosa underlines G.'s great disadvantage in never having had direct contact with anybody like the Royal Society to extend his outlook. His inability to read English thus prevented his drawing on the most vigorous source of ideas in Europe.

with various pretexts when he would ask me to dine with him. And because he often complained at what he thought was my reluctance, I asked Prince Trivulzio to make known to him the real reason, that he not think me ungrateful for his very gracious invitations, which I considered a great favour and honour.

On finding myself so completely excluded from returning to Naples, therefore, I decided to come to terms as best I could with staying in Venice. I could not think, moreover, of returning to Vienna, since not only did the reason for having to leave remain the same, but, according to news from friends left there, the troubles had also greatly increased without any hope of their soon ending, and in fact they envied my good fortune in having delivered myself from them and found refuge in Venice.

In this distress I was much comforted by Pitteri, who came in high spirits to see me with the news that the governors comprising the magistracy, which supervises printing, had given a favourable reception to the petition to have my *History* reprinted with the addition of the fifth volume, which would greatly revive printing in Venice and in this way bring more money to the city. To facilitate it, they had entrusted the review to the Republic's theologian,[28] a Servite, and, if in those new appendices and the fifth volume he found nothing offensive to religion and the rights of princes or contrary to good customs, he would make a report to them, even a verbal one, which would be enough for them willingly to give permission. To avoid trouble with Rome, they would be content to have the reprint bear the name of another city. Pitteri had already spoken to the theologian, who was waiting to read my manuscripts, and as the latter would soon have them done, Pitteri urged me to give them to him to take there and not lose any time.

I did not fail to give him these immediately, even though not all were in order, since that could be done after he had read them, and I did not

28 Paolo Celotti proposed and had accepted by the Riformatori (governors of the University of Padua) that the stamp of licence authorizing the publication of a book be replaced by the vaguer expression: *superiorum permissu* (by permission of superiors) (Venice State Archives, *Riformatori*: Mario Infelice, *L' Editoria veneziana nel '700* (Milan 1987), p. 74). This greatly broadened the category of books able to be printed with a false place of publication. In 1720 Celotti with his colleague Pietro Marini presented a detailed denunciation of the Inquisition's abuses (Venice State Archives, *Riformatori*; Infelice, p. 100). In 1731-1732, he was again intent on distinguishing between reasons of state and those of the Church.

want to cause the slightest obstruction. I charged Pitteri now more than ever to keep it secret, something difficult to obtain with Venetians, and that he tell the theologian that, when he had read them, I would go to his place to confer with him on anything which perhaps he considered should be removed, changed, or set out in another way and emended. The manuscripts consisted of the notes, corrections and new appendices, with the medals which were to be arranged in their places in each book of the four volumes. The others followed which made up the fifth volume, with the various reviews and apologiae in defence and explanation of the work, and other dissertations and treatises relevant to it.

I felt some relief to see that my earnings from the reprinting would enable me to continue my stay in Venice for many years, and in the meantime to observe from a position of safety the events of the war and see how eventually things in Italy were to end. What remained for me to restore was my health, which was, however, being ruined. On telling Pisani, therefore, that I knew of no other remedy than to go to Mestre or some other place nearby in the country if the summer holidays at Rovere di Crè were to be further delayed, he hastened them as best he could. And finally, not before 6 July, we left by water for Rovigo, where on arrival I began to improve and recover somewhat with the morning walks, retracing my steps in that countryside.

But unhappy me! Believing thus that I had recovered somewhat from my misfortunes, I did not know that the Jesuits and the court of Rome were preparing other traps and worse evils for me in Venice. Not satisfied with having excluded me from Naples, when it saw how respected and well-regarded I was in Venice, and how my *History* was so sought after and praised, even that negotiations were afoot for a new edition enlarged by another volume, the court of Rome decided to adopt the usual evil arts, by means of the Jesuits (the nuncio Oddi and the Inquisitor). As a result, I was excluded also from that city, and thus were broken off all negotiations for the reprinting and every other advantage which I could have hoped for by staying in Venice.[29] The Jesuits were

29 Jacopo Oddi (1679-1770), aristocrat, nephew of Cardinal Antonio Banchieri (papal secretary of state, 1730-1733); Venetian nuncio from 1735-1739; bishop of Laodicea. The then secretary of state, Cardinal Firrao (1733-1740), quoted to him the words of the assessor of the Holy Office: 'If it is impossible to achieve the main object, which would be the arrest of the said Giannone, at least have him held in the abhorrence which for so many reasons he deserves' (27 August 1735; AAV, *Venezia*: Marini,

greatly enraged that, after bringing on themselves the reply to Sanfelice, in which their perverted morality was revealed, it was being circulated in Venice and read with pleasure by all, and they zealously undertook the enterprise. They thus did not neglect to set traps everywhere for me, maligning my reputation among their penitents, and describing me as a heretic and unbeliever.[30]

Who could have believed that the Jesuits, when expelled under Paul V from Venice as rebels and agitators against the Republic, who even after expulsion attempted new sedition and uprisings in the State's neighbouring cities because of their distance from the capital, would then, on their return to Venice under Alexander VII, not only be reinstated in their original position,[31] but also would acquire there even greater riches, authority, and credit? They owe everything to their morality and to the decline of that Republic which, as it plunged ever further into dissolution and vice, found those who might accelerate its course by false doctrine and slack moral principles, and add the goad of sharper and more piercing spurs to it on its downward course.

It is beyond doubt that the morality taught by the Jesuits of Venice has given the ultimate proof of its perfection, since all is licit and permissible

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Mezzogiorno, p. 252). For Firrao's instructions to Oddi, 30 July 1735, on the dangers of associating with heretics: Chapter Ten: Appendix. Moves were more than ever afoot for G.'s arrest. G.'s account of the councils and magistracies of Vienna ('De consiliis') provided the justification. The Inquisitor of Rome, Tommaso Sergi, stated that it was in spirit no different from the *Civil History*, and that 'Giannone should have no freedom to disseminate nefarious matters in writing or in person among the people' (Decision of the cardinals of the Holy Office, 17 August 1735: BAV, *Rossiano 1180*: Marini, *Mezzogiorno*, p. 250). Oddi's zeal was rewarded with a cardinalate in 1743.

30 The Society of Jesus was founded by St Ignatius of Loyola and formally approved by Paul III in 1540. Apart from missionary work, its aim was to 'support the Papacy and Catholic dogma against prevalent heresy' (*ODCC*, pp. 870-872). The Jesuits were expelled from Portugal in 1759, from France in 1764, and 6,000 Jesuits were expelled even from Spain in 1767. In 1773 Clement XIV suppressed the Society, but in 1814 it was formally restored by Pius VII. They were expelled from Venice in 1606 for siding with Paul V when he placed the Republic under interdict. They were readmitted at the intercession of Louis XIV in 1657 (*EB* 15, p. 345). They advocated that in such matters the end justified the means; that the pope could excommunicate and depose kings, and release their subjects from their oath of loyalty; that an excommunicated sovereign might be assassinated. Giuseppe Firrao, cardinal secretary of state, was to use them to undermine the foundations of G.'s patronage in Venice.

31 Paul V (Camillo Borghese, 1552-1621) became pope in 1605. Alexander VII (Fabio Chigi, 1599-1667) was pope from 1655.

to their devotees and penitents: among the artisans, therefore, so much swindling and deceit; in commerce, so much fraud; in the courts of justice, such cunning and prevarication; and in the magistracies, such corruption and dishonour; in the brothels, so many clients, such indecency and shamelessness; in gambling, such assiduousness and license. What amazes and leaves men dumbfounded, however, is to find that the Jesuits are the confessors and spiritual guides of the majority of the nobility, and the same Jesuit will be confessor to the lady and the gentleman, that is, to the whore and the paramour. In Venice it is already thought the fashion and custom to change wives by turn and mix offspring and lineage. The Jesuit hears the sins of both parties and absolves them both, and then often the lover and mistress are seen together at the altar to receive the sacred Host, and believing thus to have settled all accounts with God, they begin new games and reckon up new accounts, since the bookkeeper is ready to smooth out everything![32]

These zealots for the salvation of our souls, and the Inquisitor, were the inspectors of my movements and conduct. They were curious to know whether I heard mass on Sundays and had fulfilled my Easter Dues, and on discovering that not only on Sundays but often on weekdays I used to hear mass at the church of San Salvatore, and had fulfilled my Easter Dues in my parish church of Sant' Angelo near Pisani's home on Holy Thursday, which that year fell on 7 April, they began to slander me, that in my discourse I revealed a lack of enthusiasm for the saints and their particular devotions, and that my hearing mass and fulfilling the Easter Dues were all appearance and sham.

The nuncio Piazza,[33] who was of Milan's highest nobility and a wise, discreet prelate with no liking for hypocrisy, had left Venice and another nuncio was appointed in his place, Monsignor Oddi, of the opposite temperament, solemnly bigoted and sanctimonious, who willingly joined with the Jesuits, and the Inquisitor, and artfully incited and encouraged them in the enterprise.

32 G.'s impassioned moralizing against the Venetians, Bertelli suggests, was motivated also by his profound sense of disillusion at not finding Venice the ideal Republic ('Appunti e osservazione', p. 220).

33 The predecessor of Oddi was Carlo Stampa (1678-1742): in 1717 bishop of Calcedonia; nuncio at the court of Tuscany, then in Venice until 1735; archbishop of Milan in 1737 and cardinal in 1739 (B., p. 282).

During my stay in the country at Rovera di Crè[34] I was ignorant of all this, but on returning to the city at the end of July I found so much that was new. Among other things my friends told me that the Jesuits were spreading round that there had been discovered in Venice a great crowd of gentlemen, including also some gentlewomen, and even some religious and some citizens, eighty in number, who at their gatherings were deriding the many lay fraternities in Venice and the particular devotions to their saints. This sect claimed that those fraternities were not observing fasts and that some did not abstain from eating meat on Fridays and Saturdays; that the many miracles recounted were frauds of the friars, since it had been discovered already that the bright rosy tongue of St Anthony, displayed by the Franciscans at Padua, was not flesh but wood painted the colour of flesh; that the scent of roses given off from the tomb containing the saint's remains came from perfumes industriously supplied there by the friars to deceive the simple and devout multitude; and that by this and similarly scandalous talk the gentlemen revealed that they were not devout followers of our Holy Faith. To prevent the evil spreading, therefore, the nuncio and the patriarch were intent on extirpating it, and already trials were being trumped up by the court of the Inquisition of Venice of various suspect persons. They did not refrain even from giving their names with the most precise details of alleged crimes, and claiming that in a short while they would be condemned and punished as an example to others.

These rumours, which spread everywhere with such publicity,[35] made me suspect that it was a plot hatched for me alone, as it seemed unlikely that a court like that of the Inquisition, which proceeds with such cunning and impenetrable secrecy, would permit its trials, the

34 It was there that G. wrote the preface to the *Triregno:* see 'The *Triregno* and its Fate' (below).

35 Pelleri, the official agent in Venice of the Piedmontese government and thus also of the marquis d'Ormea, wrote in his report, 17 September 1735: '*... I was assured* that a sect has been discovered of people in which there are some atheists. The discovery is true, and there is a list of eighty persons of every rank, men and women, nobles of little account, and they have named to me three or four of the best men of letters of this city, whom I do not name because I cannot believe it, except that I am well informed, and *someone says* that Giannone is the leader...' (*Venezia Lettere Ministri*, mazzo 24: Occella, 'Ultimi dodici anni', p. 499: my italics). The reports on G.'s movements for the Inquisition by the Capitano Grande or Messer Grande in September 1735 make chilling reading: Chapter Ten: Appendix [1].

names of the accused, and even the precise details of their crimes to be made known. I therefore informed Senator Pisani, and asked him, as an old, well-informed patrician, friendly with the magistrates of the Court and other senators who could enquire into the truth of it, to ascertain carefully the facts. I believed that they were an invention to unnerve me and fill me with dread, but I would not be frightened, provided I had an opportunity to defend myself, to expose myself to any test and refute the base deception. I was sure that in my discourse in Venice I had not said more than what was printed in my works, which could be read by anyone. As I had known hitherto how to give an account of them and explain them, I could do so with even greater facility to the Venetian censors: I had not been to Padua and knew nothing about the tongue or the perfumes. Pisani and other senators who were his friends did not fail to make precise enquiries into the matter, and after much investigation discovered it to be an invention, that there had never been a word or a line on paper about it in that court, and that it was an unfounded rumour spread by the Jesuits and others of their ilk.

I also asked Pisani if we might go together to the Republic's theologian, which we did, to learn whether he had read my manuscripts and found in them anything to emend or remove, which I would willingly have done. The theologian told me that he had carefully read them, and had not only not found anything offensive to our Holy Faith or the rights of princes, but, on the contrary, he also considered them commendable for their vigorous and clear support of the supreme and ancient prerogatives and royal rights of princes. He said that he would testify to this to the governors and facilitate the printing, in order that the Republic not miss the opportunity of greatly enriching her printing houses by a work which would be sought and commended by the whole of Europe. After duly thanking him, I asked him to do so and in secret, because I saw that the Jesuits were too watchful of me and my affairs, and would use any unworthy and insidious means with the court of Rome to block it.

I nevertheless had no peace of mind, since wherever I happened to be, I was asked when the new edition would appear and when they were to have the delight of reading the impatiently awaited fifth volume, what it contained, and a hundred similarly impertinent questions. Although I replied that I knew nothing and was no longer meddling in printing

or reprinting, and to leave me in peace, they refused to believe me, and the Jesuits often sent spies to Pitteri and to my friends to make more sure. Because of this, I was in a constant state of distress, cursing my cruel fate which had driven me among such inquisitive, garrulous and talkative people, in the midst of whom it seemed impossible to bring to completion anything one attempted which required secrecy and silence, especially in my situation, where I was exposed to the envy and slander of so many.[36]

I always tried to avoid such conversations and did my best not to be seen so often in Piazza San Marco. In the daytime I used to go to Bettoni's house, where I would find Pasqualigo, who in the evening used to take me riding in his gondola, and after our progress along the Grand Canal and viewing the spacious edifices on either side, he would take me to the home of the lawyer Terzi, not very far from that of Pisani. There I would find several learned gentlemen and often Abate Conti, with whom I used to stay until three hours after vespers [about 10 p.m.].

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36 Three days before G.'s fatal day, the nuncio Oddi wrote to the cardinal secretary of state, Firrao.

Jacopo Oddi to Giuseppe Firrao, secretary of state, 10 September 1735:

'The remonstrances which Your Eminence will have made and will make to that ambassador of the Republic [Alvise Mocenigo IV, Venetian ambassador to the papal court] in the Giannone affair will always carry much weight and be much taken into consideration in this Senate; but since it is a matter of having a large number of persons come to an agreement, the outcome would always be very dubious. I venture therefore to suggest to Your Eminence that when you report to the ambassador all those wise reflections which militate against Giannone, of which you are pleased to inform me; and when you let him know of the new book which has been published [the essay 'De Consiliis ac dicasteriis' (the Councils and Ministries of Vienna)], of which Giannone is *most probably* the author, you then ask the ambassador to bring this information here together with the remonstrances of His Holiness by a secret channel; that is, by way of the State Inquisitors, leaving aside the Senate, which is totally in his favour. If he has no difficulty taking this step, as he should not have, I have much reason to hope that Giannone will not remain long in this state. It is indeed true that, since the State Inquisitors change on the first day of the coming month, the letter of that ambassador will have to come before the end of this month. So much has been suggested to me by a person whom I can entirely trust, after having had much experience in this affair. I shall await the replies of Your Eminence to bring about, to the best of my ability, the good outcome of the matter in accordance with what will have been obtained by that ambassador' (AAV, *Venezia*: Marini, *Mezzogiorno*, pp. 254, 296 (doc. 33): my italics).

Alvise Mocenigo IV then wrote to the three State Inquisitors (*Vita*, ed. Nicolini, pp. 291-292). It was, in fact, a Mocenigo who denounced Giordano Bruno to both the Inquisition of Venice and the dread Inquisition of Rome.

I would then go home with a servant of Pisani who used to call for me with a light, and thus we were already in the first days of September.

On the thirteenth day of that month, a Thursday, a day which I shall always remember, I had had a long visit in the morning from the senator Antonio Cornaro, with whom I had long discourses until lunch on various historical and philosophic matters. In the afternoon as usual I went to Bettoni's home, whence, after spending some time with the usual gentlemen who met there, I was taken by Pasqualigo in his gondola for the usual tour of the Grand Canal, and when evening came I asked him to take me to the home of the lawyer Terzi. There I found the usual gathering of gentlemen who were shortly after joined by Abate Conti.[37] When the third hour sounded, we all went on our way home, some by water, some by land. That night I left engrossed in conversation with Abate Conti, and he stayed with me for a long stretch of the way, and kept me company for the whole length of the Campo di Santo Stefano. On turning into the narrow lane leading to the bridge in front of the monastery, we took leave of each other, and he turned back to go home, while I continued on with Pisani's servant ahead carrying the lamp, and crossed the bridge into the Campo di Sant' Angelo.[38] As I was turning to the left to enter Pisani's palace, which was not far away, two men suddenly came out at me from the side and, placing me between them, told me that I was under arrest. They meanwhile whistled a signal to the others and I found myself surrounded by a horde of *birri* [police agents] who are called *zaffi* in Venice. On my telling them who I was and that they must be mistaken making me their prey instead of someone else, they replied that they knew me well and that I had to go where they were taking me. They hurried across the Campo di Sant' Angelo

37 Only a month before, on 11 August 1735, Antonio Conti had been denounced to the Inquisition of Venice for 'denying God and erecting in his place an intelligent substance...; for not believing in the immortality of the soul...; for denying the eternity of the punishments of Hell' (Antonio Conti, *Scritti filosofici*, ed. Nicola Badaloni (Naples 1972), p. 23). He escaped prosecution because of his powerful patrons: the Emo, the Giustiniani, the Foscarini and the Canali; and because he was a Venetian patrician, and therefore could not be tried in the courts (*ibid*., pp. 271, 274; Marco Ariani, 'I "lumi" dell'aristocrazia—Antonio Conti', in *L'Europa delle corti alla fine dell'antico regime* (Rome 1991), p. 116).

38 It was probably the Ponte dei Frati. The Campo is named after the monastery of the Augustinian anchorites (*eremiti agostiniani*) (B., p. 28).

and putting a cloak over my head[39]so that I was not recognized, led me through the narrow lanes with my not knowing where I was until we arrived at Piazza San Marco. Although I had been thus abducted at night, not all the shops had closed, and the number of the curious grew as we went along, and with more *zaffi* rushing up from everywhere, I found myself in the middle of Piazza San Marco surrounded by a huge crowd of low rabble which almost filled the entire piazza.

Many things were going round in my mind, among them the thought that finally the court of Rome and the Jesuits had brought off their intrigues and traps, from which it was difficult for an honest man to escape, and for what harsh tortures and other wretched ends I had been reserved. I reflected on the instability and inconstancy of human affairs and the insanity of anyone setting any hope on them. That same piazza where I had often been surrounded by the highest nobility, with senators and other gentlemen vying with each other to show me honour and courtesy, I saw changed into an obscene and rude theatre where in the midst of the low filthy populace I was the miserable object of their compassion, and perhaps also their sneers and derision. Having prepared my mind for every sinister possibility, however, I followed my abductors where they led me to see what was going to happen.[40]

They took me to the chambers of the *Misser Grande* (as the head of police is called in Venice),[41] who lived in the Procuratie Vecchie di San Marco. When he saw me, he told me not to be frightened, as I had not been arrested to be put in prison but on the orders of the State Inquisitors, who wished me to leave Venice and its dominions immediately, and I was to be conducted out of them; that a soldier[42] who was to accompany me was now being sent to Pisani's house to be given all my belongings, and he was to take me with them anywhere outside the borders that I wished to go. I replied that to do this there was no need for so much show and turmoil. It would have been sufficient for the gentlemen of the Inquisition, if not out of consideration for me, at least for the respect due to one of their senators in whose house I was staying, to have let me

39 In Venice it was customary to lead a thief to prison with his head covered (Panzini, *Vita,* p. 142).

40 For Giannone's own account of his expulsion (*ratto*) from Venice, and the many other accounts and references, see Chapter Ten: Appendix.

41 Sebastiano Bonapace, in whose name G.'s movements were shadowed by spies.

42 Isepo (or Giuseppe) Bortoletti was the soldier (B., p. 287).

know that it was their pleasure, and they would have been immediately obeyed by my leaving at once: only necessity was forcing me to stay in Venice, not any wish or pleasure. As for my belongings, they were not so few that I could immediately bundle them up and take them with me; I had a small library which could be left at Pisani's house in good hands, until I had established my abode elsewhere and could have it sent there. In the meantime it was enough that he be consigned my strong-box, in which was a considerable amount of money and other effects to provide me with travelling expenses, since what was left could be sent later.

While I was saying this, however, to the *Misser Grande*, the soldier had already left for Pisani's and there was no time to tell him what to bring me, and I could see no one to tell all this from the household of Pisani, who, in the meantime, had already learnt of my arrest from his servant. I was thus left with the hope, that when the soldier informed Pisani of my quick departure by order of the State Inquisitors, who wanted my possessions to be given to him, Pisani would hand over what was necessary for such a sudden and quick journey.

The *Misser Grande* had relieved me by telling me that this was by order of the State Inquisitors, and since, not even in thought, had I plotted anything against the Republic, I was sure that the slander would soon be revealed. It therefore grieved me when he added that the order was to take me by water to the borders of the Ecclesiastical State, to Crespino, a village in the province of Ferrara. I then began to ask him that they take me to another border, either in Trieste or somewhere else not part of the papal State, as I was aware of all the persecutions directed against me by that Court, and I would not be safe in a place so hostile and suspicious. The Inquisitors' orders would be properly carried out by taking me elsewhere; perhaps if they had been informed of this, they would have stipulated other borders, as I did not believe them so pitiless and barbarous as to make me the prey of my fierce and implacable enemies. He apologized, however, for not being able to transgress in any way the orders given, nor could he at that hour, as it was by then midnight, speak to the Inquisitors. He did his best to convince me not to fear some fatal mishap, since in Crespino I would find a conveyance ready to go without delay to another state which did not belong to the Roman Church.

In this agitation I awaited the soldiers' return with my belongings

from Pisani's house, in order to leave. The soldier was an old blockhead, and on arriving at Pisani's, he told him only that, by order of the State Inquisitors, Pisani was to hand over all my belongings, without telling him that I had to leave immediately and that he was looking for things to take with me. He could properly have said this, since the *Misser Grande* had revealed this to me not in secret but in his presence and in front of all the many people who were in his chambers. And yet the soldier brusquely asked only for my belongings, and, as a result, as I learnt later, he threw the Pisani household into utter consternation, with everyone believing that I had been arrested for a State offence, and that the belongings requested had been confiscated. And in that confusion neither Pisani, father or son, showed much enterprise or courage with the soldier and the others, and did not even send someone to the *Misser Grande*, in whose chambers I was, to inform themselves better about what was happening. They thought me, therefore, lost and dead, and with everyone trying to save themselves, they immediately sent away the youth my son and hid as best they could my writings and belongings.[43] And when the soldier insisted that my belongings be handed over, Pisani finally told him that all that I had left in his house were some books and a few small things which he would give him. And taking him into the room where my books were, they began taking them down from the shelves, and when the sailors had made many piles of them, they were transported to the *peota*, which was to take me to Crespino, and crammed into its prow and stern, and heaped up in confusion as they came to hand.[44]

43 Panzini, basing himself on a letter from Angelo Pisani, now lost, states that the soldier who was sent for G.'s belongings took also his papers and manuscripts. They were examined by the Inquisitors for matters damaging to the Republic, and then returned to Pisani (Pisani to G., 14 October 1735: Panzini, *Vita*, p. 144). The nuncio Oddi was thus obliged to inform Firrao in Rome of the bad news that G.'s writings were, in fact, returned to him (Oddi to Firrao, 17 September 1735: Chapter Ten: Appendix [40].

44 In Turin State Archives is a list of books (*Nota di libri*) in G.'s own hand: Chapter Ten: Appendix. These would have been the books brought from Vienna, which present such a haunting image of G.'s brutal expulsion. They constitute an invaluable insight into the intellectual world of G. No mention was made of them, however, in the soldier's report, 15 September 1735 (Chapter Ten: Appendix [40]). Ricuperati observes (*L'esperienza*, p. 343) that they must have been dispersed between Venice and Turin. The list includes many which were reviewed and discussed by the *Acta eruditorum lipsiensium*.

This was why the soldier did not then return. At last after waiting for him for two hours he finally came, told me that everything was already in the boat, and hastened to leave. When I asked him if he had stowed aboard my strong-box in which there was considerable money and my clothes, he replied that Pisani had handed over only books, and as there were so many, it had taken all that time for him and the sailors to transport them to the boat. And what can I do with books, I asked him, which would only be a hindrance when I lacked the bare necessities? How could I leave without money and with only the clothes on my back? I told him to go back and at least have my strong-box given to him, and to tell Pisani that I had to leave, because on learning that, Pisani would not have hesitated to hand it over at once. My words and entreaties, however, were thrown to the wind, and he replied that it was already late and at midnight everyone was asleep; that departure, moreover, could no longer be delayed, and we had to embark at once in order to arrive at Crespino on the following night. Hard necessity forced me to obey him, and after being put into the boat towards five hours in the night [around midnight] as I was when arrested, with what little money and few clothes I had on me, I sailed all that night in the company of the soldier, a soldier of the guard, and the sailors who were guiding the *peota*.

At dawn on the fourteenth day of the month [September] I saw, not without tears, the sorrowful spectacle of my books, collected by me with such diligence and expense, tossed here and there by the boat, the number and disorder of them moving to compassion even the soldier himself, and he began to realize his mistake. I begged him, therefore, given the impossibility of taking them with me by land when I was disembarked at Crespino, to do me the favour of taking them back with him and giving them to Pisani, because afterwards I would arrange to have them sent elsewhere. At first he claimed to be unable to do it, persuading me instead to leave them with the innkeeper at Crespino, whence I could then have them transported wherever I wanted, and it was impossible to prevail on him as we continued on our way that day. Later, however, on leaving the lagoons and sailing upstream on the Po towards Crespino in the evening, the actual situation made him give in and convinced him where my entreaties had failed. On arriving at one hour after vespers [8 p.m.] at the borders of Ferrara, it was found

that, as the river was low, the inn where I was to stay was very distant from the shore and the boat could not be taken in so far, so that it was necessary to go there by land for a long way on foot. As there was no way of transporting so many books there, night having fallen and there being no one to be seen in the countryside, the soldier realized the impossibility of the matter and was convinced, and promised to take the books back with him and return them to Pisani, and that I could depend on his word that he would carry out exactly what he had promised.

He then, by order of the State Inquisitors, informed me that I was never, on pain of death, to return to Venice or the states of that Republic, and he put me out on the bank of the Po.[45] As he had given me the soldier of the guard and a sailor to accompany me as far as the inn, we went a long way on foot and did not arrive until two hours after vespers [9 p.m.]. There I was left by myself, except for the innkeeper's boy (because as it was late, the innkeeper and all the others were asleep), and they returned to the soldier who was waiting for them in the boat. And this was the fruit of the many kindnesses and welcomes shown to me in Venice, and I personally experienced the real Venetian faith and loyalty.

The innkeeper's boy apologized that, as it was late, he had nothing to give me for dinner, and I replied that this was no cause for grief; that

45 Jacopo Oddi, the nuncio in Venice, had acted promptly on his own initiative, without waiting for further advice from Rome or the letter of the Venetian ambassador to the papal court, Alvise Mocenigo IV. The identity of the person who advised him to work through the Inquisitors is unknown (Marini, *Mezzogiorno*, p. 254). It had been possible to bring pressure to bear on the 'excellent intentions' of the Inquisitors of that month, two of whom had Jesuits as their confessors. It appears that the consultor to the Holy Office of Ferrara, Marquis Luigi Bentivoglio, knew of G.'s expulsion even before Oddi, and that everything confirms the 'relative separateness between the nuncio and the Venetian government'. Oddi was able to have G. expelled but could achieve nothing else (Marini, *Mezzogiorno*, p. 256). Firrao, could, however, exult that 'a plant so poisonous and pestiferous' had been 'uprooted' from Venice (Firrao to Oddi, Rome, 17 and 24 September 1735: AAV, *Venezia*: Marini, *Mezzogiorno*, p. 255). Marini observes that the Venetian government was in a vulnerable position in relation to Vienna, given the possibility at the end of the war of the Polish Succession, that the territories in northern Italy would be reconquered by the Habsburg Empire. It needed powerful friends in Italy. 'Without ever having yielded to Curial pressure to arrest G., finally in September 1735, the government or, more correctly, the Inquisitors, so dear to Passionei, were induced to expel the embarrassing guest' (Marini, *Mezzogiorno*, p. 263; Andrea Del Col, *L'Inquisizione in Italia* (Milan 2006), pp. 345-346). The Venetian Republic in 1598 had consigned Giordano Bruno to the inhumanly cruel Inquisition of Rome, because he was not a Venetian subject. For the frantic attempts to discover G.'s route and arrest him, see Chapter Ten: Appendix.

he give me only a little bread and a glass of water, and a bed to rest myself from the exhausting walk from the boat to the inn. He offered me wine, and on my telling him that I did not drink it, he was surprised and brought me the bread and some water. When in the meantime I asked about a coach to leave for Modena early in the morning, he replied that there was a peasant in those parts who had a calash with two mules, but that he did not know whether he could take me as far as Modena, as he only did trips in the neighbourhood. I asked him to call him in the morning early and bring him with him so that I could speak to him, and he promised to do so. I then went to bed and spent that night as God willed, my mind beset by a thousand troubled and sorrowful thoughts.

Dawn came and on rising I found that the youth had already notified the peasant, who came to me with the innkeeper. When I told him what I needed, he made his excuses, because, being unfamiliar with the roads, he could take me only to the Ponte di Lago Oscuro (Pontelagoscura), still in Ferrara, where I could find another coach for Modena. I explained to him that I did not want to lose any time stopping elsewhere to do that, and begged him, saying that any profit in it I would give more generously and willingly to him than to anyone else, and he might rest assured that, by asking, he would easily be shown the way to Modena. The innkeeper took my part, and another old man who was familiar with the place joined us and reassured the driver by informing him of the roads, so that it would be impossible to lose our way. He was at last satisfied, and when I had given him what he asked, shortly after on that same morning of the fifteenth I mounted into the calash and set off, and by asking those met on the way the road to Modena, we arrived at Cento in the evening, and in the morning of the following day, the sixteenth of September, at lunch-time, at Modena. Having established myself at the inn *del Gadi* in the parish of Sant' Agata near the church of San Domenico, as it was Friday, the day of the post to Venice, I immediately wrote to Pisani and Prince Trivulzio, to let them know of my arrival in Modena, where, incognito, I was planning to stay until deciding on another course, and that meanwhile I was impatiently awaiting their replies to learn why the State Inquisitors had been moved to take such a precipitate and barbarous step, and how it was viewed in Venice. And above all, I asked Pisani to tell me if the soldier had brought back my books, and if my boy, my other belongings, money and writings were

safe, and that he send me some money, as I had only the little I was carrying. I asked them to reply to me under another name in Modena, which I gave them, to be kept secret from everyone during my stay in that city.[46]

Pisani's reply[47] did not come until the twenty-ninth of the month. He told me that, although on the night of my arrest he did not know what the Inquisitors might do to me and to them, his family had been thrown into utter consternation and terror. The next morning, nevertheless, the whole of Venice knew of my departure, hence all his family were somewhat relieved, and he had my boy brought back to the house. They calmed down even more when the cause and pretext alleged by the Inquisitors were divulged, which were simply that, when staying in the home of a senator, I had frequented the homes of the Spanish and French ambassadors. All men of good sense and insight both censured the reckless step and considered this a beggarly pretext; in reality the blow had come from the court of Rome, which had found intolerable the fact that I was highly regarded in Venice and that negotiations were underway to reprint there my *History* with the addition of a fifth volume. By means of the nuncio, the Inquisitor and the Jesuits, since every other way to ruin me was closed, they tried that of the State Inquisitors because of the opportunity provided by the Jesuits, who in that month had two of the three Inquisitors[48] among their penitents, over whom they had complete authority. And they hastened their move because it may not have succeeded in the following month, when the Inquisitors had to be changed. Of the three Inquisitors, the guilt lay mainly with the one most faithful to, and dependent on, the Jesuits, who persuaded the other, since the third declared that he had not had any part in it. All the gentlemen, Pisani wrote, pitied my hard lot and did not cease to condemn the perpetrators; and some of them, since this had happened through the whim of one or two persons without the participation of the

46 G. took the name Antonio Rinaldi.

47 In Modena Pisani recommended G. to Antonio Guidetti, factor to the house of Este and acquaintance of Muratori (B., p. 291). Panzini (*Vita*, pp. 141-144) cites Pisani's letters of 21 and 30 September, 6 and 14 October, 11, 17, 23, and 26 November; 2, 10, 16, and 26 December 1735; 5 January, 8 February, and 11 March 1736. Only his letter of 29 March 1736 is preserved (*Giannoniana*, pp. 320-322).

48 The Inquisitors were Giorgio Contarini, Alvise Mocenigo III and Federico Tiepolo (B., p. 292).

Senate, were considering how I could be returned with honour.

This was confirmed by other letters which I received from the senator Antonio Corner and other friends. And Prince Trivulzio wrote that it had been indisputably the plot of the court of Rome, carried out by the nuncio and the Jesuits.[49] And I had other news that, when the Spanish ambassador was told of the affair and of the reason going round Venice, that I had frequented his home, he did not cease telling everyone that this was too miserable and mendacious a pretext, and he bore witness to everyone that in the whole period of my stay in Venice I had visited him no more than five or six times, and that this was before I had moved to Pisani's home, and that after the move I went there only once to learn what had been decided at the Court of King Charles in reference to my return to Naples. The French ambassador was declaring the same, that it was a beggarly pretext, since he had only ever seen me on chance meetings at the convent of San Lorenzo, and that he had often invited me to dine after my move to Pisani's, but I had always excused myself; that it was well known why and by whom the plot had been hatched, and only a child could be made believe the Inquisitors' invention and pretext, which was universally described as impudent and capricious, and seeking solely to gratify the Jesuits and the court of Rome.

And, in fact, who could have imagined that I, who was not employed by the Republic but a foreigner staying as a guest in Pisani's home, would be apprehended by the strict laws imposed by the Venetians on themselves? When, on the contrary, is it not noticed that the wives, daughters, sisters and progeny of the senators and gentlemen have dealings with each other and are together at soirées and elsewhere with the ambassadors, secretaries and others in their family? And yet on me were turned the eyes of the Jesuits, who noted down my every word and step to provide the threads to weave their insidious nets. And am I to be the sole example of such treatment; that in a city like Venice which, because it sheltered every scoundrel, used to be called the den of all that was foul, now foreigners, although honest, are no longer safe,

49 G. received letters of commiseration from his friends in Venice: Appendix. See also the unfortunate letter of Apostolo Zeno, 24 September 1735, and Trivulzio's letters, 1 October, and 12 November 1735: Chapter Ten: Appendix. It was Prince Trivulzio, in particular, who revealed to the Venetian nobility the grave injustice and brutality of G.'s expulsion from Venice (Panzini, *Vita*, pp. 152-153); see his letters of 5 January, 9 and 22 February, and 10 March 1736: Chapter Ten: Appendix.

because the Jesuits, who direct the consciences of the State Inquisitors, will always try to ruin them, and find it easy to do so if the reputation, property and life of some man, however upright, decent, and temperate, depends on the whim of one or two Inquisitors?

I was also told by Senator Pisani that when Pitteri learnt the same night of my misfortune, he hurried to the theologian early next morning and urgently requested all my manuscripts, which were immediately returned to him. When Pisani arrived a few hours later to take them and the theologian told him that Pitteri had already taken them back, he went directly to Pitteri to recover them. Pitteri, however, refused to give him them, saying that, as he had received them from me, he could not hand them over to anyone else without my orders. It had therefore been necessary to force him, with great effort and precise orders from the magistrate, to produce them; that they were in Pisani's possession, and all my other writings, belongings, and the money, were safe and in his hands. As for the books, the soldier had not taken them back as promised, and it had been necessary to appeal to the Inquisitors, who were very easy and indulgent in this, and ordered that they be all returned and given into his possession, as had been done. When checking them, however, against my catalogue, some were found to be missing, which was a small loss in comparison with the dangers undergone.

He wrote to ask, therefore, what should be done, and whether my young man, who was in his house, should be sent back to Naples or to where I was with the money and belongings which I needed; and as for me personally, that I should try to leave Italy as quickly as possible, since the court of Rome would not fail to persecute me wherever I was in Italy, and that the soundest advice which he and good friends could give me was to go to Switzerland or Holland or, if I could, to England, where I would be truly welcomed and safer. Prince Trivulzio wrote with the same advice, entreating me to leave Modena, which was not safe for me. And they wrote the truth, since I learnt later that from Rome orders had already been issued to all the Inquisitors of Lombardy, Florence, Genoa, and wherever I happened to be, to arrest me.[50] And I well knew that this would have been the wisest advice, but how could I embark on such long voyages at my advanced age [fifty-nine] and with little money, as I

50 The orders are to be found in the above quoted Vatican manuscript BAV, *Rossiano 1180*: Bertelli, 'L'incartamento originale', p. 21: Chapter Ten: Appendix [45].

had only eighty Hungarian florins left, including what was left in Venice and what I had on me?[51]

I finally decided to go incognito to Milan and from there to write to Bousquet in Geneva to let me know if my assistance there were necessary for the French translation, and if his company would undertake to publish what had been prepared in Venice of my other Italian works, since I would base my decision on his reply. I wrote back, therefore, to Venice to Pisani and Trivulzio that I would willingly have followed their advice and that of other good friends, but that without the help of money I could not undertake such long journeys;[52] that for the present I had to find a way of living somewhere honestly by my own labours, and that there was no closer refuge left for me to try than Geneva, where I might have the opportunity to find it. I had decided, therefore, to go to Milan, where it would be possible to negotiate closer at hand with Bousquet on my affairs.

I wrote therefore to Pisani that, if my boy wished to return to Naples, he should provide him with what was necessary for the journey, but that if he wanted to follow me and share my travail, to send him in good company to Modena. He could give him my money and the writings and above all the manuscripts which he had recovered from Pitteri, and

51 Pisani immediately sent G.'s money to him, and gradually, through the steadfast Trivulzio, sent all that G. had left with him, as well as what he obtained from selling the remaining sets of the *Civil History* and the sale of G.'s belongings (Panzini, *Vita*, p. 145). Prince Trivulzio revealed to all of G.'s friends his plight and asked them for financial assistance. One of G.'s better known friends was the English consul Joseph Smith (1682-1770: not in *ODNB*). In 1765, Smith's entire library was bought by George III for £10,000, and it now forms the nucleus of the King's Library, so magnificently on display in the new British Library. Joseph Smith and the lawyer Count Terzi gave six *zecchini* (the inflated price of a set of the *Civil History*). The publisher Pitteri contributed three *zecchini*. Prince Trivulzio would also have contributed generously. Domenico Lalli and Pisani were unable to make a large donation because of limited means (Panzini, *Vita*, p. 145; Nicolini, ed. *Vita*, p. 347). And as Pisani wrote to G. in Geneva on 29 March 1736: 'my bad fate... keeps me in the most straitened circumstances that I have ever experienced in my many years of life. [His estates suffered greatly from the depredations of the late war]... I felt no little embarrassment at Prince Trivulzio's request for help for you'.

52 A letter of 5 November 1735 from Venice with no indication of sender, which G. received between Modena and Milan, assumed as true the rumour that G. was going to England. It was sent on from Venice, probably by Pisani, and stated '...if not collected here at Turin to be forwarded to England' (Lettere scritte a Giannone da persone anonime durante il soggiorno a Vienna e a Venezia: TAS, *Mss. Giannone*: Ricuperati, *L'esperienza*, p. 450).

my clothes and whatever of my belongings he could bring with him, as I was certain that I would receive everything precisely and exactly from him. In reference to the books, I asked him kindly to keep them in his possession until I could decide whether to sell them or have them sent elsewhere, asking him to do this for me out of his customary affection and beneficence, which my unfortunate situation deserved now more than ever.

I warmly requested Prince Trivulzio, since I had to go to Milan, to do me the favour of recommending me to Princess Trivulzio, his wife,[53] that she might look after me and protect me while I was in Milan. And in reply to the kind and affectionate letter of Senator Corner, in which he informed me that not only did everyone in Venice pity my fate, but also that the perpetrators were universally condemned, I wrote that I was glad that the Venetians felt the same about me as before and had truly realized that there had been a plot, and why and by whom it had been hatched. For that very reason, for my honour, the other cities of Italy had to be made aware of it, and that I would not fail to bring to the notice of all both the impudence and evil of its perpetrators and the sentiments expressed by the soundest part of the wise men forming the Senate and the most worthy Republic.

It was necessary to remain incognito in Modena[54] and withdrawn

53 Margherita, daughter of Carlo Pertusati di Castelferro (1674-1755), president of the Senate of Milan (B., pp. 88, 295).

54 While in Modena, G. was visited by the famous scholar Ludovico Antonio Muratori, who had once requested G.'s collaboration on Muratori's vast labour of assembling the texts of the Middle Ages, his *Rerum italicarum scriptores* (G. to Carlo, Vienna, 30 October 1723: *Epist*., p. 84; Panzini, *Vita*, p. 119). See the above letters of the Inquisitor of Ferrara, 12 October, and the anonymous letter to the Inquisitor of Modena Vincenzo Martini, 19 October 1735 (Chapter Ten: Appendix [45]). On G.'s sojourn in Modena we are grateful for the observations of Giulio Bertoni on the unexpressed but reciprocal admiration between G. and Muratori. The rumour of their contact spread even to Vienna, from where a friend of Muratori, perhaps senator Giuseppe Riva, informed him. Muratori expostulated, no doubt anxiously: 'This is Roman trickery, and a malicious rumour... Giannone has never been to Modena' (*Epist.* 8, p. 3497). G. was, in fact, in Modena from 16 September until 29 October. During all that time, Muratori was away in Fiorano and Spezzano (Bertoni, 'P.G. e Ludovico Antonio Muratori', *GSLI*, 88 (1926), 356-359, p. 359), but G. wrote to Prince Trivulzio from Geneva on 19 March 1736 that in Modena Muratori had paid him an unexpected visit: 'which I could not escape, since he caught me unawares, and after talking together for some two hours, he gave me precise news about Fr Bianchi, a Franciscan, who, years back, when I was living in Vienna, I heard was working on a refutation of the Civil History' (*Epist*., p. 1117). Ricuperati, basing his

from society for several weeks until the youth, my son, arrived with my belongings, manuscripts, writings, clothes, and above all the money to continue my journey.[55] He finally arrived in Modena no earlier than the evening of Wednesday 26 October, and brought my strong-box with the clothes, writings and money which Pisani had given him. He did not, however, bring the manuscripts recovered from Pitteri, and Pisani wrote that, to please some gentlemen who were his friends, who greatly wanted to read them, he had entrusted them to them, but that he would send them to me at Milan by safe transport. I was much surprised, but not doubting his loyalty, I wrote to him before leaving Modena that, when he had recovered them, he should give them to Prince Trivulzio, who (as I had asked him in other letters) would not fail to send them safely to me in Milan. I left Modena with my boy in the morning of Saturday, 29 October, and arrived that evening in Parma. The following day we left for Piacenza and arrived in the morning of the next day,

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claim on Marini's 'Documenti dell'opposizione curiale a P.G.' (in his *Mezzogiorno,* pp. 193-263), affirms Muratori's 'cautious but definite involvement in protecting G. during his stay in Modena' (Dino Carpanetto and Giuseppe Ricuperati, *Italy and the Age of Reason* (London 1978), p. 122). All Muratori's writings were banned by the Spanish Inquisition (Andrea Del Col, *L' Inquisizione in Italia* (Milan 2006), p. 712). It was only through the intercession of the archbishop of Milan, Benedetto Erba Odescalchi, that his *Rerum italicarum scriptores*, subject to the usual revisions demanded by the tribunal of the Holy Office, was not placed on the Index in 1723 (Patrizia Delpiano, *Il governo della lettura* (Bologna 2007), p. 158).

55 At this place in the manuscript G. has written in the margin: 'On the third of this month of October 1738 there were signed in Vienna the preliminary articles of the peace concluded then on 18 October 1738 and proclaimed later in 1739' (B., p. 295). Austria had not been greatly humiliated, although it had lost Naples and Sicily; the treaty ruled that they were never to be united with Spain. Austria received back Milan, where the Imperial troops were welcomed as liberators, because of the reduction of the massive taxes (from 10 to 2½ million ducats per month) levied by Savoy to pay the occupying forces. Austria received also Parma and Piacenza. Savoy acquired little new territory, except for the 'jewels' of the provinces of Novara and Tertona with their flat, arable land (Ricuperati, *Piemonte sabaudo*, pp. 483-484). Tuscany was to go to the erstwhile duke of Lorraine, Francis Stephen, after the Medici line died out. Stanislaus Leszczynski, having abdicated as king of Poland in favour of Augustus III, was to rule in Lorraine until his death (in 1766), after which France was to assume its administration. France signed Charles' Pragmatic Sanction (Redlich, *Werden einer Grossmacht*, pp. 2032-04; Béranger, *Histoire de l'Empire Habsbourgs*, pp. 430-432). Fleury had negotiated the peace as quickly as possible for fear of antagonizing the Maritime Powers (McKay, *Prince Eugene*, p. 290). The powers were realigned as they had been in the last years of Louis XIV (1645-1715): France and Spain again against Austria, and Savoy supporting first one side then the other. Great Britain eventually resumed its old position as Austria's ally (Charles Petrie, *Diplomatic History 1713-1933* (London 1946), p. 23).

Monday, the last day of the month.

On the morning of Tuesday, 1 November, we arrived in Milan. After we had put up at Bigatti's inn in the vico de' Visconti, Princess Trivulzio, following advice from the prince her husband that I would stay at Bigatti's establishment in Milan, did not fail to send her secretary, Francesco Canari, a very kind Sardinian knight.[56] After most courteously conveying her respects and telling me that the princess wished to speak to me, he asked when she might send her carriage to call for me. After properly thanking him, I replied that I was at Her Excellency's service, and that she might send it when convenient, as I was always ready to receive such a favour and that it was no less my wish to pay her my respects. In the meantime, however, she might keep my arrival a secret, as I had entered Milan under another name and was staying in the inn, and I asked the secretary not to mention me to others.

I wrote to Bousquet in Geneva, informing him of my arrival in Milan, and that, if his company wished, in addition to my supervising the printing of the French translation, to undertake the task of printing what I had prepared for the printers in Venice, I would be happy to take it there. Because the work was in Italian and had to be printed from manuscripts, the actual author was required to ensure its correctness and exactness. With such an opportunity they could also translate the fifth volume into French and thus produce a more complete and perfect work, but that as my hard fate had reduced me to dire poverty, I could not make a decision without their acknowledging their acceptance and willingness to give me what had been agreed upon with the printers of Venice.[57]

While awaiting such acknowledgement from Bousquet, as had been arranged with the secretary, I went to the home of Princess Trivulzio, who received me with great courtesy and kindness, and I had the opportunity of becoming acquainted with a most discreet, wise, and prudent lady, to whom I related my unhappy vicissitudes, and my apprehension that the court of Rome would not let me live quietly in

56 Francesco Canari became G.'s intermediary for letters during G.'s sojourn in Geneva (G. to Carlo, Geneva, 10 March 1736: *Epist*., p. 1115).

57 The work to which G. refers is the *Triregno*. G.'s possible supervision of the printing of the French translation of the *Civil History* had already been mooted (G. related the contents of Bousquet's letter of 29 January 1735: see Chapter Ten, n.9.).

Italy, where it plainly did not want me, having obstructed my return to Naples and stay in Venice. I had decided, therefore, to go to Geneva, not to change religion, but perhaps to find a respectable way of living by my labours, as I considered myself abandoned by everyone, even by my relatives. Good friends were advising me to leave Italy and, if I could, to go to England, not merely to Switzerland and Holland; the prince her husband also had advised the same. He considered hazardous even my stay in Milan, and had written to me to hurry with all possible haste to Switzerland, and to my great displeasure I was forced to do so. As hard necessity had, on the one hand, forced me to leave Germany, now, on the other, it was obliging me to leave Italy, so as not to be a target for persecution by the court of Rome, which seemed to have directed all its insidious plots against me to destroy me.

The princess was greatly moved to compassion by my words, and when considering the hard step forced on me by necessity, she told me to delay my departure, because from what she had discerned of Marquis Olivazzi, the grand chancellor of Milan and her friend, she believed that my stay in Milan could not be hazardous.[58] She revealed to me that, on hearing from the prince that I was on my way to Milan, she had in complete secrecy confided in the marquis, so that if there were instructions or orders from the court of Turin not to admit me, she could warn me before my arrival or, as soon as I arrived, alert me to them, in order that I might direct my route elsewhere; the marquis had replied that there was no such order and no mention of it until then. She therefore advised me to stay, and even considered that I should

58 Giorgio Olivazzi (1667-1742), senator, regent of the Supreme Council of Italy and grand chancellor. He had been the ambassador of the duke of Modena in Rome in the dispute over the Valli Comacchiesi (B., p. 297). He had, in fact, already written to Ormea on 15 November 1735, the day before he was to meet G:

Olivazzi to Ormea, Milan, 15 November 1735:

'I have been informed that the famous Pietro Giannone under the name of Pietro Rinaldi has come here and wishes to see me. I have heard of the mishap which befell him in Venice, of having been placed in a boat and taken to the State of Ferrara, but do not know the reason. I shall see him in order to learn why he has come. I thought it well, however, to represent all to Your Excellency, to know whether there is anything to prevent suffering him to remain here under a different name' (TAS, *Mss. Giannone*: Occella, 'Ultimi dodici anni', p. 501).

Olivazzi was considered, like Picon, the governor of Savoy, to be a creature of the marquis d'Ormea (Louis- Augustin Blondel, *Memorie aneddotiche* (Turin 1873), p. 2). Without the intercession of the princess, G. may have escaped disaster, since she unwittingly alerted Ormea to his vulnerability.

make myself known to the grand chancellor, that she would send her secretary Canari to notify him of my arrival and ask him to set a time which would suit him for me to go and pay my respects and inform him of all my vicissitudes. In the meantime, as the grand chancellor and General Petitti,[59] who was the general superintendent of finances, used to come to her home in the evenings, she would speak to them appropriately on my behalf, because at that time Olivazzi and General Petitti were the two senior ministers ruling the city and state of Milan for the court of Turin.

When, in fact, the secretary went to Olivazzi, who had returned from his villa, to inform him that I was in Milan and ask if I might come and visit him, he expressed his pleasure and willingness to speak to me, and set aside the morning of the Wednesday, which was the sixteenth of the month, to expect me at his home. As I had to stay until then, I asked the secretary if he could relieve me of the cost of Bigatti's establishment and try to find me a couple of rooms in a private home,[60] which with great promptness and care he found for me near the Trivulzio palace where the princess lived.

On the Wednesday morning I went to the grand chancellor, who received me with great kindness.[61] I revealed to him in detail all my

59 Count Antonio Petitti di Roreto, superintendent of war (B., p. 298). He voluntarily interceded for G., and requested that he be given an honourable position in the court of Turin (Panzini, *Vita,* p. 147).

60 The owner may have been a certain Pietro Cattaneo (Panzini, *Vita,* p.146, quoted from G.'s lost *Itinerario* of his trip from Venice to Geneva). Prince Trivulzio had warned G. in his letter of 1 October 1735: 'You are advised that it is absolutely no good to remain in the air of Milan, and certainly I would stay there only the few hours it would take to pass through it: Chapter Ten: Appendix [49].

61 Olivazzi could not have known that Ormea was to make an agreement with Cardinal Alessandro Albani, offering him the arrest of G. in exchange for a Concordat favourable to the State of Savoy (*DBI* 54, p. 516: Merlotti). On 15 October 1735, Alessandro Albani, cardinal-patron in Rome of the kingdom of Sardinia, had written to Ormea that Clement XII and his cardinals hoped that G. would not find refuge in Piedmont: Chapter Ten: Appendix. Pastor observed: 'It is easy to understand that d'Ormea would not on any account see his work destroyed... and as early as December 1730 he threatened to break off diplomatic relations... The sequel showed that the Holy See could afford to wait longer than the court of Turin' (*ibid.*, 34, pp. 349, 352). Savoy's challenge to the court of Rome from 1698 over its power to limit ecclesiastical power in the State, to appoint certain clerics and receive revenue from certain benefices, remained unresolved until the election of Benedict XIII (1724-1730). With the diplomatic activity of Ormea and Prospero Lambertini (1675-1758, who became Benedict XIV in 1740), a brief Concordat was negotiated. Ormea contrived, however, to have the College of Cardinals and the

vicissitudes and the hard necessity forcing me to look for a place outside Italy which would be safe for me, and the princess's advice to stay in Milan where perhaps my stay would not give offence. This had encouraged me to appeal to his very kind favour in order that he write to the court of Turin recommending me: I would regard it as a singular favour if ever I had the honour of being employed in Turin or Milan in the services of a prince as wise and glorious as King Charles Emanuel, who, not having fallen short of his august and magnanimous predecessors, had filled Europe with his worthy deeds, both in peace and war. This was especially because I was not unknown in that court, since in Vienna I had been well regarded by Marquis Breglio, His Majesty's envoy at the Imperial court,[62] and by President Siccardi[63] who had been appointed also by the king to a post there in public affairs. I was known also to the marquis d'Ormea, His Majesty's prime minister and secretary of state, to whom I would write requesting his favour and protection.[64]

Consistory passed over and the concessions arranged between himself and the archbishop of Damascus, Francesco Fini, and Cardinal Niccolo Maria Lercari, secretary of state. Ormea's exclusion of the College of Cardinals then became the pretext for Clement XII (1730-1740) to reject the Concordat.

62 Charles Emanuel III: see Chapter Eight, n.72. Giuseppe Roberto Solaro di Breglio (1680-1764), ambassador of Savoy at Naples, then Vienna; in Turin he was tutor of Prince Vittorio Amedeo in 1733 (B., p. 298). When in Vienna, he advised that Bernardo Lama's manuscript on the *Histoire de la maison de Savoire* not be published (*DBI* 63, p. 106, Merlotti). Panzini (*Vita*, p. 73) includes the name of Marquis Breglio among the envoys and ministers who sought G.'s friendship in Vienna. G. conferred with him on a case in Vienna in 1724 and 1725. Later, during G.'s last years, G. sought his assistance unsuccessfully to have his belongings retrieved. Breglio, however, was probably the munificent donor in 1745 to the tragic prisoner of the Citadel of Turin of Plutarch's *Lives* in ten volumes: *Les vies des hommes illustres*, tr. Anne Dacier (Amsterdam 1734) (*L'ape ingegnosa*, ed. Andrea Merlotti, intro., p. xcix).

63 Perhaps Michele Siccardi, referred to by Carlo Dionisotti in *Storia dei magistrati piemontesi* (Turin 1896), 2, p. 289 (B., p. 298).

64 Carlo Vincenzo Ferrero di Roasio, Marquis d' Ormea (1680-1745), minister under Vittorio Amadeo II, who recommended him to his son; minister of internal affairs at the court of Turin in 1732; grand chancellor from 1742. His life depicts him as an unscrupulous politician, characterized by pragmatism, ambition and self-aggrandizement, and of fateful significance in the lives of the abdicated king Vittorio Amadeo II and of G. He was already aware of G.'s existence, because of the report of Pelleri, the official agent of the Piedmontese government, 17 September 1735, relating to G.'s expulsion from Venice (Chapter Ten: Appendix [40]). Charles de Brosses wrote of him: 'The Marquis d'Ormea, first minister, entirely possesses the king's confidence. He is considered very capable, and it is said that it is he who has most to do with the important part that his master plays in Europe...' (*Lettres familières sur l'Italie*, ed. Bézard, 2, p. 584). Pastor (34, p. 147) paints a revealing portrait of him as the Savoyard diplomat intent on negotiating the Concordat between the

Olivazzi told me that in Milan there was nothing suitable for me, but that there could well be in Turin, at least in the post of historian to the king. Because also of the solicitude shown by Princess Trivulzio, he would write recommending me to the court, and that I could write to the marquis d'Ormea and send the letter directly to him, and wait for replies. I therefore wrote a very humble and modest letter[65] to the marquis

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court of Turin and the Holy See under Benedict XIII: 'That shrewd Piedmontese soon perceived which would be the best means for winning the confidence of the pious Pontiff. Almost every morning he assisted at the Holy Father's Mass, with a great show of piety and fingering a big rosary; he also procured for the Pope a relic of St Francis de Sales. He did his best to keep all knowledge of his plans from the "Zelanti". Like the Emperor's ambassadors, he treated in secret with Coscia, to whom he offered his services to enable him [Coscia] to obtain the purple'.

65 G. wrote to Ormea on 18 November, 1735, requesting employment: Chapter Ten: Appendix. No trace is to be found of any letter of Olivazzi recommending G. Bertelli observes that G. had in his youth studied in the library in Naples of the regent of the Council of Santa Chiara, Marquis Giacinto Falletti (Vienna, 19 October 1726: *Epist.,* p. 401), who had written in defence of Savoy's demands for jurisdictional reform with the court of Rome. G.'s fellow-Neapolitan and close friend, Bernardo Lama, had held a chair in Latin and Rhetoric at the University of Turin. G. might logically have hoped for employment there. Roberto Gaja notes that the letter of Pelleri, the agent of the Piedmontese government in Venice (Chapter Ten: Appendix [40]), announcing G.'s expulsion from Venice, was dated 17 September 1735, which would also explain why G. received no answer from Ormea to this request for employment, dated 18 November 1735 (*Il marchese d'Ormea*, pp. 182-184). Ormea, in reply to Cardinal Albani's letter of 15 October 1735, calling for Charles Emanuel to follow the example of the Inquisitors of Venice, revealed that G., on his arrival in Venice, had immediately offered his services to Charles Emanuel, and that the proposal was rejected immediately (TAS, *Materie ecclesiastiche*: Ricuperati, *Piemonte sabaudo*, p. 492). Ormea included in his letter to Albani G.'s request for employment: 'His Majesty has ordered me not to reply [to G.'s request], because he does not wish to have anything to do with a man of that nature' (letter of 22 November 1735). Count Carlo Luigi Cassiotti, first president of the Senate of Turin and 'a creature of Victor Amadeus' (Ricuperati, *Piemonte sabaudo*, p. 492), wrote to Ormea on 4 November 1735 applauding Ormea's rejection of G.'s request for employment, and has a brief account of negotiations between Rome and Savoy for the Concordat.: '[O]ne can only applaud your wise and well-timed negative reply to G., not so much because of the expense, as for his being odious to you and, one may justly say, to the court of Rome, because of that certainly erudite but imprudent, and in some places hardly pious, history of the kingdom of Naples' (TAS, *Lettere di particolari*, Cai, mazzo 6). The paradox of the rejection of G.'s request for employment can be explained also by the sacrifice of Savoy's finest intellectuals by both Victor Amadeus II and Charles Emanuel III to their desire for a rapprochement with the papacy (Ricuperati, *Piemonte sabaudo*, p. 493). The Concordat between Rome and Savoy: During the years of the War over the Polish Succession, Savoy had sought to negotiate a Concordat with Rome. In 1727 Benedict XII had granted it, but in 1731 it was then annulled by Clement XII and his cardinals. Ormea, the leading negotiator, was recalled from Rome and the government of Savoy had its troops

informing him of my travails and earnestly requesting his intercession with His Majesty the king, to whom I would wholeheartedly sacrifice the remainder my life in his service, in any situation which my work and pen might be welcome to him. And the grand chancellor told the princess that he also had written to Turin earnestly recommending me.

In the meantime, one morning when hearing Sunday mass, I happened to meet at the same church Senator Cola, whom I did not recognize bedecked in his new ankle-length legal gown.[66] He, however, recognized me without difficulty, having often met me and dealt with me in Vienna. After mass he came up, and took my hand and expressed his pleasure at seeing me. On leaving the church, he asked me what fate had brought me to Milan, and I told him that I was passing through and gave him a brief account of my misadventures. On our turning to other matters relating to the reorganization of Italy and the war being waged, he was greatly moved, and was the first to tell me that peace was already at hand, that the emperor was negotiating with France, and that soon the city and state of Milan would be returned to the emperor, except for the region beyond Ticino, which would remain with Savoy, and that the emperor was wrong to trust France, as it would deceive him and place

occupy contested ecclesiastical feuds. Clement retaliated by imprisoning Cardinal Fini and the prelate Sardini, who were accused of having been corrupted by Ormea (Ricuperati, *Piemonte sabaudo*, pp. 484-485). An ineffectual 'war of words' ensued. The journal *Bibliothèque italique* (vol. 9 (1732)) under Jacques Vernet and Jean-Alphonse Turrettini, reported the conflict, showing undisguised sympathy for Savoy (Ricuperati, *Piemonte sabaudo*, p. 491). It was against such a background that Ormea grasped, exploited, and destroyed G. Despite having achieved, where Rome had failed, the arrest and perpetual imprisonment of G., Savoy still found great resistance from the cardinals and Clement XII in its negotiations. One fundamental victory had been won, which was that the king could nominate the bishops, except in new dioceses, but little progress otherwise had been made. The former negotiator in 1727, Ormea's colleague, Propero Lambertini, was elected as Pope Benedict XIV in 1740. This opened a new phase in the negotiations, in which he as pope negotiated directly with the court of Savoy. His preoccupations were religious, in that he sought reform in the sense of reappointing ecclesiastics to dioceses which had no priest, and he demanded that a nuncio of his choice, Mons. Ludovico Merlini, be appointed to implement in broad outlines the Concordat of Benedict XIII. On ecclesiastical immunity from paying taxes, his intention was that ecclesiastics should have sufficient wealth only to govern and direct souls. Taxation was to apply to property acquired after 1620, and considerable restrictions were placed on using ecclesiastical asylum to escape justice. The Concordat was signed on 6 January 1742 (Ricuperati, *Piemonte sabaudo*, pp. 497-500).

66 Antonio Cola may have been wearing the new robe of the magistracy which, perhaps, he had bought.

him in a more complicated position. I replied that this was the first that I had heard of it, as there had been no mention of it in either Venice or Modena, whence I had come, and that I doubted it very much, as it was impossible to understand how it could have been accomplished or the reason. He, however, insisted that it was certainly true and that the effects would soon be evident.

I related this meeting and news to the secretary Canari (the princess had gone to her villa), who replied that the rumour was all over Milan, but that he was sorry that I had met Senator Cola, who, frightened of losing senatorial rank with Milan's returning to the emperor, was alarmed by everything, and perhaps his seeing me in Milan would make him suspect this as a new sign of imminent change, and interpret my coming there as being in order to fill some post designated for me, perhaps by the emperor. Some people, among them Finalino,[67] regarded Cola as a devious, troubled and restless man, and they added that he would not have hesitated to write to the court of Turin, describing my coming to Milan as mysterious and suspect. Whatever it was, whether because my letters and that of Olivazzi arrived late in Turin, or even because of this suspicion, or because that court had been warned by the court of Rome, one day after lunch on Thursday, 22 November, while I was in Milan waiting for replies from there, an official from the captain general of justice in Milan came to my house to serve me an order, leaving me a copy in writing, in which, following a special command of His Majesty sent from Turin the previous day, I was ordered to leave the city and dominions of Milan within two days, under pain of imprisonment in the event of disobedience. I told the official that His Majesty would be promptly obeyed, and as the princess was in the country, I sent to inform the secretary Canari, who was as surprised and dumbfounded as I. The confusion was all the greater for our not knowing the real reason, whether it was because of the suspicion of Senator Cola, or that the order resulted from higher and more mysterious motives secret from us and unknown, since it had been quickly dispatched and arrived in Milan

67 There is a textual ambiguity here. To Bertelli, the capital letter used in the original suggests the surname of a person unknown and not, as once believed, an adjective referring to Antonio Cola. G.'s presence in Milan may have been regarded as suspicious, as was suggested by the unsympathetic letter of 15 November 1735 (above, n.68) of Olivazzi to Ormea (B., p. 300).

before the replies to the letters written by Olivazzi and me to Turin. And the reflection that I was forbidden to stay in the city and dominions of Milan, not in His Majesty's other states, suggested that perhaps the reason was to remove all suspicion and sinister interpretation to which my stay might give rise. I therefore told Canari, who was already aware of my sinister luck, which was still not sated with my persecution, that it was necessary to bow to fate and leave at once.[68]

I had meanwhile received letters from Bousquet,[69] in which he expressed not only satisfaction at my arrival in Milan, and his hope of seeing me soon in Geneva to check the French translation, but also that his company would willingly undertake the printing of my other work in accordance with what had been agreed with the printers in Venice, and that I might have no doubt that the matter of my honorarium would be completely respected and fulfilled. And he sent me some uncertainties from the translator to resolve in the meantime to enable him to continue. I therefore wrote back to him that, as they were satisfied with what I had written to them, I would leave Milan and go to Geneva,[70] that I was sending him the explanations requested by the translator, and that in the meantime he might try to find two comfortable rooms for me and a

68 For correspondence on the expulsion of G. from Milan and the continuing pursuit: see Chapter Ten: Appendix.

69 Panzini (*Vita*, p.153), from the file of G.'s correspondence (destroyed in 1943), which he used in his biography, refers also to a letter of 26 February 1736 from Charles-Guillaume Loys de Bochat: it seems that provision had been made for G.'s living expenses in Geneva (*ibid*., p. 148). Jean-Alphonse Turrettini and Jacob Vernet, 'the two most eminent figures in the intellectual and religious world of Geneva' (Ricuperati, *L'esperienza*, p. 516), had organized a group of subscribers belonging to the intellectual circles of the *Bibliothèque italique* to ensure the publication of the French translation of the *Civil History* (*Lo sfratto*, ed. Augusto Pierantoni (Rome 1892), p. 78). G. wrote an account, the *Itinerario,* of his travels to Geneva, which is quoted also by Domenico Martuscelli in *Biografici degli nomini illustri del Regno di Napoli*, 10 vols (Naples 1813-1825), 2 (no pagination!). Basing himself on G.'s 'Itinerario', Panzini (*Vita,* p. 148) seems to indicate, and Georges Bonnant ('P.G. à Genève', p. 120) corroborates, that G. was to receive a monthly allowance of 100 florins while he prepared his manuscripts. After the disastrous quarrel between Bousquet and Pellissari such an allowance must have ceased.

70 G.'s seeking refuge in Geneva was a logical decision. It was, moreover, the home of the *Bibliothèque italique*, a journal which had always fostered Italian culture. One of its founders was Charles-Guillaume Loys de Bochat (1695-1753) (B., p. 203), the translator, with his father, of the *Civil History*. He had resumed the review of the *Civil History*, which Babaud du Lignon, another founding member, had begun. The journal, however, ceased before the review of C.-G. Loys de Bochat was published (Georges Bonnant, 'P.G. à Genève', p. 125).

youth of mine, whom I was bringing with me, so as to avoid having to stay long in the inn where the driver of the carriage would take us.

Having written this letter the same Thursday after receiving the order, I told Canari that I had to find a calash for Turin, from where I could find another conveyance for Geneva. And on showing him Bousquet's letter informing me also of a Milanese merchant, his agent and friend, to whom I could turn when arranging for the trip, it was decided to call him. The merchant, on being shown Bousquet's letter, promptly found me the calash for Turin and recommended me by letter to other merchants in Turin who were his friends, who would find me a similar conveyance for Geneva.

Since Prince Trivulzio had informed me from Venice of having sent me in a parcel the manuscripts left there, I earnestly requested Canari, that when they arrived in Milan, he was to send them on to me in Geneva. I would inform him of my arrival there. I asked him to convey my respects to the princess, who had been immediately informed of the sudden order, which caused her great displeasure, because, as she was at her villa, the little time left to me prevented my taking leave of her before my departure, but I asked that, wherever I might be, she not forget me, her humble servant, and continue to favour me.

I left Milan after lunch on the Thursday, the twenty-fourth of the month [November]. We passed through Novara, then Vercelli, San Germano, Gigliano, and Chivasso. On leaving there we arrived in Turin in the morning of Sunday, the twenty-seventh. Here, after putting up at the inn of the *Doana Vecchia*, I had notified the two Torinese merchants to whom I had been recommended. On reading the letters of the merchant from Milan, they offered to find me a good calash for Geneva, and taking into account that at my advanced age I could hardly have crossed Moncenisio, a high and very rugged mountain of the Alps which divides Piedmont from Savoy, on horseback, they arranged a price with the driver, whereby at his own expense I was to be taken over in a sedan chair by bearers, who are assigned to this at the foot of the mountain.

I stopped in Turin on the Sunday and following Monday seeing the city, its streets, the palace, the squares, the Citadel and all its fortifications, without any suspicion or fear of anything sinister, and that was my state of mind during the entire trip through Piedmont and Savoy, since in the

order it was only in Milan and its dominion that I was forbidden to stay.[71]

We left Turin on the Monday evening, and after passing the city of Susa arrived at the foot of Moncenisio. When I gazed at its amazing height, it no longer seemed improbable that the Gauls, when passing below Bellovenso into Italy for the first time, had the impression that the summits of those mountains were joined to the sky, or that Hannibal's soldiers considered the pass insuperable, believing that the snows of those mountains were mixed with the heavens.[72] It was my destiny, at such an advanced age, to have to cross it on the shoulders of sedan-bearers, who, on the descent, made my flesh creep at the speed with which they hurried over the steep and rugged rocks, for fear that at every step I would be hurled headlong down into the rocky precipices and dashed to pieces. I gave many thanks to Heaven on finding myself on level ground.[73] And as I continued the journey with my boy in the calash along those torturous, uneven and rocky roads, crossing the fearful mountains of Savoy, it was my fate either to escape or be destined for worse torments, which, when we were passing through a steep place, had us alight from the calash. After going a few paces, we suddenly saw with our own eyes the calash with one horse plunge off the road down a rocky precipice and roll down to the plain.

With the calash and horse having crashed, we arrived as best we could at last at Chambery, the capital city of Savoy, not far from Grenoble, on

71 G. had arrived in Turin on Sunday, 27 December and, after a tour of the city, left on the next evening, 28 December. The name of the inn where G. had stayed overnight with Giovanni had been discovered too late: the Dogana Vecchia (the Old Customs House). Raul Rossini writes, quoting 'Clareta's very rare small book' on Turin's old inns, that it had always been a favourite of 'quiet, clean, civil persons' (*La prigionia e la morte di un grande storico* (Turin 1959), p. 3). The Palazzo Reale was built in 1665 in the reign of Charles Emanuel I to designs by Amedeo di Castellamonte, joined later by Juvara, Alfieri, and Palagi. It was the residence of the kings of Sardinia. Roberto Gaja writes: 'It seems that, at least in those circumstances and the period in question, Turin had preferred to let G. pass through the nets of its controls. It would be understandable also because of the support which G. seemed to enjoy in Milan'. Gaja states that until then Savoy had acted more 'correctly and courageously' than Venice, which had let him be abandoned in grave peril in pontifical territory (*Il marchese d'Ormea*, pp. 184, 186).

72 Livy: 5.34.7 and 21.32.7.

73 One recalls Gibbon's totally different experience coming in the opposite direction: 'I climbed Mount Cenis and descended into the plain of Piedmont, not on the back of an Elephant; but on a light osier seat in the hands of the dexterous and intrepid chairmen of the Alps' (*Memoirs of My Life*, ed. Georges Bonnard (London 1966), p. 133).

3 December. There we had to wait half a day, until the driver found another calash and changed horses, in order to continue the journey.

We travelled another day, and on the following saw in the distance Lake Lemano, and the driver then pointed out the city of Geneva situated on one side in the part where the Rhone, on leaving it, resumes its Mediterranean course and goes to debouch in the Gallic Sea near Marseilles.[74]

We arrived in Geneva in the evening of Monday, 5 December, and stayed in the inn *De Tre Re* [The Three Kings] where on the same evening, as arranged, Bousquet came to see me.[75] He expressed great satisfaction at my arrival and told me that he had found rooms where I could go the following day, and that I might rest assured that he and his company would not fail to provide me with whatever I needed for my stay in their city. I thanked him profusely and said that for the moment it was

74 Today's Gulf of Lyon.

75 Bousquet's generosity and kindness to G. remain unique among G.'s friends in Geneva (see his letter of 29 January 1735). The search for G. continued for almost the whole month of December 1735:

Assessor of the Holy Office, Rome, to the secretary of state, Cardinal Firrao, 9 December 1735:

'As soon as I received the advice of Your Eminence that Pietro Giannone had been exiled from Milan, your very humble servant the assessor, to save time, communicated the news by letter to the Inquisitors of Como, Novara, Parma, Piacenza, Modena, Reggio, Genoa, Florence, Pisa, and to the Vicario of the Holy Office in Mantua, in order that they should renew their vigilance to implement the orders given to them already some time ago.

At the meeting of 7 December 1735, the usual Congregation of the Minerva [at S.Maria sopra Minerva] reported the letter with which Your Eminence had honoured it, referring to the expulsion of Giannone. These Eminences were of the view that the secretary of state might write to the nuncios of France, Cologne and Switzerland, informing them of the very bad character and errors against Religion of the said Pietro Giannone, in order that they take such steps as are expedient and practical to have the said Giannone arrested, or at least driven from the place where he seeks refuge' (BAV, *Rossiano 1800*: Marini, *Mezzogiorno*, pp. 258, 300 (doc. 38)).

The sense of security with which G.'s journey imbued him seems to have survived in the mind of the tragic prisoner. Marini observes that the Inquisition's failure also this time confirmed the epithet 'disastrous' as characterizing the pontificate of Clement XII (*ibid.*, p. 260). Cardinal Firrao, however, had written to the nuncio, Jacopo Oddi, some nine weeks earlier:

'If we do not fulfil our aim of having him arrested while travelling... we shall still have attained that of removing this plague from Italy and preventing him from spreading his infection to other Catholic states, since it appears that we may now flatter ourselves that he is left with no other escape and asylum than the countries of heretics' (Rome, 1 October 1735: AAV, *Venezia*: *Mezzogiorno*, pp. 260-261).

only necessary to leave the inn, and, when settled in the new lodgings, if comfortable, to recover from the past discomforts of the journey, and then we would begin to discuss our affairs and arrange matters in such a way as to achieve honourable and precise results. We moved the next day after lunch into the rooms found for me, where I arranged all that was necessary for me and my boy at a moderate rate with the landlord. He was Monsieur Chénevé,[76] a Genevan, who used to take in foreigners as boarders. He had a wife and daughter who were very clean and able to take excellent care of anyone coming there, and I was thoroughly satisfied with their industry and warm-heartedness.

I advised Bousquet to make known to his friends the real reason for my coming, which was not to change religion,[77] but to find there what I could not find in Italy, an honest way of living by my labours, and that he testify to them of our long-established correspondence, and the negotiations between us which had resolved me on that course. He then took me to the Resident of France[78] to whom I related my travails, how through hard necessity they had forced me to go there, and I asked for

76 Charles Chénevé/Chénevière. Jacob Vernet spelled the tailor's name Chenevié (*Lettre à Monsieur Le Premier Sindic*, Archives de l'Église nationale protestante. Registre de la Compagnie des Pasteurs: *Giannoniana*, p. 573). The house had four floors and was number 47 Rue des Allemandes (Lomond Boleslau, 'Le manoir de Vésenaz et les souvenirs qu'il évoque', Geneva State Archives, quoted by Ricuperati, 'Dopo la *Giannoniana*', in *Nella costellazione del Triregno* (Foggia 2004), p. 180). The cost of board and lodgings for G. and his son was eighteen florins per month (Panzini, *Vita*, p. 148, who quotes from G.'s lost *Itinerary*).

77 G. would have realized that, if he rejected Catholicism, his *Civil History* would be dismissed as the work of a heretic. See the letter of Olivazzi to Ormea, 25 November 1735 (Chapter Ten: Appendix [68]), where he also expressed concern for G.'s reputation because of his going to Geneva. In G.'s account of his expulsion from Venice (Chapter Ten: Appendix [40]), he stated that he heard mass there every day. In the terrible last days in Naples, he did not ever miss attending church. Roberto Gaja observes that G.'s insistence suggested also his hope of returning to Naples (*Il marchese d'Ormea* (Milan 1988), p. 198). Bertelli states that such a declaration must have kept G. independent of Calvinist thought in Geneva (*Vita*, intro., in *Opere di P.G.*, p. 351). G. himself wrote much later:

> 'I was curious enough to enter their temples and hear some of their sermons, which I found vacuous and bare, and inspiring gloom and melancholy. They were mainly raging invectives against the Church of Rome which was heretical in doctrine, tyrannical in government and discipline, and impious in customs, the prostitute described by St John in the *Apocalypse*... Few instilled charity and love of one's neighbour, or the abhorrence of fraud, deceit and other vices' (P.G., *Istoria del pontificato di Gregorio Magno*, ed. Chiara Peyrani (Turin 2011), p. 181).

78 Georges Bonnant identifies him as 'M. de la Closure' ('P.G. à Genève', p. 120).

his protection, and that when he saw a foreign Catholic at his palace on feast-days and Sundays, come to hear the mass celebrated there, he should not wonder at my staying so long in that city; that he might know the reason for my stay and not think that I had come there for religious reasons. The Resident kindly welcomed me, and replied that this would be no surprise to him, since in Geneva there were so many Savoyard and French Catholics there for their trade and business, that his little church, which formerly was adequate, was not big enough to hold so many, and that in order to attend mass many had to see and hear it outside in the courtyard. through the doors and windows as best they could.[79] Bousquet also testified to our business, which would take a long time to conclude, and thus in his good graces we took our leave of him.

When my arrival became known in Geneva and my reason for coming there, it more endeared me to everyone, to whom I was known through my *Civil History*, which with great respect they had placed in their public and magnificent library, the reason pleasing them even more than my actual arrival.[80] I realized that those who came there on the pretext of changing religion were not well regarded and were held in little respect, as it had been observed from long experience that the majority were friars or monks who, after escaping from their monasteries for crimes and licentiousness, took refuge there to marry and live released from the many ties with which their particular faiths had kept them bound and hindered.

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79 The Genevan Senate disapproved of the chapel of the French Resident being open to the public, and it was permitted only because expressly ordered by Louis XIV, who demanded a chapel for his Resident (Francois Fleury, *Histoire de l'église de Genève*, 2 vols (Geneva 1880), 2, pp. 13, 274; quoted by Bertelli, 'Appunti e osservazioni', p. 225). The French ambassador, Marquis de Froullay, also obtained the assurance from the Spanish ambassador in Naples that G.'s family would not suffer because of his having taken refuge in Geneva (letter of Trivulzio, 9 February 1736: Panzini, *Vita,* p. 152: Chapter Ten: Appendix [44]).

80 The Genevan Protestant reviewers of the *Civil History* five years before had referred warmly to G.'s religious convictions and loyalty to the Catholic faith:
'One would wrong Monsieur Giannone to doubt his Catholicity because of the passages hardly favourable to it of which his history is full. He has been unable to prevent stating very simply all that his great reading offered to his discernment on delicate subjects, without his wishing to prejudice the Roman Catholic religion professed by him at the Emperor's court, where he is today, as mentioned at the beginning of this article. He has done only what other authors, who have died in the communion of Rome, have done before him, although in a less extended way...' (*Bibliothèque italique*, 10 (1731), pp. 39-40; quoted by Ricuperati, *L'esperienza*, p. 444).

I was therefore visited by the foremost men of letters and professors of that University,[81] some of whom were also pastors in their churches, and I noted an admirable discretion and prudence among them in their refraining in their discourse with me from arguments on religion. If someone seemed to want to raise such matters, he was at once interrupted by the others, and we went on to discuss science and other professions and the liberal arts. And I studiously let fall in conversation the reply which Jacques Cujas customarily made, when, with France burning at that time with both civil and religious discord, some would ask him what he felt about those disputes, and he would dispatch them in a few words, saying: 'Nihil hoc ad edictum praetoris' (No comment on the praetor's edict).[82] Aware of this habit of mine, they willingly changed the subject, and only some in their courtesy used to say to me: 'Talis cum sis, utinam noster esses' (Given who you are, if only you were one of us).

I found there some profound philosophers and some professors most expert in civil law, who rightly hold the works of their compatriot Jacques Godefroy in great esteem and veneration, and deservedly appreciate the fact that under those skies that most meticulous jurist wrote his learned and elaborate *Commentari sopra il Codice teodosiano*.[83] And the physicians honour also their famous Le Clerc, the author of *L'Histoire de la Médicine*, and the other professors who are their illustrious predecessors, by whom that University was always richly adorned. And many, most learned in history and various disciplines and other humanities, rightly

81 Bonnant mentions also the jurist Jean-Jacques Burlamaqui, the librarian Firmin Abauzit, Pastor Augustin Cardoini, who was director of the College, and the mathematician and philosopher Jean-Louis Calandrini. Babaut Du Lignon, one of the founders in 1724 of the journal *Bibliothèque italique*, published a review of the first volume of the *Civil History* and prepared a draft of the second volume (*Bibliothèque italique*, 9 (1730), pp. 231-271; Bonnant, 'P.G. à Genève', pp. 120, 125).

82 *The life of Jacques Cuyas written in the style of Papire Masson*, preface to J. Cuyas, *Opere omnia*, 1 (Naples 1722), pages not numbered (B., p. 305). G. paid his Genevan friends the following beautiful tribute:

> 'When those who lodged me saw that the pastors and ministers often came to me, they wanted to hide a small plastic statue of St Joseph which was in my room. I told them not to do so, because they [the pastors and ministers] were so wise and discreet that they would have been scandalized if I had not left it there. And, in fact, no one had ever worried about it' (*Istoria del pontificato di Gregorio Magno*, ed. Chiara Peyrani (Turin 2011), p. 182).

83 On Godefroy, see Chapter Two (n.44).

gloried in having had the other Le Clerc,[84] his brother in Holland, who had filled Europe with his many learned, varied, and illustrious works. Most resplendent of all of them, however, was Jean-Alphonse Turrettini (see Fig. 23)[85] who was both a famous professor of theology

84 Daniel Leclerc (1652-1728), born in Geneva, physician and scholar. Among his works is the *Histoire de la Médecine, où on voit l'origine et les progrès de cet art* (Geneva 1696); there are many editions, and it was translated into English in 1699. Its most acclaimed section is on the history of ancient medicine down to the end of the second century (*NBG* 29, pp. 195-196). His brother, Jean Leclerc (1657-1736), Clericus, Armenian theologian and biblical scholar; was born in Geneva, but later abandoned his native Calvinism and became an Armenian. Among his works are the *Commentary on the Pentateuch* (1699); an annotated translation of the New Testament (1703); and commentaries on the historical books of the Old Testament (1708); on the Psalms and the writings of Solomon and the prophets (1731), all published in Amsterdam. 'A champion of freedom of thought and an enemy of all dogmatism, he defended the unlimited rights of reason in the domain of faith' (*ODCC*, p. 962). The *Bibliothèque universelle et historique* (1686-1693), which he edited, and of which he wrote almost all the articles, remains one of his greatest achievements. *NBG* 30, pp. 196-200. G. would have read his works in the Palatine Library in Vienna when writing the *Triregno*.

85 Jean-Alphonse Turrettini (1671-1737), born in Geneva, acclaimed theologian. He was at the height of his powers when G. arrived in Geneva (Ricuperati, *L'esperienza*, p. 454). His studies had taken him to Leiden and to universities in England and to Paris. He was a friend of Jean Leclerc, and met Newton in England, and Saint-Evremond in France. Turrettini had lived in London from 1692 to 1695, when he learned English and met men of letters and theologians. 'It was he who encouraged the majority of the ministers of Geneva to learn English, enough to be able at least to read the books of that country which related to their profession' ('Eloge historique de M. Jean-Alphonse Turretin', *Bibl. Raisonnée*, 21 (1738), 5-28, p. 19). Gibbon, who had read this eulogy, showed that Turrretini was a good Latinist, that he had borrowed ideas from the English which were little known in Geneva, and that he was 'of a moderation rare among theologians of his time' '(*Journal de Gibbon à Lausanne, 1763-1764*, ed. Georges Bonnard (Lausanne 1945), pp. 56-57). Among Turrettini's s major works are *Cogitatio et Dissertatio theologica*, 3 volumes (Geneva 1703, 1737), and *Historiae ecclesiasticae compendium* (Geneva 1700) (many editions). *NBG* 45, p. 748. Turrettini received the chair of Theology at Geneva in 1705. He espoused natural religion, and as a philosopher sought to purify and simplify religion. He rejected the Scholastic tradition, and endeavoured to reconcile the divergent creeds of Protestantism. G. must have been sympathetic to the attempts of Turrettini, in conjunction with the archbishop of Canterbury, William Wake, to implement Leibniz's great plan of uniting all the Protestant churches. He was renowned for his tolerance and in great part contributed to the liberalizing of Protestant churches. He was instrumental in having abolished the Calvinist Consensus and the compulsory declaration of faith (*EI* 34, p. 570). Turrettini and Vernet, as the first step, championed the abolition of the clause of predestination, which they had had to accept in order to become pastors. G.'s sympathy is evident not only from his *Vita* but also from *Istoria del pontificato di Gregorio Magno*, completed in 1742 (Bertelli, 'Appunti e osservazioni', pp. 220-223). When G. told Turrettini of the negative and

and ecclesiastical history of that University and a minister of that Church, and held in such respect and veneration by all the Genevans for his scholarship and probity, that some of them called him the pope of Geneva. He was originally from the city of Lucca, from the illustrious and ancient family Torrentina which moved there [to Geneva] as did other noble families of Lucca, still in existence, from the time of the Reformation, and in those times many families from other Italian cities went there. And the Neapolitan Galeazzo Caracciolo, marquis of Vico, would also have established his family there, after divorcing his first wife, left in Naples, who had not wanted to follow him, and marrying in Geneva a French lady, if she had not been barren, from whom he had no offspring. Still extant here, however, is the noble family Carduino, and although extinct in Naples, a branch from there germinated in this soil. In Galeazzo's time, therefore, a Carduino went to Geneva, and from him were begotten in a direct line the present Carduini who are in Geneva. Professor Carduino, the father of many sons, showed me clear and legitimate documents extracted from the archives of the Camera di Naples, from which it would appear that his ancestors were barons of Pareto and other fiefs in the kingdom of Naples, which were at that time owned by the family.[86]

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arid impression made on him by the sermons in the churches of Geneva, Turrettini replied

'that he shared my opinion and considered that there had been fierce quarrels and harsh contentions over vain and slight matters... and other matters which did not merit them... The foundation of the Christian religion is charity, purity, integrity in one's life, and sincerity in one's doings, not the empty words and insults which in no way lead to our salvation'.

86 Giovan Galeazzo Caracciolo di Vico (1517-1586), page to the emperor Charles V, a follower of Valdès; friend of the marquis d'Oyra Giovanni Bernadino Bonifacio; he became a Protestant and took refuge in Geneva, where he died (N. Baldini, *Historia della vita di Galeazzo Caracciolo* (Geneva 1587)). For accounts of his life see B., p. 306 and Nicolini, ed. *Vita*, p. 326. At his death he left 4,000 gold scudi for the aid of those Italians forced to take refuge in Geneva for religious reasons. Cesare Carduino: in Naples National Library is to be found the unpublished *Relazione di Geneva... dall'anno 1535 che vi fu introdotto il calvinismo e mutato governo fin al giorno seguente*, attributed to Andrea Carduino, in which can be read: 'In 1572 came the unfortunate Cesare Carduino, knight of that city of Naples and my grandfather, who, taking with him Camillo, his son and my father, to his and my misfortune, not only left the true faith, but also that ancient nobility which his ancestors had enjoyed for many centuries in that city' (*Vita*, ed. Nicolini, p. 363).

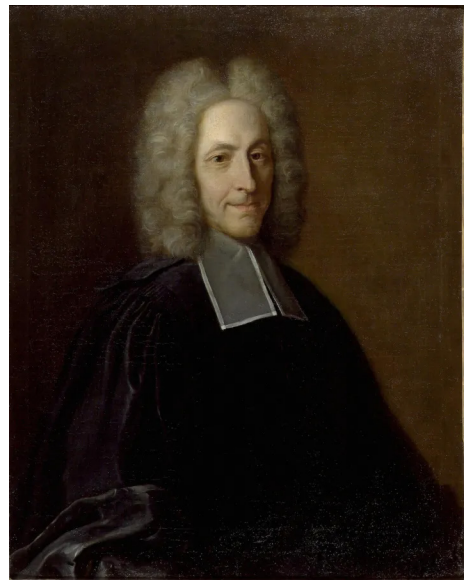

Fig. 23 Jean-Alphonse Turrettini (1671-1737), by Robert Gardelle (Bibliothèque de Genève, by very kind permission).

The visit of Professor Turrettini, which he courteously made me immediately on learning of my arrival, was the reason for my being held in more respect by all the others. And as Turrettini had kindly offered me any books which I needed from his library and anything else from his home, I had reason myself to visit him, and on such an occasion I became acquainted with more people in authority, who, as they held various magistracies and administered that Republic, offered me all their support to facilitate success in my affairs, which they knew had brought me to Geneva.[87]

87 Count Picon, governor of Savoy, in a letter to Ormea, 4 April 1736, described G.'s life in Geneva thus: '..he hardly ever went out, being occupied by his work and with having his history translated into French. He was greatly resorted to and sought after by the leading men of Geneva and mainly by the Ministers... He also frequented the house of Monsieur the Prince of Hesse Cassel, where he was greatly appreciated and welcomed' (*Giannoniana*, pp. 173-174). In Geneva G. edited the writings which were to form the fifth volume of the *Civil History*; prepared, improved and added to the text for a new edition of the French translation; and prepared for eventual publication the final draft of the *Regno terreno* and *Regno celeste* (*Kingdom of Earth* and *Kingdom of Heaven*), and worked on completing the *Regno Papale* (*Kingdom of the Papacy*).

Bousquet was highly pleased at my being so well received by them and that Turrettini had been to visit me, which kindled in him an even keener wish to see to the printing of my work. When I urged him to prepare to begin, he replied that in this year the company formed with Pellissari,[88] a merchant of Geneva, and another merchant of Holland, was ending, and as he had contracted a new one with other richer merchants, which was to begin in the new year, I should patiently wait another few weeks, when a beginning would be made with hopes of more fruitful and fortunate success. I calmed myself with his words and waited for the new year. Meanwhile I advised Venice, Pisani, and Prince Trivulzio, of my arrival in Geneva, and of having made the desired arrangements with Bousquet, and that I was hoping, therefore, not to expend myself in more distant journeys to Holland or England, as they had wished, but to find in Geneva an honest way of supporting myself, until God deigned to dispose otherwise of me and my fortunes.[89]

I wrote to Milan to the secretary Canari, asking him to inform Princess Trivulzio of my arrival, and at the first opportunity to send me the manuscripts sent on to him from Venice by the prince, because I had already arranged with Bousquet shortly to begin the printing.[90] And in order that when my friends were told the news of my stay in Geneva, they might learn at the same time that I had gone there not to change religion, but because I had found an honourable way of supporting myself, I wrote to Vienna and elsewhere in order to let them know the reason, and not to give my enemies a pretext for even more greatly maligning me. Wretched me, however, I believed that in this way

88 Jean-Antoine Pellissari (1702-1738), Genevan bookseller and printer (B., p. 307).

89 Some three months after his arrival in Geneva, G. wrote to Prince Trivulzio of at last going home: 'I hope soon to see the fields of Mars at rest and my delivery from suspect countries and restoration to the flock of Holy Church into which I was born and where I shall die' (Geneva, 19 March 1736: *Epist.*, p. 1118).

90 G. carefully continues to dupe the Inquisition on the whereabouts of his manuscripts. On 5 January 1736, the manuscript of the fifth volume of the *Civil History* was already in Milan in the hands of Francesco Canari, the secretary of Prince Trivulzio, who was to send it by a safe and secret route to G. in Geneva. Other papers were to follow the same route (letters of Trivulzio 5 January and 9 February 1736: Chapter Ten: Appendix [49]). That G. took them with him from Canari when leaving Milan and that they arrived in Geneva in the following four months is proved by subsequent events: the fact that G. was able to resume negotiations for their publication in Geneva, and, above all, from what Vernet and Turrettini were later able to take and preserve from Turin's sequestrations. See, therefore, Vernet's correspondence later with Giovanni ('The *Triregno* and its Fate', below).

I would find compassion, whereas, as events will show, that very matter brought me greater disaster. The court of Rome would not have taken any notice of me, if, having taken refuge in Geneva, I had there changed my religion. That, on the contrary, was precisely what it wanted. It learnt bitterly, however, that I had gone there to publish my other works and to attend to the new French translation of the *Civil History*, enlarged with new additions. As a result, it took up again its insidious weapons with greater energy to ruin me utterly, and make me an example to the world that there was no refuge for me wherever I might go to escape its ire and indignation.

Appendix (Chapter Ten)

[1]

G.'s every movement and word are spied upon.

Report of Sebastiano Bonapace, Capitan Grande, 6 September 1735:

> In accordance with the always venerated orders of Your Excellencies, I have had my spies observe that Gianò [sic] is staying with His Excellency Anzolo Pisani. My spies have recounted to me that this morning at 13 hours the said Gianò left the palace together with His Excellency Anzolo Pisani and went to the *specieria* (grocery) of S. Angelo where they remained for a short time, and the said Gianò left with His Excellency who met someone, who promptly accompanied him, and left Gianò near S. Zantino. Gianò then walked towards S. Moisè, and at that Church he found Dr Xaverio, a Neapolitan. The doctor asked Gianò if he had been to His Excellency, the ambassador of Spain, for the feast-days, and he answered no, and thus they took leave of each other. Gianò went on his way, and when near the Ascencione he met a Franciscan friar, but the spy could not hear what they were saying. On leaving the friar, he went to Chichio's coffee shop, stayed there about two hours, and then left for home. Today the spy will continue to follow him until evening, when he will go home, and Your Excellencies will be advised of all that will ensue. My most solemn reverence, Sebastiano Bonapace, Capitan Grande.

Another report of Bonapace, 9 September 1735:

> ... I am also continuing observation of that Gianò with the assistance of my spies, who relate to me how on Thursday morning he left home at 17 hours and went to Mass at S. Anzolo, and then returned home.

After lunch he left home at 23 hours with Doctor Xaverio and another foreigner, who is said to be a poet, and they walked along together to the Piazza, where, on meeting Duke Bondragon, he spoke to him for a while. He then went towards the Clock with the said Xaverio and the poet, and on leaving them, he walked towards S. Zaccaria and went to the Campo, and then came back and went to Pescaria. There he found a ferryman whom he asked about his proprietors. The ferryman replied that one of them was sick. He told him to give her his regards and that one of these days he would ask to see them. And he left and went to Chichio's shop, where he spoke with a Neapolitan priest who says Mass at the Ascencione, and then spoke with some Gentlemen of the court of His Excellency, the ambassador of Spain. On leaving, he went to the *specieria* of S. Anzolo, stopped to speak to Signor Zorzi Gottoni until one hour in the night, and then went to the palazzo where he stayed for a while. When he came out again, he went to S. Maurizio to the home of the lawyer Terzi, where he remained for two and half hours in the night, and returned to the palazzo and no longer came out. Sebastian Bonapace Capitan Grande.[91]

[29]

Firrao's instructions to Oddi, 30 July 1735 concerning the chair:

Now having come to explaining to you the intentions of His Holiness on the ministry's affairs, I must in the first place dwell on that of the holy Inquisition to which the welfare of the Catholic religion is so closely linked.

Associating with heretics and schismatists, who are too freely admitted into Venice, is one of the major dangers hanging over religion. One must nevertheless acknowledge and consider another, which arises from the custom of many young noblemen accompanying the ambassador sent to Holland, England, and the Protestant Courts of Germany. As they remain some years with the ambassadors, they acquire a taste for the heretics' freedom and licence, and are unconsciously infected, and on returning home, easily communicate the poison to others. For that reason His Holiness wants you to devote yourself assiduously to the tribunal of the Holy Office, not omitting the usual congregations to be held before the apostolic nuncio; and that you adroitly direct pertinent discourse to the idea of distancing Catholic States from certain new maxims of the century, and certain liberties and corruption acquired in the main from dealings with heretics. In such a way, after being heard by three

91 Venice State Archives, Inquisitori di Stato, Riferte del Capitan Grande, 670, 6 and 9 September 1735; *Giannoniana*, pp. 370-371.

noblemen present and passed on by them to others, they may succeed, as is hoped, in instructing and benefiting the public.

In associating with heretics, then, nothing is more dangerous to good customs and religion than the reading of bad books with which the world has never been as tainted as it is at present. By your acting in concert with the monsignor patriarch [Francesco Antonio Correr] and the father Inquisitor [Tommaso Maria Gennari], you will therefore have to keep a close watch on the booksellers of Venice and Padua so that they do not print or sell such books.

You will also have to devote your closest attention and diligence to arranging that the chairs of the University of Padua are filled by subjects of good and sound learning, in order to prevent passing into the schools of Italy certain Ultramontanist views, which have given, and do give, such atrocious wounds to the authority of the vicar of Christ and the Apostolic See, and to the Catholic religion itself. Giannone was put forward for the chair of the Humanities left vacant last year by the death of Abate Lazzarini, and although he had already found some quite powerful patrons, it was possible to have him kept back With his continuing to stay in Venice, however, it will be necessary to keep an eye on him and endeavour to have him discredited, as he deserves. You will thus let slip at times the amazement in the Courts where he has been, to observe how the Venetian gentlemen suffer Giannone in their capital, when in his heretical History he has attacked even the Republic on the subject about which it is so sensitively jealous.

Among those who most protect him are the Pisani. Some steps have already been made to enlighten those gentlemen, who otherwise are most pious and religious. You, therefore, will diligently have to foster such efforts, using the work and ways of those religious of whom they avail themselves as directors of conscience.

Since it is, then, still quite important to the Apostolic See that, in the same way, the path remains closed to Giannone to return to the kingdom of Naples, where he could perhaps do more harm than elsewhere, it has been sought, with felicitous results, to have him refused a passport by that new government. The ambassador of Spain [count Fuenclara] has not a little contributed to it by his zealous representations. To confirm him, therefore, in his holy aversion to Giannone, it will be well, when you have some discourse with him, to speak casually of letting him see what Giannone has written against the Spaniards in volume 3 of his History, chapter 2, book 30, page 544 [*Civil History*, bk 30, ch.2=Ogilvie, 2 pp. 475-476: above, Chapter Nine: Appendix [39]. There, when referring to the passing of the kingdom of Naples to Charles V, governed then by the Spanish viceroys, he characterizes that nation as the most insolent imaginable, charging it with tyranny and cruelty, and by comparing their

> government with that of the ancient Romans, he uses every art to render it odious and abhorred. I see that I have dwelt too long on this point, but it seems also that I have said little in order to put you on guard with a man of this sort, who has always let himself be known as an implacable enemy of the Holy See and the entire ecclesiastical hierarchy.[92]

[40] *The Expulsion from Venice:*

G. wrote his own separate moving record of what happened: *Raggualio dell'improviso violente ratto praticato in Venezia ad istigazione de' Gesuiti e della corte di Roma nella persona dell'avvocato P.G* (An Account of the Sudden and Violent Expulsion from Venice of the Person of the Lawyer Pietro Giannone at the Instigation of the Jesuits and the Court of Rome):[93]

> If the insulting and violent outrage done by public authority to me in Venice related only to the harsh contumely inflicted on me—and the discomfort and pain suffered from having been kidnapped suddenly in the night [13 September 1735] by a group of numerous armed men and abandoned on the banks of the Po at the borders of the Ecclesiastical State, and left there alone in a wretched tavern, either as prey to my enemies, or to perish from grim hunger, or some other more cruel privations—I would certainly not have had to force myself to reveal to the world in this essay the grievances and great wrongs of such a pitiless and barbarous act. As long as one lives, one may be subjected by sinister fate to similar disasters, and when they come, the more patiently and intrepidly one bears them, the more radiant will appear one's virtue and constancy. And no small comfort will be drawn from past examples of holy and prudent men, and how a faultless life could not escape the force of a similar unhappy destiny. My case, however, is quite different,

92 AAV, *Venezia:* Marini, *Mezzogiorno*, pp. 248, 294-296 (doc. 32).

93 For the three manuscripts on which this is based, see note of the editor of the account, Sergio Bertelli, in *Opere di P.G.*, p. 513. A fourth manuscript and a number of letters and documents relating to it in Naples State Archives were destroyed during the Second World War by the retreating German army, but are included in the only complete manuscript, the Correr. Trivulzio and Pisani both advised G. not to publish it (*Giannoniana*, p. 39; see also their letters in Chapter Ten: Appendix [49]). The translator has read with great interest also the manuscript published with an excellent introduction by Dr Anne Denis, 'Un testo inedito di P.G.', *Archivio storico italiano*, 153 (1995), 709-761, which has come to light in a private library in Geneva, that of the Budé family, of Jean-Louis de Budé, the son of Isaac who made possible Count Picon's sequestration of G.'s manuscripts. Denis raises the important question of whether G. had intended to publish this account separately or to insert it in the Fifth Volume of the *Civil History of the Kingdom of Naples*. Much of the passion evident in Denis' text has been eliminated from the Correr manuscript used here.

and to remain silent could make me appear guilty to many of some grave crime. This is because the courtesy and kindness with which I was welcomed in Venice by that illustrious nobility and by all classes, both of citizens and foreigners, are known and unfortunately noted, as well as their warm remonstrances and universal satisfaction at having me among them. With such manifestations constantly increasing in the course of a whole year, they had so overwhelmed me with their favour and courtesy that, to my great confusion, I could not find sufficient words to express my infinite appreciation and the eternal obligation under which they had placed me. When others learn now that suddenly everything has changed and that there has suddenly been hurled at me a thunderbolt so terrible and frightening, that they will perhaps think that I committed an all too impious and wicked crime which has justly deserved such an ignominious banishment. People still have the idea, moreover, that Venice is a safe refuge for all, that even killers, murderers, pirates, apostates, ruffians, traitors and the most evil men in the world are welcomed there, to the extent that since very ancient times the city was said to be the receiver of all foulness. The fact that it did not want to support me any longer will, therefore, perhaps indicate to others that I have committed a crime surpassing in iniquity the most enormous and infamous crimes ever to be committed by the most evil and perverse men on earth. To all this may be added that, since the blow came solely from the hands of the state's three Inquisitors, perhaps others will begin to suspect that I had plotted some conspiracy against Venetian liberty and sacrilegiously conspired to give their Republic into the hands of the infidels and enemies of the name of Christ.

When it is, therefore, a question of vindicating my reputation and honour, I should not, and cannot, sacrifice them by remaining silent, as I would willingly have done with all the other insults and suffering, in fact with life itself. It forces me to reveal to the world the solitary and innocent life which I led in Venice for the whole year of my sojourn there, and that no less vain than capricious was the reason which led them so rashly and without advice, except from their false confessors, to such a cruel act. If those confessors had taken the trouble to make a mature investigation without preconceptions of the false reports coming from the sinister, secret information of those who are malicious and malevolent to me, they would easily have recognized them as spiteful and malign and not seen in me even a shadow of crime deserving of any punishment.

I[94]

94 Bertelli has included the use of numbered sections added in the Correr manuscript, which conforms to G.'s style; see his *Giannoniana*, p. 117.

After my stay of more than eleven years in the Imperial court of Vienna, where I was supported by the emperor with that same beneficent hand with which he had most kindly welcomed me and my work, the *Civil History of the Kingdom of Naples*, dedicated to his august name; and after the later revolutions in Italy had changed things, and the realm of Sicily, on which was assigned my stipend, had passed to another ruler, I lost in Vienna my means of support. And because of the difficult circumstances which accompany such grave losses, and in the hope of its equivalent being assigned to me elsewhere, hard necessity forced me to abandon that court. After taking leave of His Majesty the emperor and his supreme ministers, who, commiserating with my unfortunate lot and unable to remedy it, willingly granted me leave, I decided to return to Italy.

On arriving in Venice, around mid-September[95] last year, 1734, with the intention of going elsewhere, I found on entering the city that, beyond all belief, my name was held in very great esteem and credit because of my books, of which in the course of almost twelve years since their publication, many copies had come there, and were not only prized, but read and discussed. When I first appeared in Piazza di S. Marco, I found myself surrounded by many gentlemen of the most distinguished families,[96] who sought eagerly to make my acquaintance and engage me in long discussion. I was much embarrassed by their many encomia and affectionate expressions of esteem and cordiality, and in my astonishment I had not sufficient words to render the thanks due to such courtesy and kindness. When walking through the streets, I would invariably meet gentlemen who would greet me by name and want to detain me, and would speak to me in tones of such affection and esteem that I grew ever more embarrassed, given my little merit, which was incapable of sustaining the burden of so much praise and commendation. What I relate of the gentlemen, I experienced with all orders of persons, lawyers, physicians, business people, and who not? Not many days had passed when the principal chair of Civil Law fell vacant at the University of Padua, and Domenico Pasqualigo,[97] brother of the governor of that University, came very eagerly to offer it to me and persuade me to accept it, since for me, moreover, the normal stipend would be increased, as it was the custom of that academy regularly to increase salaries according to the subject and the years of teaching experiences; that I could be in line to hold other advantageous posts, and he reminded me of the example

95 G. left Vienna on 29/30 August 1734 and arrived in Venice on 14 September.

96 For the names of some of them, see also G.'s letter to the duke of Lauria, Adriano Calà de Lanzina y Ulloa of 25 September 1734 (Chapter Nine: Appendix [73]).

97 On the death of Abate Domenico Lazzarini (1668-1734), both G. and Abate Biagio Garofalo were nominated as his successor. Domenico Pasqualigo was born in 1679 (Bertelli, in *Opere di P.G.*, p. 517).

of the famous Peregrino[98] there, who was promoted from the chair to be councillor of the Republic. I replied, however, that to my regret I could not accept such an honour, because my profession was quite different from that on which the chair was based, as I had not had any experience in lecturing, and my advanced age and weak constitution did not permit my exposing myself to such an exhausting test. As I did not show any desire for it, all negotiation was suspended, and on my persisting in this resolve, it was then decided after many months to offer it to others.[99]

II

In the meantime, the favour shown me by the nobility was constantly growing, some inviting me to dine in their homes, where I was honoured with the first place and overwhelmed with the most signal honours. Others invited me for entertainments in their villas and for many pleasant outings to the small islands around the city. As Carneval had begun, others would take me to theatres to see operas and comedies. Others would invite me to watch from their balconies the public events of which there were many during my sojourn there, both for the death of Doge Ruzzini[100] and the elections of the new one, Doge Pisani,[101] and for the public entrances of the new patriarch[102] and new procurators of San Marco. And as some of them held gatherings in their homes of erudite, learned persons, of whom at that time I had acquired some acquaintance, they did not fail to press me with repeated requests to attend, so that I could not excuse myself from sometimes keeping them company. That happened, however, very rarely, because, with the onset of a dreadful winter, my age and delicate constitution obliged me to stay at home in the evenings. That winter, harsh and painful for me, obliged me to defer until better weather in the coming spring the pursuit of my walks, and to stay put. In the meantime, I rented by the month some small rooms to shelter me as much as possible from the cold. In Germany I was used to stoves, and although the Venetian climate was not as harsh as there, because the Venetians do not know how to protect themselves from it except with furs and the ephemeral and fleeting flames of a bundle of sticks in their fireplaces, I had no adequate way to escape the cold.

98 He was probably Marco Antonio Peregrino (1530-1616), jurist, born in Vicenza; professor of Civil Institutions at the University of Padua. He became fiscal lawyer and then secretary of the senate of Venice (*ibid.*).

99 Panzini (*Vita*, p. 137) reveals a note of Domenico Pasqualigo which confirms G.'s motives in declining the chair. G. does not mention here that his real motive for declining was his conviction of being able to return to Naples and be appointed to a post in the magistracy of the new government (Bertelli, in *Opere di P.G.*, p. 517).

100 Carlo Ruzzini, doge 1733-1734.

101 Luigi Pisani di Santo Stefano, doge 1734-1741.

102 Francesco Antonio Correr (1676-1740), patriarch of Venice.

While I was thus lodged, it was my destiny that among the gentlemen there was one who came to offer me his most kind protection and favour, to whom as long as I live my obligations will be eternal and of whom my memory immortal. He was a leading senator of great probity, and from long experience in the highest posts in the Republic most prudent and wise. I refer to the most munificent Sig. Angelo Pisani di Sant' Angelo,[103] who for cordiality and beneficence distinguished himself above all others. Apart from wanting me to dine with him almost every day, with sincere affection and love, he saw to my every comfort and what was most advantageous for me. In his goodness, with the other senators his friends, he was profuse beyond all my merit in showering me with praise and commendation. And his brotherly love for me increased with my becoming friendly with him and giving him sufficient proof of my sincerity and Christian sense of morality. And, as it was his custom in the months of October and November to go to his villa at Rovere di Crè near Rovigo, he wanted me at all costs to keep him company, as I did, staying there with him for the whole of November. It was not until the beginning of December that we returned to the city, he to his home and I to my small one. Since in his benevolence, however, he could no longer bear even this brief separation, and in consideration also of the expense which I was suffering for the lodging, he began to insist that I move to his home, where there was an empty apartment in which I could stay with every convenience and live quietly for myself and my studies. As I could not, without taint of churlishness and discourtesy resist his oft-repeated and loving invitations, I promised to do so, but asked him to defer his favour until the months of winter were over, since the part of his palace where I was to go he chose for its large rooms, which might turn out to be very cold for me; that I would move there at the beginning of spring, and meanwhile that he leave me to stay in my small rooms for which I had already made the necessary provision. Sig. Pisani condescended to accept my excuses, and waited until the harshness of winter was over, and I in the meantime remained in my small hotel. There I had the honour of being visited by many gentlemen, among them the most learned Abate Conti, Sig. Antonio Cornaro, Reverend Father Rota, a Benedictine, Marquis Ghezi, and others no less renowned for learning and upright character,[104] as well as other men of letters who came to honour me, the city's illustrious men, such as the very erudite Abate Moazzi, Francesco Fabri and Father Maestro Lodoli.[105] The last was a Franciscan, and because

103 Of the two branches of the patrician house of Pisani, the major line was that of Santo Stefano and the minor that of Sant'Angelo (*ibid.*, p. 519).

104 On these figures, see above, Chapter Nine (B., p. 257).

105 As n.133. Of Abate Moazzi and Francesco Fabri nothing is known (Bertelli, in *Opere di P.G.*, p. 520).

of his role as magistrate of the Republic, to which was attached the office of examining the books brought into the city from outside, and because he was to be one of the reviewers of books to be published, I had to hold him in great esteem and respect, not least in reference to the qualities which distinguished him. There were other very courteous gentlemen whose names I do not now remember.

Because my rooms were conveniently situated, and I was not very far from the home, near the monastery of S. Lorenzo, of the very erudite gentleman Francesco Bettoni,[106] I began to go there after lunch. Some gentlemen used to meet in his very select bookshop, among whom was the above mentioned Domenico Pasqualigo. And our customary topic of conversation was solely current affairs and the wars of Europe, and we studied geographical maps to note there the distances between places and regions. And as Sig. Bettoni was a great lover of good books and used to provide himself with the best which came from France or Holland, on such occasions we discussed some new book which was published, or some magnificent reprint or medals or coins or other studies of antiquity and similar matters. The gathering, however, used to end promptly because at dusk, when Sig. Bettoni left the house, each of us went elsewhere or returned home. In the home of the gentleman Sig. Giustiniani at two hours at night [c. 8 pm] a more numerous company of gentlemen and men of letters used to meet, and because of the unending invitations of that very kind gentleman, I was taken there one evening by two gentlemen, and welcomed with so much affection and kindness that I was quite embarrassed at the excess of courtesy and did not know how to thank them adequately. The conversation flourished and the men were learned and wise. Among them were the abates Conti and Moazzi, Father Grivelli[107] and many others. And the topic of their discourse for the most part centred on philosophy, the mathematical sciences, and the arts. I could not, however, continue to attend more than two or three evenings, because, as it was held at night and I could not endure the harshness of the weather to go there, I thought it better to stay at home and not go out. I relate all these minute details perhaps to excess for no other reason than to let it be known that I have so many upright illustrious men who can testify to my discourse at all those gatherings among them, if ever what I said had perverted honesty and our sincere, sound Christian religion. And I must not remain silent about what clearly indicates my moderation and discretion, that among the praises which in their goodness they all used commonly to attribute to me was that I for my part would always have remained silent and that I spoke only when spoken to and replied only to the questions put to me.

106 Francesco Bettoni (*ibid.*, p. 520).
107 Father Grivelli (B., p. 258).

III

With matters thus, I began to feel the effects of cursed envy. Some persons began to whisper in the ears of the simple and ignorant, among whom they customarily find a hearing, that I was undeserving of being so honoured by the Venetians. This was because in the second volume of my *Civil History* I somewhat maltreated them, charging them with 'little faith'; that, on the domination of the Adriatic, moreover, I did not show the Venetians in a good light; that the action of Pope Alexander III with the emperor Frederick Barbarossa[108] was related differently from its depiction in the paintings of the hall of their Major Council.[109] The first charge was easy to dismiss by informing them that in the said passage the historian in no way expressed his own views. By recounting the doubt and irresolution of some in not completely trusting the Venetians at that meeting, he does no more than report their words, which denoted the feeling that the Venetians were not to be trusted because of their little faith. It was they who considered it little, not the historian, who in no way attempted to decide the question of whether the faith were great or little. He would not at the present time, however, take long to decide on that faith, having had the evil fate of experiencing that it was only too brief, short and vacillating.

There was more clamour made over the other two points, to elucidate which a few words were not enough. To convince such calumniators completely, therefore, it was necessary to show in a discursive essay that when I, as a Neapolitan, wrote the history of that Kingdom, dedicating it to the emperor, who was both archduke of Austria and the adjacent Austrian states and king of Naples and Hungary, I could not refer in any other way to the domination of the Adriatic, and that, although fulfilling the role of the loyal and faithful historian, I had in no way compromised the rights of the Republic. On the contrary, in accordance with the principles established there, provided that it knows how to remain in uninterrupted possession of it, no one will be able to dispute its domination of it. In reference to the action of Pope Alexander III, I showed that greater praise and commendation resulted to the Venetian Republic on the base of what remained written about it by the earlier historians and contemporaries, rather than by relying on the whims of the fantasizing painters. When I had finished the essay,[110] before letting

108 Friedrich Barbarossa.

109 The hall of the Major Council is in the Palazzo Ducale in Venice.

110 *Riposta di PG giurisconsulto ed avvocato napolitano ad una lettera scrittagli da un amico, nella quale l'avvisava della poca soddisfazione d'alcuni in leggendo nel lib. 13 della di lui Storia civile del regno di Napoli, al cap. I, la pretenzione de' Napolitani intorno al dominio del mare Adriatico e la storia de trattati seguiti in Venezia con Frederico l'imperatore, ad atto*

it be made public, I had it checked by the very meticulous eyes of certain learned and sensible gentlemen who were very special patrons, who after correcting some things and adding others, advised me to release it, as I did. When it was circulated, the requests which I had for it were incredible, and not least the praise and commendation. Everyone wanted to have it, and the copyists were exhausted making so many countless copies, and, as there were still not enough, there were those who advised publishing it, to which I would never consent. In this way was dispersed the fog with which those ill-disposed to me attempted to confuse simple people. And my sincerity was all the more evident, and everyone's esteem and opinion and affection for me grew.

When these shadows vanished, it was not long before other insidious means were used to discredit me. One of those black beasts[111] which hate the light went stealthily round showing to some of their devotees a certain French booklet in which could be read a most merciless libel both of the *Civil History* and its author, treating him as a miscreant, a heretic, one without God and without cross. A rumour immediately spread that a book had come out of France which demolished the whole of that *History*. I was taken aback at the news, having had contrary acknowledgement from there that my work had been very well received; that some were induced to translate it into their language; that, in fact, the French translation was already finished and the first volume was about to be published.[112] After making more precise enquiries, therefore, to learn if it were this book, it was finally discovered to be nothing more than a small monograph of the *Journaux de Trévoux*, produced by the Jesuits there, where they patch up certain dull books of authors well-deserving of the Company which, because of their insipidness, are rejected by the journalists of France, Holland and England, and by the editors of the *Acta eruditorum lipsiensium*.[113] I had already had news of it because of the Jesuit Fr Sanfelice who, under the name of Eusebio Filopatro, published in Rome his two bad volumes of the *Riflessi morali e teologiche sopra l'Istoria civile del regno di Napoli* (Moral and Theological

di papa Alessandro III (Reply of P.G., Neapolitan Jurist and Lawyer, to a Letter Written to him by a Friend in Which He Informed him of the Scant Satisfaction of Some Persons to Read in Book Thirteen, Chapter One of his *Civil History of the Kingdom of Naples* of the Neapolitans' Claim in Reference to the Dominion of the Adriatic Sea, and the History of the Subsequent Negotiations in Venice with Emperor Frederick on the Action of Pope Alexander III).

111 Probably the Jesuits.

112 In 1730, Isaac Loys de Bochat (nephew by a sister of the renowned jurist Claude Saumaise (Salmasius) had begun to translate the *Civil History* for the publisher Marc-Michel Bousquet in Geneva: see above, Chapter Eight.

113 See *Acta eruditorum lipsiensium. Supplementum* September 1729, pp. 294-206; the *Historia literaria* of Archibald Bower (B., p. 176).

Reflections on the *Civil History*). The Jesuits saw that they had been declared defamatory libels by the viceroy and the Collateral Council of Naples,[114] and had been banned with grave penalties together with their author; that because of the insipidness, mordacity and prodigious ignorance in the *Reflections*, they had been referred to by the writers of the *Acta eruditorum lipsiensium* and the journalists of France, England and Holland with that contempt and derision which they deserved; that universally and in Rome itself, moreover, they were derided and mocked. To restore as much as possible the reputation of one of their companions, the journalists [of Trévoux] decided to have the *Riflessioni* inserted in a small monograph of their *Journaux*,[115] and to summarize them in French, to make them seem less tedious and conceal as much as possible the many errors, blunders, and nonsense which can be read in the original. When all that was discovered, reason demanded that also the 'Reply' be brought to light, which at the time was issued to the *Moral Reflections,* about the summary of which so much fuss was being made. This 'Reply' was hardly known in Venice, although it was then found that a few copies had initially arrived, albeit full of errors. And until then, although I kept a much emended copy of it, for all the time that I had lived in Venice I had not said a word about it or ever shown it to anyone. On that occasion, some persons became curious to read it, and although I refused many, I could not withstand the constant requests of Sig. Pisani, to whom I professed so many obligations, to give it to him, although with that trust and strict secrecy which is always exercised in such matters. As he was extremely pleased, however, to read it, Sig. Pisani could not refrain from letting other gentlemen, his friends, know about it, who, not content to read it, wanted, each one, to keep a copy for himself. In a short time, therefore, it was seen to pass through the hands of many, yet not without the indignation of those who had caused it to become the topic of conversation. If they had not prodded the wasps' nest by circulating their *Journaux*, certainly not a word would have been said about it, since for the three or four months before there had been no mention of it. Not to me, therefore, but in fact to them must be imputed the circulation of that 'Reply' in Venice, in which I had no part whatsoever. What is more, I cannot in this find any offence, because the 'Reply' had already circulated for many years in Rome through many hands, and so many, numerous copies had been made of it that it is well known even to the barbers. It is thus incomprehensible why the Jesuits showed such displeasure about

114 The text of the ban is published in *Opere postume*, vol.1; it was drafted by the secretary Nicola Fraggianni and dated 16 April 1729.

115 The three articles in the *Mémoirs de Trévoux* were published as a booklet of which numerous copies were released. G. refers to one of them (Bertelli, in *Opere di P.G.*, p. 524).

it in Venice, when not in Rome, Naples, Vienna or other cities in Italy where it would have been very widely known, had so much secrecy and mystery been made of it. In the same way, if I did have a few copies of my *History* sent from Naples, I did what gratitude demanded for the immense debt contracted with some gentlemen who ardently wished to have it. As they had ordered it many times from the booksellers in Venice and had not seen their promises fulfilled, they believed that it could be obtained from the booksellers of Naples in exchange for their books. In this they were much deceived, because in Naples it was not to the booksellers, who did not have any copies, but to others to whom they should have turned. I therefore obtained eight copies from those who had them, as many precisely as had requested them, not to deal in them or because of any wish on my part to circulate them. That certainly was unnecessary, as they had been sufficiently circulated everywhere, even through reprinting and translation into the many languages of the most cultured and learned nations of Europe.[116] And if from Rome orders were sent to Naples to have whole chests of them sent there, as were in fact sent, what crime would there have been, if, in imitation of Rome, the same had been done in Venice?

IV

Returning, however, to the point, after I had dispelled the deception which, by means of the French summary of Fr Sanfelice's work, they had slyly attempted, as is the custom of those who lay traps under the cover of night for the foolish simple people, so much greater grew the esteem and affection of the Venetian nobility for me, especially the gentlemen. Since the months of that harsh winter had already passed, I could no longer defer the promises made to Sig. Pisani, and towards the end of March I moved to his palace. There I was lodged in a noble apartment with the great assistance and kindness of that gentleman, and of Benedetto Pisani, his son, in whom I admired a very lively talent and a singular penetrating mind. Sure of their sincere affection, I abandoned myself in their loving arms to live there for myself and my studies.

Such was my life and in such a way I had organized the hours of the day. In the morning early, weather permitting, I did not fail to exercise, as was my custom, by walking wherever possible in the streets and piazzas of a city built on water. On such occasions, sometimes I would visit, albeit briefly, some friend. Other times I used to stop at Pitteri's bookshop, and on the way back, when passing the Church of the Regular Canons of S. Salvadore, I used to hear mass there, and thence return

116 There were no reprintings in G.'s lifetime, in spite of the two attempts to do so, in Venice and Geneva. Of the three translations only the English by Captain James Ogilvie was completed in G.'s lifetime.

home, where the rest of the time until lunch was spent on my studies. These were at times interrupted by some friend who favoured me with a visit, especially the very kind Antonio Cornaro, whose profound culture I admired, and who brought me news of the most learned and rare books. After dining I stayed at home until twenty-two hours [4 pm] and then went out. If by good fortune it was a fine serene day (which the Venetian sky seldom granted), I used to go to the monastery of the Benedictine fathers in S. Giorgio Maggiore,[117] to walk in the delightful garden, or through those broad, majestic avenues and pleasant loggias. There I would sometimes have the honour of being warmly welcomed by the very learned Fr Rota in the library of that monastery, and by other most kind fathers of that renowned order, and some gentlemen who used to go there in the evenings to enjoy the pleasantness of the place. Since the windy or cloudy weather, however, did not always permit that, I used to go regularly to the home of Sig. Bettoni at S. Lorenzo, where, in the company of the very amiable gentlemen to be found there, I would pass the time until nightfall. Sometimes Domenico Pasqualigo would do me the honour of taking me in his gondola on the Grand Canal and point out the sumptuous palaces on its edge, tell me about the renowned craftsmen who had constructed them, and the names of the families which at present own them. Some evenings before going home I used to stop for a brief hour in Piazza San Marco under the Procuratie Nuove in the café[118] of one of our Neapolitans, more to observe the customs of the place, given, unfortunately, to the drinking of coffee, and in order not to refuse the offer of it by friends, rather than any great wish on my part to have it. By the first hour of night [c. 7 pm], however, I was either at home or at the home near mine of the lawyer Giovanni Terzi, where in the evening, until three hours [9 pm] some gentlemen used to meet to profit from the wise counsels of that learned old man, who was of a probity and wisdom so incomparable that I looked on him as another Cato.

Thus passed the three months of April, May and June. At the beginning of July, since Sig. Pisani, as was his custom, intended to go to his villa at Rovere di Cre, he wanted me to accompany him, and I did. There for almost the whole of that month I was in true solitude, because I escaped being always with him at Rovigo by remaining alone to enjoy the pleasant countryside. There were two exceptions: the first was to visit Monsignor Soffietti, bishop of Adria, who lived there. He was a prelate of great moral character, with a profound knowledge of ecclesiastical history and theology. The second occasion was in response to an invitation from the father-abbot of the monastery of St Bartolomeo

117 This church was situated on the island of San Giorgio.
118 G. refers to it as a 'bottega d'acque'.

of the order of the Olivetans to participate at a recital of rhetoric held under the direction of the erudite Olivetan, Fr Castro. Towards the end of July we returned to Venice and met again friends, who informed us of the various news of the city during our absence. Among other things they told us that throughout the city there were whispers that the Inquisition of Venice in concert with the nuncio and the patriarch were making an enquiry about many gentlemen to the number of eighty, and some ladies and other subjects, even priests, monks and friars, charged with speaking licentiously about some rites and the institution in Venice of many confraternities [of laity], and superstitions. It had been noted of one gentleman that on Good Friday he ate meat; of others that they considered particular devotions the impostures of the friars; that others did not approve of the many indulgences of their sanctuaries, and similar matters; that the occasion which had given rise to the enquiry had been the discovery by some that the fresh tongue of St Antony, which was adored in Padua as that saint's genuine tongue, was only wood painted the colour of meat; and that the coffin of the holy remains gave off that scent of roses because it was regularly perfumed by the friars who were its custodians. I was surprised[119] to hear such news, and so much more so when I noticed that it was being deliberately spread about the piazzas, and that even in the shops it was publicly spoken about. Even persons of the nobility, ladies and priests, friars and monks, in fact, were impudently named, and the alleged crimes and the most precise details, something new for that Tribunal, which proceeds with an impenetrable secrecy in ways unfortunately unknown and hidden. I began, therefore, immediately to suspect that some insidious net was being woven to envelop also me in something from which I could not so easily extricate myself. Not many days passed, however, before the rumours began to subside, as does everything that is new in the piazzas, and when some sensible gentlemen made thorough investigations to discover the truth, they found nothing firm. It was believed to have been one of the usual rumours of the shops spread cunningly by the Jesuits, and therefore not to be taken seriously. In the meantime I calmed down, not only because I was reassured by leading senators, but also because of my conscience and the life which I had led in those nine months in Venice, since two had been spent in the solitude of Rovere di Crè near Rovigo. And to those who told me that I was still listed in the catalogue of the irreligious as was rumoured, I used to reply that I had the advantage over the others, in having spoken not secretly but openly, and that my feelings and beliefs were already printed clearly and publicly in my books, in which Rome's most rigid and malevolent censure had not been able to reveal even one

119 G. first wrote 'disturbed' then changed it to 'surprised' (*ibid.*, p. 528).

proposition which could be qualified as heretical, as is manifest from the decree of the condemnation and banning. As my discourse, therefore, did not contain more than what I had written, I was very confident of being able to prove anyone wrong and a trickster, who might have wanted to term them heretical and impious; that if those calumniators were to quit the darkness and come out a little into the light of the sun and make clear the heresies which they noted in my discourse, I would properly shame them by showing them to be malevolent and no more than silly and prodigious ignoramuses.

V

In the meantime August was over, and without my hearing anything more about it, it was September, in which, as was my custom, in the mornings I visited some friend, in the afternoons I went to Sig. Bettoni's or S. Giorgio Maggiore, and in the evening was either at home or at that of the lawyer Giuseppe Terzi, enjoying the same informality and courtesy of those most civil gentlemen as before. In that state of calm and peace of mind, however, the fatal day arrived which upset all my quiet and afflicted all my thoughts, plunging me into the depths of the most tormented anguish and misery. On Tuesday, 13 September, after my morning exercise, on returning home, I had the honour of a visit from Antonio Cornaro, with whom I conversed until lunch on various subjects in the sciences and humanities in our customary style. After dining, I withdrew at home until 22 hours (4 pm). I then went to Sig. Bettoni's, where I found Sig. Pasqualigo who, after we had been there an hour, invited me to the usual trip on the Grand Canal, and afterwards left me in the evening at Piazza San Marco. When night fell, I went from there to the home of the lawyer Terzi, where I found the usual gentlemen, the Priuli, the young Cornaro and others whose name I do not now recall. Abate Conti arrived later. When three hours [7 pm] sounded, the signal for us to leave, we all rose, and on going down the stairs we each made our way towards our own home, some by water and some by land. That evening Abate Conti wished to accompany me, and since to go to the Pisani palace in S. Angelo one had to cross the Campo di S. Stefano, after stopping there a short while with Abate Conti, we saw a crowd of policemen, called in Venice *Zaffi*, who passed beyond the Campo where we were and pretended to go elsewhere. With my mind completely on other things, I continued on my way, and arrived at a small lane which led to the bridge before the monastery of S. Stefano of the Augustinian Fathers. Abate Conti took leave of me, and I continued ahead with the servant of Sig. Pisani who was accompanying me with a lantern. After

passing the bridge,[120] while I was in the Campo di S. Angelo about to turn left and enter the main door of the Pisani palace, I saw some men come upon me who arrested me. They gave several whistles, and I found myself surrounded by a crowd of policemen who covering me with a cloak, carried me off, and led me in haste through side streets to Piazza San Marco. Although it was night, the group which surrounded me excited the curiosity of others who were their comrades and of the shopkeepers who still had their shops open, and it grew like a mounting deluge, so that when I arrived in the piazza it was immense. To those people I do not know whether I was an object of compassion or entertainment, and I said to myself: O the inconstancy of the things of this world, and how insane is he who places any hope in them! Now I know through personal experience the fickleness and inconstancy of human affairs. This very piazza which used to be the scene of such respect for me, where I was almost always surrounded by gentlemen and so honoured and revered by them, now in a flash I saw changed to a place of dishonour, where I was exposed as a wretched spectacle for the dregs of a vile and foul mob. I experienced from the insular Venetians, although with contrary success, that same inconstancy with which the insular Maltese treated St Paul. After he had escaped from shipwreck and set foot on land, he was attacked by a viper which bit at his hand. And the Maltese believed that as his hand was swollen, he must immediately fall down dead, and said to each other that he must really be the most impious and wicked man on earth, since neither sea nor land wished to help him. When, however, they saw Paul with great bravery shake the creature off his hand, and it fell without causing him any harm, in an instant they changed and considered him a god and prostrating themselves on the ground, wanted in every way to adore him as such and render him divine honours.[121]

I was led by the policemen to the Procuratie Vecchie to the rooms of the chief of Police, called in Venice the Misser Grande. He first interrogated me about who I was, and when I gave my name, he told me that by order of the State Inquisitors I was immediately to leave Venice and its dominions, and under pain of death never return, and to that effect the boat was ready to take me to the border; that he was sending the servant, who was to accompany me, to the Pisani household to collect my belongings to take with me. I replied that without so much uproar and military display, a single nod from those gentlemen would have been enough for me to leave, that they would have been immediately obeyed; that my belongings were not so few, especially my library, that they

120 Perhaps it was the bridge known as the bridge 'dei Frati' (of the Friars) (*ibid.*, p. 530).

121 *Acts of the Apostles*, 27-28.

would be so quickly bundled up to take on board immediately with me; that in order not to cause any delay, I would content myself with the bare necessities and then have the rest sent where I was thinking of stopping after leaving the borders of Venice. In the meantime, however, the servant had left, without my being able to tell him what Sig. Pisani should send me for my needs. I begged the chief of police that, as I had to be taken to the borders, they not be those of the ecclesiastical State, which were treacherous and fearful for me, but anywhere else. I was not, however, granted that request, because the order was that I be taken to Crespino, a small place on the border of Ferrara. My anxiety on hearing that can be well imagined, and in my desolation, a thousand dread images of betrayal and fatal events rose before me. When the chief of police, who treated me with great humanity and kindness, saw me so upset, he gave me courage by telling me that there I would find ready transport and be able to continue straight away on the route which I wished to take, and flee whatever danger might have befallen me by passing through those places suspect to me. Through hard necessity, I calmed down as best I could, while waiting for the servant to return with what I needed to undertake such a long and sudden journey. He finally came after two hours of painful waiting, but instead of relieving me, his return greatly increased my anguish. Instead of telling Sig. Pisani that I was soon to leave, he let him believe that I was detained in prison after the arrest, of which he had been informed by his servant who had been accompanying me, and told him that, by order of the State Inquisitors, he was to hand over my belongings. Believing me therefore in prison, he sent me almost all my books, which at least would have served me there for company, and a few clothes necessary for indoors, but not for travel. I asked the servant if he had brought my strong-box, in which was the little money which I had, and my other things necessary for travelling, and he replied that he had not received anything from Sig. Pisani except the books and some cloth and clothes wrapped up in white canvas; that the reason for his delay was because there were so many books which had had to be transported to the waiting boat, and that the stern and prow were full of them. And what can I do with books, I replied, which are more of a hindrance to me; as he had not brought me my strong-box, I had no way of meeting the expense necessary to transport them with me where I would have to go. Could you not have said to Pisani that I had to leave and not remain here in prison? The old blockhead, however, replied brusquely that he had no orders to say so, but only to ask him for my belongings; that they were already on board and there was no longer any need to delay departure, as it was now past midnight, when everyone would be in bed and he did not want to worry anyone any more. In brief, brute force demanded that I leave with only the clothes on my back and

the little money which I found on me. I sailed all night with the servant and a soldier of the guard, and at the break of day I saw the sorrowful spectacle of my books thrown in heaps here and there in the extremities of the boat. I accommodated them as best I could, and as the servant could clearly see that it was impossible to take them with me, as he was to abandon me in a place where I was not even certain of being able to find transport even for myself to continue on my way and find a place safe for me, I asked him if he would do me the favour of taking them back with him and returning them to Sig. Pisani, because I would write to Sig. Pisani where he should send them. The servant, however, refused and told me that in Crespino I would find every convenience, and if I could not afford the expense of transport, I would be able to leave them in a room of the tavern, because they would in the meantime be well looked after there, in order then to have them transported from there to wherever I wished. His barbarous reply thus condemned the hapless books to be left in a hostile country and at the discretion of an innkeeper.[122] Later, however, the actual situation clearly demanded that he finally had to give in and hear my prayer. After sailing all that day, on 14 September in the first hour of night [7 pm], we arrived at Crespino, which was a deserted place, without inn and any of those promised conveniences. A sailor had to be landed with the soldier, therefore, to see if any inn could be found in the area. They walked a fair way, and after an hour the sailor returned to tell us that a mile away an inn had been found in the country, which the boat could not approach because of the dryness of the river Po, and it was necessary to disembark there and go the way on foot to reach it. The servant then realized the impossibility of transporting so many books by land at night, and without seeing another living soul there. It was thus necessary to land on the shore, and after giving my bundle of clothes to a sailor to carry, we set off on foot until we arrived at a wretched inn, where there was not even an ink-pot and a piece of paper to write a note to Sig. Pisani, informing him that because of the impossibility of transport, I was sending him back the books and trusting in the uprightness of the servant who would promptly hand them over to him. Being unable, therefore, to write thus, I abandoned myself solely to his honesty and discretion and begged him to fulfil my request exactly. And he promised to do so, and that I not have any doubts about it, as I would have certain acknowledgement of it from Pisani. When the servant noticed the wretchedness of the place, he did not want to stay there with me that night, and returned with his fellows immediately to the boat and left me there alone. I was accompanied only by my turbid and afflicted thoughts, and the anxiety of what might happen to me in a place so

122 This suggests G.'s fear that they might be confiscated (Bertelli, in *Opere di P.G.*, p. 533).

desolate and dangerous, and that I had entrusted my books, which had taken some money and a great amount of time to gather, to the honesty and discretion of a servant, four sailors and a soldier. I asked for dinner, and was told by a youth of the innkeeper, who had already gone to sleep, that as it was so late, there was nothing except a little bread and wine. Bring me the bread, I replied, and a little water, because I do not drink wine. And when he heard that I did not drink wine, with bad grace he brought me the bread and the worst water to be found in the inn. I asked him if there were any carriages to leave early the next morning, and he told me that in the neighbourhood there was only a peasant who had two pack animals with a seat, but that his trips went no further than the nearby Ponte di Lagoscuro,[123] as he was not familiar with other roads in order to make longer trips; that there I would be able to provide myself with another carriage. Very well, I replied, let us go and sleep, and tomorrow early take me to see this man. That night I slept as best I could. In the morning I found more courtesy in the innkeeper, because, when I told him that I was unhappy about stopping at that bridge to find another carriage, as my plan was to go to Modena as quickly as possible, he told the peasant, who had already come, that he could easily take me there, and he indicated to him the roads by which, without passing through Ferrara and Bologna, he could in the evening stay overnight at Cento and then in the morning be in Modena. It took much trouble to direct him to his satisfaction, since he feared losing the way. He finally took courage, and I placed myself in the calash, and by asking passers-by the roads which led to Cento and travelling all that day, Thursday, the fifteenth of the month [September], we reached it safely in the evening, and on the following morning of the sixteenth we quickly went on our way and arrived in Modena at seventeen hours [11 a.m.]. I considered Modena a safe place to stay and wait for news from Venice as to whether the servant had returned the books to Sig. Pisani, and to be provided with what I needed, but above all to learn with what crime I was charged to have deserved such a sudden and dishonourable banishment.

It was hard to wait in such agitation and solitude, since I had to remain incognito there without communicating with anyone,[124] and when informing my friends in Venice of my arrest there, I warned them to write to me in Modena under another name. After a fortnight I finally received the long-awaited acknowledgement, which was that the servant had not immediately returned the books, as promised, but sought a new order from the Inquisitors. Sig. Pisani, therefore, was obliged to have

123 Pontelagoscura (*ibid*., p. 534).

124 For obvious reasons, both G. and Muratori remained silent about Muratori's visit to him in Modena (see above, n.54).

recourse to them to recover them. As for the reason for my banishment, the rumours were uncertain and varied. Some attributed it to the rumours going round that I was numbered among those charged with atheism, some to the sinister insinuations of the Jesuits, who had great power over the weak minds of the three Inquisitors; some because I had lived in the home of a Venetian gentleman and had therefore been suspected of untrustworthiness by associating often with the ambassadors of France and Spain and with much familiarity with their servants. It was, however, the actual and general belief of the more knowing and better informed that, on the pretext of my frequenting the homes of the above-mentioned ambassadors, the plot was hatched by the court of Rome and the Jesuits, who could not bear the fact that I was so well regarded in Venice, and that my writings there were so commended and ever more read; that all the leading senators and more enlightened people condemned the pitiless and unjust action; that if it had not proceeded with so much haste, it perhaps would not have happened, or at least have been done in an discrete and civil manner; that, in fact, there were some senators who publicly voiced their detestation of the deed, and considered that for the dignity of the Republic and restoration of my reputation, I should be recalled in a decorous and honourable manner.

VI

That is the sorrowful story of my banishment from Venice, from which everyone will understand the plight of a poor unfortunate man, abandoned to the will of two or three State Inquisitors to be suddenly ruined in esteem, possessions and honour; and, what causes more horror, without my being heard, without a trial and without being able to defend myself from the false and spiteful accusations of others, and to have the sentence carried out on me without my knowing the crime of which I was accused. It will therefore be understood how easy and quick a matter it was for such Inquisitors, who willingly lend an ear to their confessors, to maltreat so ignominiously the poor foreigners, even though initially they are well received and entertained; and how it seemed to them a very pleasant and agreeable diversion *de corio hominis ludere* ['to play with a man's hide': a free adaptation of Martial, *Epigrams* 3.16.4], since they had no qualms about abandoning him to the most bitter suffering and discomfort, in fact to the obvious danger of losing both liberty and life itself. And their confessors, who appear to be so sensitive and tender not so much about the honour of God as of the saints, and so zealous for the salvation of human souls: what magic or transforming art can make them misunderstand, and so swiftly change good into evil and evil into good? Who will believe that in Venice today the Jesuits can do

so much, when at the time of the conflict with Paul V[125] the Republic had no fiercer enemies, so that it was forced to drive them from the city and its dominions?[126] And as the Jesuits were actually being driven out, they attempted to make the people rise up against the Republic, and afterwards did not fail to hatch plots and conspiracies in the state's towns furthest away from the metropolis, in order to make them revolt against the Capital. In reference to my books, they certainly could not, in truth, describe them as heretical, when Rome's actual censure had not been able to describe them as such. Of my movements and life in Venice in the year in which I lived there, the Inquisitors could have found faithful testimony of it from many learned and upright men mentioned above with whom I associated, not from the Jesuits with whom I did not ever have any contact. The parish priest of S. Angelo could have testified to them that at the beginning of April on the Thursday I had fulfilled my Easter Dues in his parish; the Regular Canons of S. Salvadore that almost every morning I had been to their church to hear mass; and the father-theologian of the Republic, whom I had the good fortune to know and deal with through Sig. Pisani, would have been able to render testimony of my Catholic sentiments and that my beliefs conform completely with our Holy Faith and the doctrines of the venerated Catholic Church. Such confessors, after all, had not imputed to me as a crime my not having followed the custom of the place; that is, on my arrival not having provided myself with a lover or a catamite; not having gone through the brothels of prostitutes; not frequented gambling houses and wasted nine or ten hours a day there, and not having gone every night to theatres to see operas and comedies.

My discourse was public and open. Often when there was talk of the particular devotions to the saints and other devout practices, in reference either to the greater veneration of them or to religious piety, I used always state that all such practices can be good and holy when removed from worldly interests and done with sentiments of true Christian piety. To delude oneself, however, that without good works they can be beneficial,

125 The government of Venice had attacked ecclesiastical immunity and passed two laws in 1604 and 1605 forbidding the construction of churches et cetera without the consent of the Senate, and prohibiting the donation or sale of secular property to the Church. When Venice refused to repeal those laws, Paul V (1605-1621) excommunicated the Senate and placed the city under papal interdict. The interdict was an ecclesiastical penalty forbidding the faithful to participate in spiritual matters with the exception of Communion, although in general all religious administration ceased.

126 Any member of the regular clergy who disobeyed the order of the Republic to ignore the papal interdict was expelled from the Venetian State, but readmitted after the matter was resolved. The Jesuits, however, were not allowed to return until 1657 (Bertelli, in *Opere di P.G.*, p. 536).

that, in fact, in accordance with the perverse doctrines instilled into simple minds, one can with such external acts settle all reckoning with God and thus reduce the Christian religion to a mechanical art, such sentiments were no more than those of the devil, imparted to them by those whom they believed to be labourers in God's vineyard. They were in reality more the devil's evil ministers, hypocrites and corrupt pharisees, against whom precisely on this matter our good Redeemer so inveighed, repeating often his divine words: *Haec oportat facere: illa vero non omittere* (This must be done: this truly must not be overlooked).[127] The important thing was to behave well: to be chaste, sober, just, merciful, to abhor duplicity in trade and all human endeavour, nor to practise fraud in the professions, to help the needy, and to love one's neighbour as oneself: *haec oportat facere*. It is not that the other rites and practices are to be omitted, but one is not to believe that by performing some and omitting others one may ever hope for salvation. Such were always my sentiments in the discourses sometimes had on this subject. I was not obliged, moreover, to stand surety for others' discussions, which perhaps some of them had in my absence, on such topics as the live tongue of St Antony and the scent of roses from his coffin, and whatever others had ever said in reference to the impostures of the friars. And I was never in Padua to see that sanctuary, and knew nothing about the tongue or the scent, and only on this occasion have I heard tell of it. If the discovery has caused displeasure, what has it to do with me who had no part in it and certainly did not take the trouble of enquiring into it, and how am I at fault if others have exposed that useful and profitable mystery?

VII

One cannot begin to understand, however, how those confessors can manifest in Venice such sensibility and zeal in matters which in no way pertain to the fundamental articles of our religion: they are so attentive to these externals and minutiae which, being of indifferent importance, one is at liberty to believe or disbelieve, do or not do. And yet in the most important matters, those of great weight, on which the salvation of our souls is uniquely based, not only are they compliant, but with their false and impious teachings they facilitate wickedness and impiety. This is the obvious proof which qualifies them as real pharisees and shameless, evil hypocrites. They incite and fuel the adulterer and adulteress and the male and female concubine to carry on their illicit unions, which are seen to go on for many, many years and sometimes last a lifetime, who are in fact their dearest and most loved. And it is only too well known in Venice that one of these confessors may be the confessor of the lover and the mistress, the

127 A very concise summary of *Matthew* 23, 23.

adulterer and adulteress, to whom each goes to confession, not detesting the vice with the firm resolve to abandon it, but to confess it in order to receive from that pharmacy a medicine to enable them to keep on going with a quiet conscience. And an effective remedy is immediately given, not one which dissolves but one which is more binding, so that the knot remains more strongly tight and indissoluble. Confessions are therefore repeated to render it more tenacious and indissoluble. The fraudulent merchant goes to confession, the deceiving artist, the quibbling lawyer, and they come back more fraudulent and calumniating than before. And because they often confess and hypocritically carry out those externally devout acts which are imposed on them, they pass for the most decent men and perfect Christians, and are thus extolled by the others.

In the public Piazza San Marco at dusk can be seen among the foul and vile people of the common plebs, troops of sodomites who at the tolling of the *Ave Maria* kneel down with great devotion to recite it. When dark night sets in, however, under those porticoes, they contaminate each other with a thousand foul and nefarious debaucheries. At the time of the masquerade, which takes up more than half the year, and especially at Carneval in the piazzas and public thoroughfares, the women of every state and rank, married, single or widowed, mingle with prostitutes, since the mask equalizes all inequality. And there is no filthy act not committed with eyes wide open with their lovers, whether young or old. The latter, being accustomed to vice, even though weak and impotent, are helped with masturbatory hands. And not in bedrooms but in public places girls have affairs with the old men, with Beelzebub in their midst. The priests, friars and monks are not ashamed to make an appearance there with their lady-friends, and in fact to make a show of it, raise their masks to be recognized, that all may see to what good use they put the revenue of their churches and monasteries and the emoluments derived from confession, sermons and masses. With the ruinous gambling, which is the cause not least of the desolation of families and of the thousand other vices and misdeeds which enable the gamblers to continue, public authority is lent to them in the gaming room, and in fact those who preside there appear in senatorial dress to augment their legitimacy. Now I ask those confessors why they do not burn with zeal against such outrageous abuses and misdeeds, why they do not shout and cry out to prevent them? For them there is no Patriarch, no appeals to the Supreme Magistrate, no records, reproofs or threats, so that finally God is provoked and rains down flames from Heaven on the plumes of the winged lion of Venice, which completely burn and consume it. They are concerned only that one talks too much about the tongue of St Antony; that the useless, vain superstitions are derided, and that someone for some indisposition, without their permission, may have eaten meat on

forbidden days, or not frequented their churches and congregations, not often visited their sanctuaries, and not heard mass every day before their altars. These are the impious ones and the irreligious who are not to be tolerated and to save the Republic are to be sent away. It would be better to state: because they spoil our business; because evading all fatigue and labour we live on the credulity and ingenuousness of the simple and foolish.

One still cannot understand such sensitivity and tenderness of conscience on the part of the State Inquisitors of Venice, who did not want me to stay any longer in their city. The maxims of their government are unfortunately known, and of those who hold the reins of it, who consider it a wise stroke of subtle politics to maintain dissoluteness there, and licentious, free living. Since foreigners can no longer make a living as before, however, with trade and commerce now almost dead, at least they are enticed by the vices which triumph there with public gambling, prostitutes, the theatres, the finest voices and concerts, ludicrous plays and other agreeable and pleasant amusements. And I could not be granted the favour of living there perhaps because I was in no way eager for gambling, theatre, prostitutes or musicians.

VIII

One will marvel even more if my banishment is attributed to the fact that my stay in Venice has induced many to read my books, in which are revealed the intrigues and subtle arts of the court of Rome, whereby it claims to draw all to itself; and that my books teach maxims contrary to that Court, which are destructive of the claimed papal monarchy. Because I deserved, therefore, the hatred of that Court, the other cities of Italy had to follow its example. If the blow had come from other cities, not from Venice, it would have been a somewhat specious pretext, although in itself vain and unfounded. The Venetians, however, adore like a god their famous theologian Fra Paolo Sarpi,[128] who, quite apart from his other works, in his *Istoria del Consiglio di Trento* (History of the

128 Paolo Sarpi (1552-1623), Fra Paoli, Venetian Servite, jurist, and theologian; procurator-general from 1585 to 1588. His Protestant sympathies and friendships with leading Protestants made him suspect to the Curia. He defended the Republic against Paul V, and it appointed him its theological consultant in 1606. His influence was powerful enough to render ineffectual the interdict of Paul V. His anti-papal views and activities led to his excommunication in 1607, and in the same year an attempt was made to murder him. He nevertheless remained the Republic's theologian and performed his priestly duties until his death. His most important work is his *Historia del Consiglio Tridentino* (History of the Council of Trent) (London 1619). It is based on much authentic material but lacking in objectivity, as it represents the Council as being solely a conspiracy against the reform of the Church (*DBI* 80, pp. 616-624: Antonella Barzazi).

Council of Trent) appears to be very inclined to the Protestant religion, although even wise men of good sense will never be convinced of it. The Venetians consider that he was without any doubt, as is true, the author of the history of that council, which he had published in London by Marc' Antonio de Dominis,[129] his friend, under the name of Pietro Soave Polano, the letters of which arranged in another way form his real name.[130] In the judgement of all learned and scrupulous critics, also of those theologians persecuted by the court of Rome, such as Du Pin, Van-Espen, and others, Soave is accused in the accounts and even more in the 'Riflessioni' (Reflections) of badly carrying out the office of a historian,[131] who must preserve an exact balance without taking one side or the other. In their view, he takes everything from the Protestants' point of view by amplifying their deeds and reasons and playing down those of the pontiff. If, therefore, Johannes Sleidanus,[132] himself a Protestant, of whom Soave in great part avails himself, had had to write it, he could not have shown greater partiality for that party than Soave shows in his *Commentari istorici* (Historical Commentaries).[133] In reference to his conduct and

129 Marc' Antonio de Dominis (1560-1624), became a Jesuit when still young; famous as a professor of Mathematics at the University of Padua and of Rhetoric at Brescia; he left the Jesuits in 1596 and became archbishop of Spalato and primate of Dalmatia (1602-1616). Political differences with Venice (his see) and Rome and personal difficulties forced him to resign his posts and go to England, where James I welcomed him. There he became an Anglican, and was appointed dean of Windsor in 1617. He published the first part of his main work *De Republica Ecclesiastica* (London 1617), in which he attacked Rome and defended national churches, and edited Sarpi's *Historia del Consiglio Tridentino*, although Sarpi rejected his anti-papal additions. His pride and avarice lost him his English friends, and he returned to Rome in 1622, where he then violently attacked Anglicanism. After the death of Gregory XV (1621-1623), the Inquisition imprisoned him in Castel Sant' Angelo, where he soon died (*ODCC*, p. 463). After examining his papers, the Inquisition declared him a heretic, and he was exhumed and burnt with all his books. All his works were placed on the *Index*. *DBI* 33, pp. 642-650: Silvano Cavazza.

130 This is an anagram for *Paolo Sarpi Veneto* (Bertelli, in *Opere di P.G.*, p. 541).

131 G. refers here to Sarpi's way of relating facts and interposing personal observations, the style evident in his *History of the Council of Trent* (*ibid.*, p. 542).

132 Johannes Sleidanus, Johann Philippson (1506-1556), historian of the Reformation in Germany; born in Sleidanus; he became a Protestant; he was commissioned to write the history of Protestantism in Germany. When war interrupted his work, he went to England where, through Thomas Cranmer, Edward VI gave him a stipend; he returned to Germany and represented some south German cities at the Council of Trent. As professor of Law at Strasbourg he completed his *De Statu Religionis et Republicae Carolo V Caesare Commentarii*, 2 vols (Strasbourg 1555); Eng. tr. by J. Daws, 1560, an important source for the many official documents which it contains (*NDB* 24, pp. 499-500).

133 *Commentari istorici: De statu religionis et republicae,...* (Strasbourg, 1555); republished many times. Italian edition: *Commentarii o' vero Historie... ne le quali si tratta de lo stato de la repub. e de la religione christiana*... (Basle 1557) (Bertelli, in *Opere di P.G.*, p. 542).

sentiments, therefore, it is sufficiently known that he corresponded with the most renowned men of letters, Lutheran and Calvinist,[134] of his time. He was a very close friend of Mr Bedel, an Englishman, who used to live in Venice[135] and held secret talks with him on the way to rid Venice of the many vain superstitions, and while retaining the main rites and the same outward forms of the Church, to separate from the communion of the Roman Church and unite in close confederation with the English, both the Republic with their King and the Venetian Church with the Anglican, removing it from all subjection to Rome and shaking off completely the papal yoke. Thus it is that the duke of Osuna,[136] viceroy of Naples, their enemy, used to say that he could not begin to know what religion the Venetians were. And if the court of Rome, foreseeing this split because of the constancy and strength of spirit shown on that occasion by the Venetians, had not yielded to Venice's claims in that trouble over the interdict of Paul V, separation would certainly have followed. The English king was fomenting it by promising the Venetians his alliance and every help and favour. As the pope, on the one hand, was driven by that fear, and the Republic, on the other hand, regarded the separation with little enthusiasm, they had the peace-treaty immediately concluded between them, and with it vanished all the negotiations of Fra Paolo, who almost accepted the pressing invitation of Mr Bedell and his other reformist friends to go with him to London and end his life there. Paolo, however, did not let himself be moved, and wisely decided to remain in his own country and die there. Such was Fra Paolo, to whom, moreover, the Venetians deservedly render those honours for his profound learning and integrity, and have for him that esteem and veneration which are truly his due. And years ago when his tomb was discovered and those friars testified that after a century they had found his corpse uncorrupted, it almost happened that, with the countless people who rushed to the grave, he was adored as a saint. And the saying is well worn among the

134 *Lettere ai protestanti*, ed. M.D. Busnelli, 2 vols (Bari, 1931) (*ibid.*).

135 William Bedell (1570-1642), English theologian. During his stay in Venice as chaplain of Sir Henry Wotton, he became friends with Paolo Sarpi and Marc' Antonio De Dominis in 1604. In 1627 he became archbishop of Kilmore and Ardagh. The Irish Rebellion interrupted his work of reconciling the Lutherans and the Calvinists. He refused to leave his home, where he gave shelter to unfortunates and was imprisoned for three weeks. The grief which he witnessed led directly to his death. Most of his manuscripts were lost in the troubles of Ireland. There remain his *Letters against James Wadesworth* (London 1624). As a classical scholar he was well versed also in Syriac, Hebrew and Arabic. He also wrote an English grammar for his Italian friends, and translated into Latin *Traité de l'Inquisition*. (*ODNB* 4, pp. 765-766).

136 Pedro Téllez-Giròn aj Guzmán, duke of Osuna (1574-1624), viceroy of Naples 1616-1620; implacable enemy of Venice. His statement was made in a letter to Paul V (Bertelli, in *Opere di P.G.*, p. 542). *Civil History*, bk 35, ch.4=Ogilvie, 2, p. 719.

Venetians that if Fra Paolo had had as a friend the court of Rome, he would certainly have been canonized a saint and now be adored on the altars. If then the Venetians have so much veneration for the works of their illustrious theologian, among which can be counted also the *History of the Council of Trent*, each one might now compare that history with mine and see if the State Inquisitors have as the motive of my banishment the fact that in it are taught maxims contrary to and destructive of the claimed Roman monarchy.

IX

The other claim, that by living in the home of a Venetian patrician I had often been seen associating with the ambassadors of France and Spain, is even vainer and more untenable. Before moving to the Pisani household, I did not frequent the homes of those gentlemen, but as a Neapolitan, on arrival in Venice with the intention of going to Naples, where I have my home, my brother who is a lawyer, and the greater part of my patrimony, reason prompted me to go to the ambassador of Spain and recommend to him myself, my brother and my interests in that kingdom, which had already passed under the dominion of the Infante of Spain. And all the other Neapolitans, who had come from the court of Vienna and stopped in Venice in order to go on to Naples, did the same. After encountering some obstacles to that, however, I received the invitation of Sig. Pisani who wanted me to stay in Venice at his home. When I moved there, I went to visit the ambassador of Spain no more than two or three times to show him the consideration and gratitude due to him for the great courtesy and affection which he had initially shown to me, not that I had to discuss any business except to recommend to him my interests in Naples. And in reference to the ambassador of France, I would also have been too discourteous and uncivil when we sometimes met at the convent of San Lorenzo to visit Signora Maria Riva, a lady adorned with so many beautiful gifts and rare qualities, and that very kind gentleman overwhelmed me with such honours and courtesies, had I not reciprocated with signs of veneration and respect for the esteem which in his goodness he had for me. And I would similarly have been discourteous and churlish if, on meeting his family and servants in Piazza San Marco, I had not continued to behave with them in that civil and urbane way proper and indispensable in human society. And although I was in the home of Sig. Pisani, I did not hold any post in the Republic, and he did not employ me in his service. I lived there as a foreign guest, welcomed by the kindness of that gentleman, who treated me with the esteem, distinction and cordiality customary between good and loyal friends. I would therefore have had to divest myself of humanity and be silent, and restrict myself to those scrupulous laws of having nothing to do with them; I would have had to be uncivil to those persons who, as I

was not of such obscure and unknown name (not that I deserved it but because they were attracted to my good, or be it bad, reputation); they had some respect for me and rendered me those honours which I could not have wished to be greater. One cannot begin to understand, moreover, such sensitivity and scrupulousness in the Inquisitors, when they permit the wives of the nobility and their close relatives to associate with the ambassadors, and in fact in close friendship and intimacy, and yet are so offended by such civil and urbane behaviour on my part towards them. Who are more closely united: a wife with her husband, a sister with her brother, a daughter with father, a niece with uncle, or I with Sig. Pisani, I being only a respected friend and foreign guest whom he in his goodness wished to take into his home?

X

The real and only reason for my misfortune remains nothing other, therefore, than the gratification of the Jesuits on the part of the State Inquisitors, and the regard which they wished to have at the court of Rome, to which they have claimed to sacrifice my person and my honour with such an infamous banishment. And that this was the case is made evident by the barbarous and inhuman manner with which it was done. If my stay in Venice had been suspect and troublesome to them, they well knew that I was lodged in the home of Sig. Pisani, a senator as venerated as he is well deserving of the Republic, that I had not come to Venice as a fugitive but after having lived for eleven years in Vienna as a pensioner of the emperor, as a consequence of the common fatal disaster of those kept at that Court on stipends based on the states and kingdoms of Italy. When those stipends were lost, hard necessity forced us to abandon Vienna and look elsewhere for a means of support. They well knew that I was not of such obscure name and rank, and knew with what esteem I had been welcomed and flattered by the Venetian nobility and all orders of the citizenry. They knew of the incessant persecutions which the court of Rome was inflicting on me by means of the Jesuits. All these reflections called at least for their treating me with a little fairness and discretion. It would have been enough for them to have prescribed the time within which it pleased them that I leave Venice and its dominions for their orders to have been exactly obeyed by me, since after all I had not gone there to stay for a long time. And if it had not been for the repeated invitations of Sig. Pisani to stay in his home, and the universal wish of the Venetian gentlemen to have me with them, to the extent of offering me a chair at the University of Padua, I would certainly not have stayed there a whole year uselessly and at my own expense, but would have gone elsewhere. And much more so because the damp, foggy climate of those lagoons and the oppressive winds which blow there were in no way good for my health, given that in such a brief time I fell ill three

times. And even though the tertian fevers which often assailed me gave me respite for long intervals, they never left me perfectly healthy or without fear of relapse. And if they had not wanted to treat me thus with fairness, at least they should have been moved by the venerable white hair of a senator, in whose home I was living, who was so well deserving of the Republic. And they should have been moved by his own merits and those of the Pisani family, which they well knew to be many and most noteworthy, to whom a single word would have been enough for them to be obeyed. There was no need for the Inquisitors to be so carried away by the evil and spiteful insinuations of the Jesuits, so that, to please them and make such a sacrifice to the court of Rome, they had to order an act so pitiless and barbarous that no similar example is to be found in other banishments carried out in former times. I was not banished, but kidnapped and stolen, and rapidly carried off and abandoned on the banks of a river in a hostile place. For me defenceless and alone, who had safely frequented the piazzas and public thoroughfares and been always to be seen by everyone, there was no need for ambushes and plots and bands of ruffians, as though they had to move against a criminal, a murderer, a cut-throat or a public thief. They wanted, however, the action to be dishonourable, unexpected, and sensational, and ordered that I be abandoned on the borders of the Papal State and no other, thus to render the deed more gratifying and soothing to the Jesuits and the court of Rome.[137] Was this, then, the Venetian loyalty practised by the Inquisitors on one who earlier had been so well regarded by the Venetian gentlemen and warmly welcomed and who had totally abandoned himself in their arms? And since the courtesy and kindness with which they welcomed me, and the respect which beyond my every merit they had for me were only too well known, when they now hear about such an ignominious banishment, everyone will certainly think that I had committed some grave, enormous crime, so that I had justly deserved it. They would all perhaps assume, in a city ruled by such a broad and numerous assembly of so many eminent and wise senators, that they also had had a part in it, not knowing that it was ordered solely on the whim of two or three, deceived by the cabal of the court of Rome and the evil insinuations of the Jesuits. For this reason, to vindicate my honour and reputation, which could perhaps have remained harmed and tainted among those who do not know the reason for the banishment on the perpetrators,

137 It was G.'s good fortune that the news of his expulsion, sent to the Inquisitor of Ferrara by Jacopo Oddi, the Venetian nuncio, arrived late 'when the historian had already taken refuge in the dukedom of Este' (Bertelli, in *Opere di P.G.*, p. 546). Modena was notified, but Father Martini, the Inquisitor there, who was told that G. may have been sheltered by Muratori, let too much time pass before acting on the information (Modena State Archives, *Archivio dell'Inquisizione*, b. 123: *ibid.*).

I am forced by hard necessity to manifest to the world the sorrowful history of this event with the real reasons whereby only three State Inquisitors of Venice were moved to order such a cruel and barbarous act. To obtain reparation for it, because I am so humble and low that I cannot hope to do so with human aid and earthly protection, of which I am destitute, I turn to that Supreme and Sovereign Lord, with whom all human inequality is equalized, and I place in his hands the outrage and offence. And I shall pray earnestly to him, from whom nothing is hidden, to whom are well known not only my words and deeds, but also my deepest thoughts, that he make that due reparation so proper to his immutable and eternal justice, and exact from the perpetrators and their advisers that retribution which his noble, potent and avenging hand is wont to practise against the unjust and violent oppressors of another's reputation, life, and honour.

XI

M(odena) 4 October 1735[138]

In reference to the incessant persecution of the court of Rome, they certainly do not seem unusual or new to me. Since my *Civil History* was published, it has sought only to ban and fight it. Under the pontificate of Innocent XIII it was banned by Rome's Congregation of the Holy Office. Benedict XIII, a Dominican friar, his successor, when excluding the books for which Rome dispenses permission [to read them], removed the *Ecclesiastical History* of Fr Noël Alexandre, a Dominican, which had been excluded by Clement XI, and substituted for it my *Civil History*, even though, throughout the whole of the pontificate of his predecessor, it was never excluded but only banned with the usual and ordinary formulae of any other book containing propositions which could not please the court of Rome. When six years had passed after the publication of my work in the same pontificate of Benedict XIII, who was almost always surrounded by friars and monks, among whom he had grown up, they, on finding in him sweet soil made malleable by them, proposed to him through Cardinal Pico della Mirandola a champion whom they considered able to reply to and refute my *Civil History*. And that person was Fr Sanfelice, a Jesuit. He scribbled off the two puerile volumes of the *Riflessioni morali e teologiche* (Moral and Theological Reflections), which were printed in Rome, although with the false place of publication of Cologne, and with what unfortunate results all who are learned will know. Cardinal

138 At this point in the original, amid flourishes of the pen, appears the note 'Modena 9 October 1735'. The following pages have been added after this date (*ibid.*, p. 547).

Albani[139] has for many years had a Franciscan[140] labouring to combat it, and although there was a rumour that Albani had had printed the first volume at his own expense in Urbino, it has not yet seen the light of day. In recent years a regular cleric of the Congregation of Lucca suddenly brought out some 'Annotazioni critiche' (Critical Notes) on the ninth book of the *Civil History of Naples*, and he received the reply which his pretentiousness and rodomontade deserved. This was as it should be and the right way to conduct a just and equal fight. I have written a history, and contrary to the custom of other historians, I have bothered to place in the margin the most serious authors and those as contemporary as possible with the events narrated.[141] Let the Jesuit or the Franciscan or the friar or monk come, and let them condemn it as wrong, malevolent, unfaithful, deceiving, distorting of facts, and guilty of making malicious observations. Although twelve years have passed, nothing worthwhile from them has appeared, but I nevertheless await it and shall wait as long as I live to reply to it. The wise and enlightened world will be the judge to decide which of us defends the wrong. And I shall not care if, as is their custom, they pour out insults, libel and contumely against the author, as did Fr Sanfelice. I shall condone everything and leave such things to those who are so good at them, because I do not intend to contend with anyone to show who seems better at condemnation or libel.

XII

In my case, however, the court of Rome does not much worry about replying to a book with other books and fighting with equal weapons. Leaving aside the book, it rages against me personally, persecuting me on all sides. And in a new way, because it cannot convict the *Civil History* of error or prove it wrong, it wants to fight and destroy the author. When I had recourse to Vienna under the great and powerful protection of His Majesty the emperor, to whom my *History* was dedicated, and I had been received with clemency and supported by his beneficent and Imperial hand during the pontificate of Benedict XIII, it is impossible to believe the evil arts adopted through Benedict's Curia, and the Jesuits, friars and monks who were always around the pope in order to discredit me in that Court and make me lose the emperor's favour. When they learned of the grant made to me of an annual stipend, they went so far as to have that simple and good pope send a letter to Vienna, written in his own hand, in which he marvelled how an Austrian prince so merciful and well

139 It was probably Annibale Albani (*ibid.*, p. 548).

140 These statements confirm that this last part of his account was written after his meeting with Muratori in Modena (*ibid.*).

141 As Bertelli observes, this is a precious reference, which those accusing G. of plagiarism did not ever take into account (*ibid.*, p. 549).

deserving of the Apostolic See could permit this impious and heretical man, namely me, to dwell in his Imperial residence, and, what is more, support me with a royal stipend. He exhorted him, therefore, to uproot from his land such a pestilential and poisonous plant, otherwise the scourges which the avenging hand of the Lord would hurl down on him and his kingdoms would soon be seen. The good fortune which saved me was not so much that in Vienna my books had become known, read and commended, and in them there had not been found what the court of Rome had given the simple and ignorant to understand, but rather that at the time it was learned that the pope was so willing and ready to write letters to everyone in his own hand; that in Benevento there could be read hundreds of them written even to deans, parish priests and comrades with whom, from the time when he was archbishop there, he had become friendly and affectionate. Under other pontiffs, who would not have been moved to have a letter written in the actual hand of the pope, when a pope is so reserved and lofty in that respect, that he does not deign, even in the briefs which he writes to princes, to let his own signature appear? For the many who had not read my books, the Italian Jesuits who were in Vienna, since the German ones did not give any ear to it, let circulate a certain Index, printed in Rome by Fr Sanfelice, in which could be read a thousand heretical and impious propositions, as though taken from my *History*. The evil deception, however, was immediately discovered, because in my *History* there could not be found even one of the heresies and impieties noted.

And as well as other things they went so far as to spread the idea that the lack of male offspring in the family of Austria resulted from the emperor's protecting me, a heretic and non-believer. They were quite undeterred by their previous vain and ridiculous prognostications with which they openly declared that, if Comacchio[142] had been returned to the Holy See, the empress would certainly have given birth to a male child. Everyone will be astonished and surprised to hear such arrogance and malevolence, and yet I relate true things which are well known and manifest to many people. What impious and perverse councils were not held after the grave loss of the kingdoms of Naples and Sicily due to the conquest, facilitated by Rome, of the Infante of Spain Don Carlos, when they heard that, because in Vienna I was lacking the necessary support, I was considering returning to Italy. The nuncio Passionei had first heard the news from others through the confidence which I had placed in a friend, who instead of helping me in a situation so unfortunate for me

142 Comacchio was occupied in 1768 by the Imperial troops of General Claude de Bonneval (who had been an important friend and patron of G. in his first months in Vienna).

and my finding in him some comfort, exaggerated to me the miseries and calamities, so that he not only advised me to leave as quickly as possible, but also immediately informed the nuncio. To distinguish himself at the Roman Court for such an important favour, Passionei informed Rome at once of the most minute details of the journey which I was shortly to undertake to Venice, in order then to go on to Naples. Before I had left Vienna, traps had begun to be set in Rome, therefore, with Monsignor Ratto, bishop of Cordoba, who was at that time minister of the king of Spain, and the count of Santo Stefano in Naples, chief minister of the Infante Don Carlos. Deceived by the malevolent and spiteful insinuations made to them about me personally, they wrote to the ambassador of Spain, resident in Venice, that I be refused a passport for Naples. And the count of Santo Stefano, not content with that, sent dispatches even to the commanders of the forts[143] on the borders of Abruzzo that they not permit me to enter the kingdom, even if I had a passport from some minister of Spain. And he openly declared that I not think of setting foot on the dominions of his sovereign, so that when I arrived in Venice and went to obtain a passport from the ambassador of Spain, he told me that, to his regret, he could not give it to me, because he had been forbidden by both ministers. I calmed myself and replied that someone did not want me in his house, and it was impertinent to enter it against the owners' wishes. I stayed therefore in Venice, believing that they would thereby be appeased and content. From the sorrowful story related above, however, it can be clearly seen that the hatred and malice have in no way abated, since Rome did not want me even in Venice, and would like me gone, not from Italy, but from this world.

XIII

What therefore is to be done? Can I contend with them in this kind of fight? No one in such a position of inequality has considered entering the field, and much less deluded himself with the thought of victory. For myself, I surrender, give up my arms and admit defeat. I do not, however, believe that this victory will bring much glory and cause for boasting, showing its power against a leaf carried off by the wind. Who has ever thought of struggling against its strength and powerful arm, or of being able to extricate himself from its fine nets and cabals and its cunning and deceitful tricks, or of escaping from the insidious and hidden machinations which it is accustomed to plot in the courts of the princes to ruin poor innocents? And it has been a long time since its hidden power was discovered, when in it were recognized all those marks which described that whore in the Apocalypse, who was often

143 It was in fact Marquis José Joaquim de Montealegre who had signed the dispatch (*ibid.*, p. 552).

seen to solicit princes. Dante well knew how it reveals its characteristics and ways.[144] It has, moreover, as many legions throughout the whole Roman Catholic world as there are countless religious orders of friars and monks. It has as many impregnable fortresses as there are numerous and virtually countless colleges of Jesuits; as many captains as there are metropolitans in their provinces and bishops in their monasteries, and as many good and courageous soldiers as are to be found in the infinite number of priests and clerics. And it has so many inexhaustibly prolific funds which enable it to give profuse and abundant rewards and stipends which few princes in the world can equal. Would it not therefore be folly to enter into conflict with it on such disproportionate and unequal terms? I surrender and leave the field, since I am not so weak-brained as not to realize my unfortunate circumstances and my few weak strengths.

It did not want me in Germany, does not want me in the kingdom of Naples or any of the dominions of that prince, does not want me in Venice or in any of the States of that Republic, and ultimately does not want me anywhere in Italy or Spain, in fact anywhere in its Roman world. What then is to be done? One must obey. Rome would like me to leave the world: *oportet e mundo exire* (you must leave the world), it cries at me with St Paul, and in this I cannot please it, because the life of men is in the hand of God. He is the sole Lord and owner of it and we are merely the beneficiaries. When it pleases him to take it from me, I shall willingly return it. And perhaps he will be pleased that I have not led a useless life in this world, not lived solely to fill the sack with food and leave here only dung. And I hope to pay my life back with interest, since I flatter myself that those talents, whether few or many, which in his infinite beneficence he has granted me, I have not employed badly. I have endeavoured to direct them all to the search for truth; that is, to the knowledge of God himself, which is the sole truth capable of illuminating all the world. I shall, therefore, obey in what I can. I shall leave the papal world and, among the lovers of truth and those informed of my so strange and unhappy vicissitudes, hope to find not only forgiveness but also pity and compassion when I recount them among the Swiss or in Holland or England. Not of my own free will have I decided on this, having intended to die where I was born, but hard necessity draws me wherever Rome by sheer force drives me, to escape from its cruel and incessant persecutions. Perhaps by living in such remote parts, where the anathema of the Vatican has no force, the field will be equal and one will

144 'The Evangelist had shepherds such as you in mind when she who sits upon the waters was observed by him to be a whore for kings' (*Inferno*, 19, 106-108), trans. Roderick Foster (see Acknowledgements).

> fight with equal strength and weapons. My weapons will not be bloody or mortal. They will not bring with them proscription, exile, prison, mutilation of limbs, ultimately flames, and fire. They will be peaceful and innocent: books, paper and words. Each one will be free to examine them, and if they fall short of what is true, just and honest, to reject them at will. Perhaps divine Providence will ordain that the writings on which I worked for almost the twelve years that I lived in Vienna (Rome having been unable to achieve anything else, always blocked my being employed in the public offices of the magistracies) will see the clear light of day in another clime, grow, become great and take wing everywhere. In them truths of great moment and importance are demonstrated, no less to Catholic princes to make them aware of Rome's many usurpations and attacks on their principates, by taking from them more than half of the imperium which God has granted them over those principates. They are demonstrated in order also that their subjects be released from the many hard chains in which vain superstition, the ambition of others, avarice and ostentation keep them wretchedly bound and fascinated. Those labours I had already destined to the moths and worms, because under Heaven and on Italian soil they would certainly not have been able to flourish. God will defend me and the sweat of my brow and labour, employed only in the investigation of truth, that is, the knowledge of God himself.[145] I shall worry little about others' traps, proscriptions and curses, provided that he protect and bless me, so that I may truthfully and safely repeat what King David used to say: *male dicent illi: et tu benedices*[146] (they may curse, but you bless).[147]

G.'s impassioned and moving detailed account (*raggualio*) of his expulsion from Venice remained unknown, because Pisani and Trivulzio advised him not to publish or circulate it.[148] Anne Denis in the illuminating essay accompanying her edition of a manuscript annotated by G. of his own account, found in the archives of the Budé family, surmises that G. may have intended to include it in the Fifth Volume of the *Civil History*, or to publish it separately. The few changes reveal signs

145 This passage is copied almost verbatim from a letter to Prince Trivulzio of 19 March 1736 (below, [49]). G. is referring to the *Triregno*.

146 Psalms 109, 28.

147 TAS, *Mss. Giannone*, with reference made also to the manuscript in Venice in the Biblioteca Correr, Prov. Diverse, 415, BXI; see Bertelli's notes in his edition in *Opere di PG*, pp. 507-556.

148 Pisani to G., Venice, 29 March 1736; Trivulzio to G., Venice, 5 January 1736: Chapter Ten: Appendix [49].

of haste, hence only a conjecture is possible.[149]

Its original title was *Querela di P.G., Giurisconsulto ed Avvocato Napoletano. Per l'improvviso e violento ratto praticato in Venezia nella di lui persona ad istanza de' Gesuiti e della Corte di Roma per cui fu barbaramente involato ed esposto sulla riva del fiume Po in paese nemico e quivi lasciato solo a perir di disaggio ovvero ad esser preda de' suoi fieri ed implacabili nemici* (Plaint of P.G., Neapolitan Juristconsult and Lawyer. Because of the Sudden and Violent Abduction in Venice of his Person at the Insistence of the Jesuits and the Court of Rome, by Which He was Barbarously Seized and Abandoned on the Shore of the Po River in a Hostile Place, and Left There Alone to Perish of Want or to Fall Prey to his Fierce and Implacable Enemies).

This was then emended to: *Ragguaglio dell'improvviso e violento ratto praticato in Venezia ad istigazioni de' Gesuiti e della Corte di Roma nella persona dell'Avvocato Pietro Giannone, il qual esposto alla riva del Po in paese deserto e nemico, fu quivi lasciato solo a perir di disaggio, ovvero ad esser preda de' suoi fieri ed implacabili nemici. Colle querele del medesimo contro gl'istigatori e coloro che 'l commandarono, ciecamente eseguendo i lor perversi ed iniqui consigli* (Account of the Sudden and Violent Abduction in Venice at the Instigation of the Jesuits and the Court of Rome of the Person of the Lawyer PG, Who Was Abandoned on the Shore of the Po in a Deserted and Hostile Place and Left There Alone to Perish of Want or Fall Prey to his Fierce and Implacable Enemies: His Grievances Against the Instigators and Those Who Ordered It, Who Blindly Carried Out their Perverse and Iniquitous Advice).

A complete copy was published by Pierantoni: *Lo sfratto di Pietro Giannone da Venezia* (Rome 1892). The manuscript he used was the 'mutilated' copy in Turin State Archives. It was missing a long passage which Benedetto Croce had taken from the Neapolitan copy and published in the *ASPN*, 15 (1890), 681-682. This 'was destroyed in 1943 in the pyre to which the retreating Germans condemned the most precious papers of Naples State Archives'.[150]

Other supplementary and illuminating official accounts of G.'s expulsion are here appended:

149 Denis, 'Un testo inedito di P.G.', *Archivio storico Italiano*, 153 (1995), 709-776, pp. 712-714.

150 Nicolini, *Scritti inediti*, p. 25.

Report of the Capitan Grande of 12 September 1735 (misdated 14 Sept.):

> In obedience of the orders always venerated of Your Excellencies to carry out the arrest of Pietro Gianon, who was living in the home of His Excellency Sig. Angelo Pisani at S. Angelo, I was able to have him arrested last night at 3 hours when he left the home of the lawyer Terzi, which is at S. Maria Zobenico.
>
> He left there with His Excellency Abate Conti, and they walked together as far as the church of S. Stefano, and after separating there, G went on towards S. Angelo. On his entering the Campo, I immediately had him seized and taken to my house. After that, at 7 hours, I consigned him in a *peotta* to Sig. Iseppo Bortoletti, a manservant of Your Excellency, precisely as you ordered, and they left immediately. And recommending myself to the noble patronage of Your Excellency, I humbly make reverence. Sebastiano Bonapace Capitan Grande.[151]

The manservant Giuseppe Bortoletti made the following report of 15 September 1735 to the State Inquisitors, in which no mention is made of G.'s books:

> I Giuseppe Bortoletti, manservant of the most illustrious and excellent Inquisitors of State, report that I have taken last night in the *peota* of Valerio Scarpa the person of Don Pietro Zanon [sic]. I accompanied him as far as Grespin, and when we landed, I ordered him never to return to Venice under pain of death; and under the same pain of death never to come to the State and the entire dominion of the most Serene Republic of Venice, under pain of public indignation.[152]

Report of the Inquisitors, 14 September 1735

> In reference to various reports of the scandalous conduct of Pietro Giannon, who has lived for some time in this city, although he was staying in the home of a Patrician subject and Senator, he often had dealings with persons of the Noble Court of the Ambassador of Spain. What, however, is more important is that he has been shown to be no lover of the government, as was observed also from his published works and his having openly given clear signs of unsound belief. As he had revealed himself to be, therefore, disaffected and dangerous to the State, His Excellencies have had him arrested by the Capitan Grande and taken to his residence for some hours. After his belongings were recovered, he

151 Venice State Archives, *Inquisitori di Stato*, *Riferte Capitan Grande*: *Giannoniana*, pp. 371-372.

152 Venice, Biblioteca Civica Correr: *Giannoniana*, pp. 378-379.

was embarked by the manservant Bortoleti [sic] with all his belongings in a *peota*, and taken to Crespino in Ferrara, and there ordered not to return to Venice or the State of Venice under pain of public indignation.[153]

Oddi to Firrao, Venice, 17 September 1735:

When I considered, after writing to Your Eminence in the last post on the Giannone affair, that the admonishments of Our Lord could perhaps arrive after the end of the current month, and that if ever the said Giannone had come to know anything of what was afoot, he could have brought to bear no small obstruction with the help of his patrons, whom he is not lacking, I decided to renew my pressure to have the State Inquisitors put into practice their excellent intentions, without waiting for new moves from there. Because of my representations, they were able to be assured of the intention and approbation of Our Lord. This gave rise to excellent results, because on Monday night going on Tuesday Giannone was arrested while returning to his place, and taken to the prisons, and all his writings were immediately taken from his house. On Tuesday night going on Wednesday he was placed in a *peota* and sent to the borders of the Venetian State near Ferrara, where he was released with orders never to return to this State. And I hear that in that action his writings were returned to him, although I do not know for certain. If I could have known of his departure at that time from this city, I would certainly have had him followed by someone who, on G.'s arrival in the province of Ferrara, would have ensured his capture. Since those gentlemen, however, proceed with much circumspection, not letting one so easily work out what they are about to do, I only learnt of his departure a day later, hence only this evening could I inform the cardinal legate of Ferrara [Agapito Mosca: Marini] to be on the alert should he still be in that Legation or other places in the pontifical State. It is very true that Marquis Bentivoglio came to know about it quite late on Wednesday. He assures me that he immediately advised the Fr Inquisitor of Ferrara by letter, since at that moment the post of that city was about to leave, and such news will be able to have arrived at the right time. That is what I must relate on that matter to Your Eminence.[154]

Letter of Pelleri, spy of the Piedmontese Government, reporting G.'s expulsion:

Last Tuesday at about three hours in the night the famous Giannone on his way home was taken prisoner after staying here for more than a year.

153 Inquisitor Alessandro Mocenigo V, Inquisitor Terigo Tiepolo, Inquisitor Zorzi Contarini (Venice State Archives, *Inquisitori di Stato*: *Giannoniana*, p. 372.

154 AAV, *Venezia:* Marini, *Mezzogiorno*, pp. 254, 297-298 (doc. 34).

> Your Excellency will know who he is; that he wrote a history of Naples and went off to Vienna. He was given a stipend by the Emperor, and as it was no longer paid, he returned here, where he was taken into the home of Senator Pisani, and was well served by everyone. I was assured that a sect had been discovered here of all classes, men and women, aristocrats. Three or four of the best men of letters of this city were named, whom I do not name, because I cannot believe that I have been properly informed. *Some say* that Giannone is the leader of it and that it is a matter of State. The said Giannone was taken to the home of the Barigello, where he remained until seven hours. He was then placed in a *peota* and taken out of the state, some say to Crespino in the State of Ferrara, and some say towards the borders of the Austrian coast [sic].[155]

[44]

The list compiled by G. of his books from Vienna and Venice in foglio:

NB. The books are listed here in revised modern bibliographical style, adding all details where possible. Thanks to Paul van Heck, we learn that some forty-four books did not reach Turin from Pisani in Venice (*Discorsi sopra gli Annali di Tito Livio*, 1. 31.75). They are marked with an asterisk. Many may have been deemed unsuitable for the prisoner—or too valuable—by Ormea and Charles Emanuel. They were confiscated and placed in the library of the University of Turin.

**Corpus iuris civilis*, ed. Jacques Godefroy [Leipzig 1720], vols 1 and 2.

*[Jean] Voet, *Commentarius ad Pandectas* [The Hague 1723], vols 1 and 2.

*[Gerhardt] Noodt, *Opera omnia* [Leiden 1724], vols 1 and 2 (reviewed by the *Acta eruditorum lipsiensium*, 1725; Ricuperati, *L'esperienza*, p. 297).

[Melchior] Goldast [von Heiminsfeld], *Collectio constitutionum et legum imperialium* [Frankfurt 1613], vol. 4, pt 2 (*ibid.*).

Idem, *Commentarii de regni Bohemiae... juribus ac privilegiis* [Frankfurt 1627/1719], vol. 1 and 2, part 1.

[Johann Peter] Ludewig, *Opuscula Miscella* [The Hague 1720], vols 1 and 2.

[Juan del] Sotomayor, *Index librorum* [*Novissimus librorum prohibitorum et expurgundorum Index pro Catholicis Hispaniarum Regnis Philippi IV* [Madrid 1640]]

[Zeger Bernard] van Espen, *Jus ecclesiasticum* [*universum* (Louvain 1700)], vols 1 and 2.

155 Gaja, *Il marchese d'Ormea*, p. 183; my italics.

[Carlo] Sigonio, *De antiquo jure populi romani* [Bologna 1574].

[Raphaele de Torre], *Tractatus de cambiis* [Frankfurt 1695] (cf. *Opere di PG*, the suggestions of Bertelli, p. 1158.1; Ricuperati, *L'esperienza*, p. 341).

*[Stefano di] Stefano, *La Ragion Pastorale* [Naples 1731], vols 1 and 2 (cf. Bertelli, p. 1158.1; Ricuperati, *L'esperienza*, p. 341).

*[Gregorio] Grimaldi, *Dell'istoria delle leggi* [*e magistrati del Regno di Napoli*] [Lucca 1731], vols 1 and 2.

[Johann Christian] Lünig, *Codex diplomaticus Italiae* [Frankfurt and Leipzig 1725-1735], vols 1, 2 and 3.

*Marquard Freher, *Germanicarum rerum scriptores cum Struvio*, 3 vols [Strasburg] 1717.

[Matteo] Egizio, *de Baccanalibus* [Naples 1728] (reviewed by the *Acta* in 1730, pp. 407ff.; Ricuperati, *L'esperienza*, p. 325).

Vincenzo Coronelli, *Icones.*

Volumina manuscripta, 1 and 2.

([Michael] Etmüller, *Opera omnia*, ed. [Nicola] Cirillo, 5 vols [Naples 1728] (reviewed in the *Acta*, 1731, p. 229ff.; Ricuperati, *L'esperienza*, p. 334).

*Sextus Empiricus [*Outlines and Pyrrhonism*, *Against the professors*], Graeca/ Lat. (ed. Fabricius, Leipzig 1718?).

*Diodorus Siculus, [*Library of History*], Graeca/ Lat., ed. [Lorenz] Rhodomann [Hanau 1604].

*[Hyacinth Serry], *Historia congregationis de auxiliis* [Louvain 1700].

Istoria civile del Regno di Napoli, translated into English by James Ogilvie [London 1729].

Augustine, *Epistolae ad Optatum Milevitanum.*

Descrizione de' Dicasteri di Vienna, in manuscript.

Professione di fede, in manuscript.

Dei veri titoli della Monarchia, in manuscript.

[Augustin] Calmet, *Dictionarium storicum Latinum* [Lucca 1725].

Books in quarto

Dizionario di quattro lingue, ital., franc., tedesco, lat., vols 1 and 2.

*[Giulio Niccolo Torno?], *Scritture per la causa della Certosa di S. Martino* [Naples], 2 vols.

*[Costantino] Grimaldi, *Lettere apologetiche* [*Discussioni teologiche, storiche e filosofiche fatte per occasione delle risposte alle*] *lettere apologetiche* [*di Benedetto Alettino*], 3 vols [Lucca (Naples) 1725].

Simon Hank, *Historia di Germania* [sic], vol. 2, pt 4.

*[Anon.] *De Jure Augusti in Parmae et Placentiae Ducatum Dissertationes* [Amsterdam 1710].

Fra' Paolo [Sarpi], *Trattati*, 2 vols.

[Giuseppe] Gennaro, *Resp(ublica) Jurisconsultorum* [Leipzig 1734].

[Edmond] Merille, *Opere* [Naples 1720], vols 1 and 2.

[Johann Peter] Ludewig, *Vita Justiniani* [*atque Theodorae Augustorum, necnon Triboniani*, The Hague 1731].

Istoria civile del Regno di Napoli, large format; the same in small format, 4 vols.

*[Louis Ellies] Dupin, *Bibliothèque* [*universelle des historiens, contenant leurs vies, l'abrégé, la chronologie, la géographie et la critique de leurs histories, un jugement sur leur style et leur charactère* [Amsterdam 1708].

Cornelis van Bynkershoek, *Opuscula*, 2 vols [Lyon 1719].

Istoria sui libri delle Riflessioni morali.

Hexaples [*Bible in Six Languages*], vol. 6, pt 7.

[Eusèbe] Renaudot, *Liturgiarum Orientalium* [*Collectio*, Paris 1716], vols 1 and 2.

*[Costantino] Grimaldi, *Raccolta* for Joaquin Fernandez Portocarrero, Marquis Almenara y Palma.

[Giuseppe] Santefelice, [*Riflessioni morali e teologiche sopra l'Istoria civile del regno di Napoli, esposte al pubblico in più lettere familiari...*], 2 vols [Cologne (Rome) 1728].

[Burchard Gotthelf] Struve, *Syntagma* [*iuris publici imperii nostri Romano*]-*Germanici*, 2 vols [Jena 1711].

Idem, *Syntagma historiae germanicae* [*a prima gentis origine*], 3 vols [Jena 1716].

[Salomon] Deyling, *Observationes sacrae* [Leipzig 1708-1715], 2 vols.

[Francesco] Solanes, *Institutiones Civile* [Vienna 1730].

[Joseph] Bingham, [*Origines sive*] *antiquitates ecclesiasticae*, 10 vols [The Hague 1724-1729].

[Friedrich Otto] Mencke, *De vita* [*moribus, scriptis meritisque Hieronimi*] *Fracastorii* [Leipzig 1731] (reviewed in the *Acta* 1731, p.198; Ricuperati, *L'esperienza*, 2nd ed., 316.103).

[Zeger Bernard] van Espen, *De placito regio* [Louvain 1711?]

Idem, *De recursu ad principem* [Brussels 1725?].

(Costantino Grimaldi, *Raccolta* for Marquis Almenara [see above] 4 copies).

Text for the Archbishopric of Benevento ('Ragioni per le quali si dimostra che

l'archivescovado beneventano, non ostante che il dominio temporale della città di Benevento fosse passato a' Romani Pontifici, sia compreso nella grazia conceduta da Sua Maestà Cesarea e Cattolica a' nazionali e sottoposto al regio exequatur, come tutti gli altri arcivescovadi del regno', Vienna 1731).

[Innocent] Ciron, [*Observationum* in] ius *canonicum* [*libri quinque*, in Cironii, *Opera in ius canonicum* (Toulouse 1645)].

[Alessio] Mazzochi, *Amphit*[*eatrum*] *Capuae* [in *Campani Amphiteatri titulum commentarius Naples 1727*].

*[Ezechiel] Spanheim, *Orbis romanus* [*seu ad constitutionem Antonin Imperatoris... exercitiones duae* (The Hague and Leipzig 1728)].

[Anton] Matthäus [*Commentarius ad lib. XLVII et XLVIII Dig.*] *de criminibus* [Amsterdam 1661].

*Domenico Aulisio, *Delle scuole sacre* [published by his heir and nephew Nicolò Ferrara-Aulisio, 2 vols, Naples 1723].

[Johann Heinrich] Schultz, *Historia Medicinae* [Leipzig 1728] (reviewed in the *Acta*, 1729, p. 258; Ricuperati, *L'esperienza*, p. 322).

Dizionario spagnolo-inglese, 2 vols.

Riporto 70

[Giovanni Battista] Capasso, *Historiae philosophicae* [*sinopsis*, Naples 1728] (reviewed in the *Acta*, 1730, p. 217; Ricuperati, *L'esperienza*, p. 326).

*[Johann Georg] Reinhard, [*Meditationes*] *de iure principum* [*Germaniae cum primis Saxoniae, circa sacra ante tempora reformationis exercito* (The Hague 1717)].

Matthaei, *De criminibus* (see above Anton Matthäus).

[Francesco Antonio?] Spada, *Comp. Histor.*, 3 vols.

Bernard Pez, *Acta S. Trutperti Martyris* [Vienna 1731].

(Homer translated into Neapolitan [by Nicola Capasso]).

**Riflessioni di F.M. Spinelli, principe della Scalea... contro* [*Paolo Maria*] *Doria* [Naples 1733] (reviewed in the *Acta*, 1735, pp. 71-80; Ricuperati, *L'esperienza*, p. 341).

[Friedrich Otto] Mencken, *Historia vitae* [*et in literas meritorum*] *Angeli Politiani* [*ortu Ambrogini* (Leipzig 1736)].

In small quarto

Vita venerabilis Agnetii Blannbekin... [ed. B. Pezius (Bernhard Pez), Vienna 1731].

Francisci Caesaris, *Eugenius* [*seu Mariae Verginis per Eugenium trophae*, Naples 1724]

[Friedrich von Berger], *Vindicatio juris imperialis in Tusciae Ducatum* [n.p., 1723].

*[Vincenzo] Cartari, *Imagini de glie Dei* [Venice 1624].

Samuel Bochart, [*Geographia sacra*], *Phaleg et Chanaan* [Caen 1646].

François Baudouin, *Constantinus et ad Psichea Veterum Principum* [Leipzig 1727].

[Miguel de Cervantes], *Don Quijote*, in Spanish, 2 vols.

idem in Italian [*Don Chisciotte della Mancia*, Rome 1677, translator L. Franciosini]. This was the edition read and quoted by G. (Bertelli, *Opere*, 869.1).

[Jean] Voet, *De iure militari* [*liber singolaris*, Utrecht 1670].

Jean Sleidan (Johann Philippson), *De statu religionis et rei-publicae...* [*Commentarii*, Strasburg 1555].

Federico Valignani, Marquis di Cepagatti, *Chieti Centuria* [*di sonnetti istorici*. Naples 1729] (3 copies).

*Hendrik Brenkmann, *Historia pandectarum* [Utrecht on the Rhine, 1722].

Anton van Dale, [*Dissertationes*] *de origine* [*et progressu*] *idolatriae* [*et superstitionum*], 2 vols [Amsterdam 1696].

René Des Cartes, *Opere Omnia*, 8 vols.

(Duca [Annibale] Marchese, *Tragedie*, vols 1 and 2).

[Guido] Panciroli, *De claris legum interpretibus* [ed. Gottfried Hoffmann, Leipzig 1721].

[Francesco] Rapolla, *De Jurisconsulto* [Naples 1725].

Jacques Labitte, *Index Legum* [*omnium in pandectis continentur*, Paris 1557; Leiden 1674].

([Fr Sebastiano] Pauli, *Annotazioni critiche*, with replies, 2 copies).

[Filippo de] Angelis, *Rime* [Naples 1698].

Introduction all'Histoire universelle [*Cologne 1681*]; *Historie Universelle* [The Hague 1731?] (there is a copy in the Vatican Library).

*Joseph Scaliger, *de Vetustate* [*et Splendore*] *Gentis Scaligerae* [Leiden 1591].

*[Johann de] Berger, *De Imperio Maris Adriatici* [Leipzig 1723].

[Joachim] Mijnsinger, *Observationes Camerae Imperialis* [Helmstadt 1599].

Books in octavo

Marquis de Ceppagati, *Chieti Centuria* (as above) well bound.

*[Nicholas Amelot de la Houssaye], *Historia del Governo di Venezia* [Cologne 1681].

*Reply to the letters of Gravina.

[François Hofman], *Fulmen Brutum* [*P. Sixti V in Henricum*, Rome 1585].

*Filippo Monteay, *Trattato della Chiesa* [Philippe de Mornay, *Traité de l'eglise*].

Siegmund Liebe, [*Prodromi reformationis pia memoria recolendae, sive*] *Nummi Ludovici XII* [*Regis Gallorum epigraphe*] *'Perdam* [*Babylonis Nomen' vel perdam Babylonem Insignes illustrati et inprimis contra J. Harduinum Defensi a Christiano Sigismundo Liebe*, Leipzig 1717].

Thomas Browne, *De Religione medici* [translated into Latin by J. Merryweather, Lyon 1644].

Statuta Civilia Januensium [*Statutorum civilium serenissimae reipublicae Genuensis, libri sex*, Genova 1663]

(Various Tuscan Comedies)

[Burckard Gotthelf] Struve, *Bibliotheca iuris selecta* [Jena 1710].

Schematismo dell'A. 1731.

Giulio Cesare Cortese, *Opere* [Naples 1666].

Thierry [Jean-Baptiste Thiers], *De Festorum Immutione* [*liber, pro defensione constitutionum Urbani VIII et Gallicanae ecclesiae pontificum,* Lyons 1668].

*[Marie Huber], *Le Système sur l'Etat des Ames séparées des Corps* [2nd ed., Amsterdam 1733] (not even the Bibliothèque Nationale possesses the first edition).

[Johannes Christoph] Franck, *Institutiones iuris Cambialis* [Jena 1737].

Unbound books

*[Friedrich] Mencken, *De vita,* [*moribus, scriptis meritisque H.*] *Francastori* (as above) (3 copies) [Leipzig 1731].

*Domenico Aulisio, *Scuole Sacre* (as above) (2 copies).

*[Costantino] Grimaldi, *Lettere Apologetiche* (as above).

Various allegations of cases, and two texts in manuscript for 'La M(onarchia) di Sicilia' (TAS, *Mss. Giannone*, mazzo 5, ins. 12; Ricuperati, *Carte torinesi*, 81; *Giannoniana*, 474-77).

Not included in the above list are the following, always recorded in G.'s writings:

Natalis Alexandri [Alexandre, Noel], *Historia ecclesiastica*, 8 vols, fol. [Paris, 1714].

Dizionario spagnolo-italiano.

Risposta al [*Ottavio*] *Vitagliano intorno alla Fondazione del nuovo Collegio de' Gesuiti*.

[49]

Letters written to G. from friends in Venice:

Venice, 21 September 1735:

Your misfortune originates truly from the court of Rome, unfortunately carried out so that you do not know who ordered it. And it has been claimed by the Jesuits, in this universal ignorance, that you, from your work, are an atheist who defames the republic of the pope, the saints, etc. If things were repeated, it would not happen again, because wise and enlightened men are so incensed about your case that, certainly, as I told you, it would not happen again. And I return to telling you that among the wise you are much pitied.[156]

Nicolini found the letter among Pierantoni's unpublished material and quotes part of it in his edition of the *Vita*, p. 343; Bertelli quotes the beginning and end of the letter from the Biblioteca Civica Correr in Venice, *Prov. Diverse*: *Giannoniana*, p. 379.

Venice, 24 September 1735:

The morning of your misfortune which, may I say, was a misfortune for all your friends, I went to visit the ambassador of Spain as usual. When I reported to him the bewildering unforeseen business, and the false reason for it which has been circulated, of your having frequented his house, he replied that when you were in Venice, he could hardly count eight times that you visited him; but that this could have been a pretext to provoke what was done, and he suspected that everything could have come from your great adversaries. I assure you that the said gentleman expressed great resentment at this blow plotted against you, and great compassion for you. And I heard from his court that in the evening at home he declared that, if he could have been of service to you with letters of commendation, he would gladly have done so. The ambassador of France is equally sorry about what has happened, and no less is Lady Riva, whose health has improved, who pays her respects to you.[157]

Venice, 30 September 1735:

From my letter you will have understood the reason for your departure, and now they add as a pretext your association with the ambassadors of

156 Senator N.N. (that is, anonymous): Pierantoni, preface to his edition of the *Ragguaglio, lo Sfratto* (Rome 1892).

157 *Giannoniana*, p. 380.

> Spain and France, closely observed by the ecclesiastics and in particular the Jesuits. They had watchful eyes kept on you for everything and on all your movements, and constantly invented slanderous reports of your having published or said things which you have never dreamt of writing about or expressing. As they are quite offended, however, by your essay, which has circulated so widely, against Sanfelice, and then having been informed that very soon you were able to reprint your *History* here with the additions and illustrations which are truly good, and sufficient to expose ['far mentire'][158] your sad rogues, they have had a hand in the blackest plots to make the harsh business succeed. There is no longer much talk of it here, and the bitter decision, as I feel it has been judged, has not been approved by good men in the government, a feeling which is also very widespread in a different class of people who are reasonable and have some consideration for your welfare.[159]

Nicolini assumes the correspondent to be Angelo Pisani.

Apostolo Zeno to Fontanini, bishop of Ancira, Venice, 24 September 1735:

> The expulsion by this most prudent government last week of the lawyer Pietro Giannone has been such a stormy matter, and it is not hard to imagine how you came to hear about it. Decent people here all exult and his admirers and supporters are bewildered and disconsolate. There are not a few of them and they are not of the lowest rank. With this incident there are whispers about others who profess modern opinions and new philosophies, which are all dangerous. You know better than I without my having to add anything more.[160]

Bertelli excuses the sentiments of G.'s erstwhile friend in Vienna, observing that the addressee is an archbishop, and that in a letter of Zeno to his brother Pier Catterino of 1 February 1727 (4, pp. 168-69), he acknowledges his own attachment to the *Civil History* ('Appunti e osservazioni', p. 219).

Prince Trivulzio to G., 1 October 1735:

> ...You are advised that it is absolutely no good to remain in the air of Milan, and certainly I would stay there only the few hours which it takes to pass through or I would go via Bergamo to Valtellina. At that place there is a family by the name of Pallavicino, and a certain Abate

158 *Vita,* ed. Nicolini, p. 343.
159 *Ibid.*: *Giannoniana*, pp. 379-380.
160 *Lettere di Apostolo Zeno*, 5, pp. 151-152; Bertelli, 'Appunti e osservazioni', p. 218.

Pierantonio Pallavicino, to whom it will be enough to speak of the Ponte di Noale [sic]. I will write to him, and he will help with the many things necessary in the present circumstances.

I am a friend of my friends, and shall be thus in deed and in word, and I advise you to remain quiet with the pen and let time pass. Understand that now one must be silent and put oneself in a safe place, and then we shall talk. And if you were to go to Bergamo, you could look up a certain Antonio Nava, head of the Post there, an honoured Milanese, who will be advised that in eight days, when Sig. Antonio Rinaldi [that is, G.] will pass through there, he will stop with him, and Sig. Nava will direct him, give him news, and send him safely to Morbegno. I assure you that he will guarantee the arrival of all the writings, and anything which you consign to him through me, and beyond that, I shall tell you subsequently what you should do. And I repeat that there [in Milan] you are not safe and should leave as soon as you can. On Saturday week that servant of yours will certainly be in Bergamo, who at my place told you that it was time to think about certain gentlemen.

Good-bye dear friend, be sure that I shall do more than what I say, and do continue also to write to Venice, because after my two weeks' absence I shall find your letters safe. I embrace you and remain...

P.S. The air of Milan is more dangerous than you can imagine, and I know what I am talking about. And if you decide to go there solely for a few hours to pass on to Morbegno, seek out Torri, who will be there on Saturday or Sunday evening, without fail at my home. And he is the one who in Bergamo will speak of you under the assumed name of Nava. To either Nava in Bergamo or Torri in Milan you can hand over what you want sealed, which will come to me safely, and I give you my opinion as a true friend. Now, however, the pen must remain quiet, and it is time to let sleeping dogs lie.

Write to me in Venice about what you decide, so that on my return in two weeks I shall know. And in the meantime, understand that there will be someone here who can safely take my letters. Goodbye with all my heart. I am and shall be completely yours.[161]

Prince Trivulzio to G., 5 January 1736:

Dear friend Rinaldo, I have not written, but I have acted in everything and for everything, and without chatter I serve friends without taking any credit for it. And I do not want to send you mad with a thousand courses of action. It is thus enough to tell you that for my part nothing which reveals heart and affection will be neglected.. I am in touch with Sig. Angelo Pisani, and we shall do what we can. As soon as possible,

161 Trivulzio, unsigned: Florence, Bibl. Naz., *Magliabechiano*; *Giannoniana*, pp. 525-526.

you will be advised.

The letter for Riva [G.'s friend in the convent, the mistress of the French ambassador] is useless, because the ambassador [Marquis de Froullay] no longer goes there, and you will already know the well-known and public reasons. If I can, I shall myself obtain the letter from the ambassador, but I think it better that you personally be recommended by others in this matter; hence I am writing to Canari and my wife about what is necessary.

In reference to that essay [the *Sfratto*, above (40)] which you entrusted to me, I tell you that it would be a blunder to publish it, as it is written at a time when anger has obscured understanding. You have not spoken well of evil, and then there are errors of fact which would not do you credit. Rely on me, set yourself up there and forget this sky and clime, and let it be understood that you scorn small matters and are above them.

Your manuscript of the Fifth Volume will at this moment be sealed in Canari's possession, and I have acted with heart and with caution.

Tell me about how things are. Here we are in the dark, and dense fog prevents our seeing. Be convinced, however, that I shall be eternally your true friend, and I desire opportunities to be able to convince you of such a truth. Goodbye.[162]

Prince Trivulzio to G., 9 February 1736:

Dear Sig. Antonio Rinaldi. I received your letter of... last month. I am not prompt in writing because, being overwhelmed by an enormous amount of work, I am not always allowed to think of serving my friends. May it give you peace and quiet and rest if I repeat that I do more than what I tell you. I know Sig. Angelo Pisani and know also the soul of these saintly noblemen. I know how they are made. As you will have seen, one does not sleep and one does not make a false step: the large volume in manuscript is already safely in Canari's possession, as you know, and it took all my cunning to have it so, and to send it safely. I also have other texts in my possession, which I shall risk only when there is a safe opportunity. I shall take steps to do more, but do not accuse me of lethargy, because, being a simpleton, I want to serve you safely, and do not want to risk anything which may worry you. My sojourn will not be long in the slimy, humid lagoons. All that you send into my hands, however, will be safer than in those of the Roman Pontifex.

In me you have a friend who unreservedly and irrespective of who has spoken, speaks, and shall speak, of you as you deserve, and I knew how to arouse the compassion of all those capable of it, and have always

162 Letter of Trivulzio signed 'Notamanus, seu Cipolla de Cantellis': *Giannoniana*, p. 527.

kept the ambassadors of France [de Froullay] and Spain [Fuenclara] well-disposed to you and commiserating with you in your persecution. When they can do something for you, they will do everything, and nothing can happen in Naples to your brothers and your family, even if you became a Lutheran of the tenth degree.

I am glad that not only do you persist in the Catholic faith, but also make public testimony of it, and I shall announce everywhere that you are more Catholic than a cardinal. Think of your own interests and make money in any way, because there is a scarcity of it everywhere, and let time take its course. We are not dead yet, and again, when circumstances change, your friends will be able to help you and place you in some fish-pond, and I shall do what is humanly possible for you. I want you, however, to be quiet, and resolute in keeping the greater part of Europe in your favour...[163]

[45]

Attempts to trace G., and arrest him (September-October 1735).

The Inquisitor of Ferrara did not know whether or not G. had arrived. He was not given a description of G., even though he immediately sent two squads of *sbirri* to arrest him and had to send for the description from the Vicario of Venice:

Domenico Andrea Cortini to the Holy Office, Ferrara, 17 September 1735:

Marquis Luigi Bentivoglio, who for thirty-seven years has been the canonist consultor of this Holy Office, advises me from Venice with the enclosed letter of the fourteenth of this month that Pietro Giannone has been arrested there by order of the most excellent State Inquisitors, and that it could be that he has been sent out of the state and might disembark at Crespino or Ponte di Lago Scuro. This news has arrived here quite unexpectedly, because the cavaliere does not know me and does not know the orders which I have from Your Eminences. In any case, I am assured that the signature of the letter is in the hand of the said cavaliere. In accordance with the supreme orders of Your Eminences communicated to me on 15 September last year, I have thought fit to implement them, and sent immediately a squad of *sbirri* [police] to Crespino and another to Ponte di Lago Scuro, places mentioned by the cavaliere. They have orders to arrest the said Giannone if he happens to disembark in those places, and not to leave from there without my advice, in the hope that

163 Trivulzio, signed 'Cipolla de Cautellis' to G.: *Giannoniana*, pp. 528-529.

on Monday the cavaliere will give me some new report. The cost will certainly be considerable, because it will probably be necessary to have the squads stay there for many days, not knowing for certain whether he will actually be conveyed out of the state or when it will happen. I would nevertheless be glad to think that my attending to these orders will not meet with the disapproval of Your Eminences, since they conform with your solicitude for the imprisonment of that individual. In any case I shall await the supreme orders of Your Eminences.[164]

The Inquisitor of Ferrara to Fr Martino of the Holy Office of Modena, 30 September 1735:

Until 15 September of next year the Sacred Congregation of Rome's Holy Office ordered me to have the Neapolitan Pietro Giannone imprisoned, signifying that I make every effort in a matter which demands such urgency.

I have now made every effort possible after having received news from Venice that the said Giannone had been arrested there by the order of the State Inquisitors and accompanied as far as the borders of the state. While that does not happen to be under my jurisdiction, I have learnt that he has gone to this city of Modena, and I therefore send to you, Reverend Father, this my personal description of him, in order that you might kindly use all imaginable diligence to find him. If you do find him, I request to have him imprisoned. This is a matter of great urgency, not only to the Sacred Congregation but also to Our Lord, who with a letter of the secretariat of state, has given the task also to this most Eminent legate. I have sent a courier there on his advice, who will continue his journey to Milan, and a letter to this effect will be sent to all the Inquisitors.[165]

Description of G. sent to Fr Vincenzo Martini of the Sant'Uffizio at Modena by the priest Tommaso Mannelli, writing from Venice, 5 October 1735:

Pietro Giannone is a man of around sixty years of age, of rather small build and rather broad shoulders. Olive-skinned, with bushy grey eyebrows, thick lips and light-coloured eyes. He wears a blond wig, sometimes tied back, and sometimes *au Dauphin*, and white or black clothes. He carries a sword, and an Indian cane. He sometimes wears a very long scarlet cloak and square-toed shoes. He walks slowly wrapped in thought and speaks Neapolitan, which he is.[166]

164 BAV, *Rossiano 1180*: Marini, *Mezzogiorno*, pp. 257, 298-299 (doc. 35).

165 *Lettere delle S. Congregazione*, Rome, *Filza* 123: *Giannoniana*, pp. 551-552.

166 Modena State Archives, *Papers of the Inquisition, 1726-1735*; quoted by Giulio Bertoni,

News of G. was sent to the Inquisitors of Como, Novara, Parma, Piacenza, Modena, Reggio, Genoa, Florence, Pisa, and Mantua. The Holy Office ordered also that the nuncios of France, Cologne and Switzerland be informed of G.'s bad character and errors against religion, 'so that if he cannot be arrested, at least he can be driven from the places where he tries to take refuge'.[167]

Cardinal Pietro Ottoboni to Fr Martini, Rome, 5 October 1735:

> Reverend Father, from the Venetian State has been expelled Pietro Giannone, who is notorious for his impiety, both in his writings and in the books written and printed by him, which are full of schismatic clauses, injurious to the Church and *verging on heresy*, and condemned as such. As it is foreseen that he may betake himself to that city, my most eminent and illustrious fellow-Inquisitors General order that Your Reverence make every effort possible to imprison him in the prisons of the Holy Office. If necessary, you can be in touch with the Father Inquisitor of Venice about a description of his person. And God preserve you.[168]

Firrao, secretary of state, wrote to the cardinal legate in Ferrara, Agapito Mosca:

> It will be a sign that the Lord God still wishes to have mercy on the soul of this man [G.], if such efforts [to arrest him] turn out to be fruitful.[169]

Efforts to hunt down G. continued from October to December 1735. G. remained in Modena until 29 October 1735, but completely eluded the Inquisitor there. As late as 9 December 1735, that Inquisitor wrote to Rome of his intention to arrest him if he were to come![170]

The Inquisitor of Ferrara wrote *to Fr Martini of the Holy Office of Modena, 12 October 1735* an extraordinary letter:

> I am at Crespino on holidays. Here on 11 October I received your most esteemed letter of 5 October, and I reply that the well-known personage

'P.G. e Ludovico Antonio Muratori', in *GSLI*, 88 (1926), 356-359, p. 358.

167 Assessor of the Holy Office to Firrao, 9 December 1735: Marini, *Mezzogiorno*, p. 300 (doc. 38).

168 Modena State Archives, *Lettere della S. Congregazione, Rome*: *Giannoniana*, p. 553; my italics.

169 Rome, 8 October 1735: AAV, *Ferrara* 280: Marini, *Mezzogiorno*, pp. 258, 299 (doc. 36).

170 Vincenzo Martini, Modena, to the Holy Office: BAV, *Rossiano 1180*: Marini, *Mezzogiorno*, p. 259.

> has been there for no short time at the home of Dr Muratori. If he is gone by the time my letter arrives, we must be patient. It will be well, however, to continue your diligence. In haste, I remain...[171]

And an anonymous correspondent wrote to the Inquisitor General of Modena on 19 October 1735:

> I assume that Your most Reverend Paternity will have received the order to arrest the famous Pietro Giannone if he happens to arrive under your jurisdiction. I have now had acknowledgement that, after being sent away from Venice, he disembarked at Crespino, and went directly there and was received by Sig. Muratori; and that he may still remain there in some villa, waiting to be sent aid. I give Your most Reverend Paternity, therefore, news of him, and I think that Muratori is a priest and librarian to His Majesty. For my consolation, if you have any news, please let me know.[172]

[61]

Fears of G.'s reception by Savoy.

Albani to Ormea, 15 October 1735:

> Most illustrious and excellent Sir. The famous Pietro Giannone has been driven out of the Dominions of the Republic of Venice. There Ministers of Our Holiness hope that His Majesty will do the same, if ever he were to take refuge in his Dominions. They hope that his religious piety will not give shelter to a man so odious with false doctrine, of which he has made rash and insolent display in his three publications so prejudicial and replete with such black poison.[173]

In reply to dispatches of 8, 15 and 22 October 1735, Ormea gave an undertaking to Albani not to allow G. to remain in Milan:

Ormea to Albani, 1 November 1735:

> As soon as the famous Giannone arrived in Venice, shortly after the declaration of the present war, he immediately offered his services to His Majesty, and his proposal was rejected on the spot. I do not believe that he

171 *Ibid.*
172 *Ibid.*
173 TAS, Archivio di Corte, *Materie ecclesiastiche*; 'Relazione delle negoziazioni colla corte di Roma nel pontificato di Clemente XII' (compiled by order of Ormea), p, 179; Ricuperati, *Piemonte sabaudo*, p. 492; Occella, 'Ultimi dodici anni' pp. 505-506.

is about to come again, but in that case, Your Eminence may assure those ministers of His Holiness, that if ever he does come, he will certainly not be permitted as long a sojourn as he had in the Venetian dominion, and that similar contempt is unacceptable to the magnanimous and pious heart of His Majesty.[174]

[65]

G. offers his services to Savoy.

G. to Ormea, 18 November 1735:

Most Excellent Sir. At the same time as I dutifully inform Your Excellency of my arrival in this city of Milan, I earnestly ask that you deign to forward my devoted and reverend offices in more elevated and sovereign parts to the Majesty of a King so wise and glorious. The fortunate opportunity is thus presented of expressing to Your Excellency with manifest and clear signs that devotion and homage which I have kept hidden within for a long time, from when the fame of your great prudence, learning, and wise conduct in the civic affairs of the kingdom and extensive states of His Majesty came to my ears. I therefore have always admired the marked favour and special beneficence of the Divine Majesty in having joined with such a great and valorous prince, a minister so wise and prudent, whence is necessarily derived that felicity felt by the people who have the good fortune to be subjects of his equable and just rule. I would therefore consider it also my felicity if ever I were to have the honour, by serving him, of meriting his most gracious favour...

On arriving in Milan, and being admitted through Princess Trivulzio, my singular patroness, into the presence of Marquis Olivazzi, the Grand Chancellor, I was able to present myself to him, and he received me with great courtesy and kindness. To him I revealed my ardent desire, if ever I obtained this favour, for me a most signal one, of serving under the glorious insignia of such a wise and valorous King. And although my presumption is too great, I would also dare state that such a magnanimous and great hero would perhaps not lack his Procopius to consecrate his noble and marvelous deeds hitherto striven for to eternity. There would also be those greater deeds which may be predicted in the future from his valour and courage, worthy of lucid history and immortal remembrance, no less than those which Procopius had to compose of the Great Justinian and the famous Belisarius...[175]

174 *Diplomatic Correspondence with Rome: Vita*, ed. Pierantoni, p. 417.
175 TAS, *Mss. Giannone*: Occella, 'Ultimi dodici anni', pp. 501-502.

[68]

Attempts to intercept G. on his way from Milan to Geneva.

Ormea to Albani, 22 November 1735:

> After the declaration made to Your Eminence and your advice that you have informed the ministers of His Holiness in reference to the famous Pietro Giannone, I received last Thursday 17 November the letter of the chancellor Marquis Olivazzi, of which I enclose an exact copy. In it he informed me of the news given to him that Pietro Giannone had arrived in Milan and was going under the name of Pietro Rinaldi.
>
> His Majesty ordered me to reply, as I did on 19 November, that he be informed without delay of his expulsion within forty-eight hours, as in the enclosed letter of reply.[176]

On 22 November Ormea wrote on his own initiative to Olivazzi to arrest G., who had, however, already left. Olivazzi replied, with notes on G.'s journey to Geneva:

Olivazzi to Ormea, 25 November 1735:

> I have not been able to carry out all that Your Excellency deigned to send me on the 22nd in reference to Pietro Giannone. Yesterday morning I found that he had already obeyed the order intimated to him and had left. When I then sought information on where he was headed, I fear that he was thinking of Geneva, because neither in France is one safe from the activity of the court of Rome, which he has taken into consideration when having to leave also this place. I would be sorry if that were true, because to stay in Geneva would damage his reputation, and give greater foundation to those who find clauses not very Catholic in his *Civil History of Naples*, so that they are thought heretical. Although Rome, when banning the book, did not make itself clear, I would be more sorry if the spirit of vengeance against the Jesuits made him publish a work which they tell me he is planning to do.[177]

Ormea to Picon, 29 November 1735:

> I have no doubt that Your Excellency has heard of the famous Pietro Giannoni [sic] whose history of the Kingdom of Naples has caused too

176 Diplomatic correspondence with Rome: *Vita*, ed. Pierantoni, pp. 417-418; he asks for the return of the original letter for the archives.

177 TAS, *Mss. Giannone:* Ricuperati, *Carte torinesi*, p. 82; Occella, 'Ultimi dodici anni', p. 508.

> much stir in the world for its renown not to have come to your attention. That personage, driven from Vienna and from Venice, has spent these last days in Milan under the name of Pietro Rinaldi. His Majesty has ordered him to leave. It is now known that he has left with the intention of proceeding to Geneva, seemingly with the intention of exercising there with more freedom his evil talents. This is why His Majesty has given the order to attempt to have him arrested. I am uncertain whether from Milan he will have taken the route via Grisons or that of Savoy. For very good reason, however, His Majesty has charged me to let Your Excellency know that it will please him if you would turn your attention to discovering whether he [Giannone] was going via his states of Savoy, and to have him arrested, and informing me immediately of it. I am in no way able to give you a precise portrait of this man, which I requested today from Milan, and when it comes I shall have it sent to you...[178]

When that description did arrive, it was as follows: 'Pietro Giannone, who calls himself Pietro Rinaldi, looks over sixty years of age, is a little stooped, has a long pale face, dark wig, carries a stick for support, speaks Neapolitan, stressing in his pronunciation the first words, then fading away in a rapid and barely intelligible mumble'.

When Albani next wrote to Ormea, he included a note from the nephew of Clement XII, Cardinal Neri Corsini, which assured Ormea of the pope's great satisfaction 'if you could arrest or help in arresting that scoundrel'.[179]

Ormea to Picon, 10 December 1735:

> As I received news only in recent days of the said Pierre Giannone, whom I now know positively has taken the route via Savoy to Geneva under the name of Antoine Rinaldi, I include this with acknowledgement of the letter with which you honoured me on the 7th of this month. He must now be in Geneva; for I have learnt since that he passed through here and left this city on the 28th of last month, so that I no longer see any probability of arresting him on the way. As, however, it concerns an enemy of Religion, it will always to be hoped that he can be arrested, in a situation, nevertheless, where it would be feasible without making any undertaking with the city of Geneva or any others.[180]

Ormea informed Albani of the provision made to arrest G. and made a sinister offer:

178 TAS, *Mss. Giannone:* Ricuperati, *Carte torinesi*, p. 83; *Vita*, ed. Pierantoni, p. 437.
179 3 December 1735: 'Relazione', c. 189*: Vita*, ed. Pierantoni, p. 493.
180 TAS, *Mss. Giannone:* Ricuperati, *Carte torinesi*, p. 83; *Vita,* ed. Pierantoni, p. 438.

Ormea to Albani, 13 December 1735:

> Your Excellency will have heard that, after I received news from the Grand Chancellor of Milan of Pietro Giannone's intentions to go to Geneva, the necessary orders were issued to have him arrested. I must now tell you also that when his departure from Milan was discovered, I made the most exact enquiries, and finally discovered, not without great effort, that here [in Turin] he had called himself Pepe Anello [sic] and done no more than stay overnight on the 27th of last month, as he left in the morning of the 28th. I immediately sent orders to block roads, but as he had passed some days before nothing else could be discovered.
>
> Had His Holiness signified his intention of having Giannone apprehended, we would certainly have struck the blow, and had we succeeded owing to our own initiative, I was determined to have him bound delivered to the Pope, all the way to Rome by a company of dragoons. I am most eager to ensure the implementation of the instructions issued to Count Picon. In such a case His Holiness will have understood that, if in temporal matters ill luck has prevented our being able to obtain the necessary advantage, in spiritual matters no one can surpass His Majesty in his devotion, homage to the Holy See and the person of His Holiness, and none is more interested in the support and welfare of our holy faith.[181]

Albani then intimated that the time was right to re-open negotiations for the Concordat between the papacy and Savoy. Ormea finally admitted defeat.

Ormea to Albani, 20 December 1735:

> From all which Your Eminence has been pleased to inform me with the revered letter of 1 December and the note sent at the same time written by Cardinal Corsini, I am glad to hear that the arrangements made for the arrest of Pietro Giannone were gratifying to His Holiness. And now I regret so much more that it has come to nothing, as Your Eminence will have seen from the last letters addressed to you by post. You may in the meantime reassure His Holiness that if ever this man returns to the states of His Majesty, all measures will be taken to carry out successfully our intention, since we have to that end already reiterated with the greatest urgency the orders to Count Picon.[182]

181 TAS, *Archivi de Corte, Materie eccles.*; Cesare Cantù, *Gli eretici d'Italia*, 3 vols (Turin 1865-1867), 3, p. 427.

182 See also Pastor's account of the villany: 34, pp. 352-353: Chapter Eleven: Appendix [30].

Chapter Eleven: 1736-1737: Geneva, Chambery, Miolans, Porta del Po, and Ceva

The new year, not less than the two previous years, began for me unfortunately in an evil, fatal way. I believed that my fierce destiny, sated now by so much adversity, might leave me in peace, as it seemed at the beginning of the first month. The Genevans, having so humanely welcomed me, continued to favour me and invited me to their learned gatherings held one day each week in turn in the homes of some of their professors. There, in erudite discourse on various subjects proposed at the end of one meeting to be treated in the following one, they would profitably spend three or four hours of the day.

These private gatherings were begun also on behalf of two young princes of Germany, whose relatives had sent them to Geneva to be educated both in French and Latin, and other liberal professions and sciences more serious and appropriate to their position, such as jurisprudence, history, public law, and also philosophy, and each had a particular professor to instruct him in it. The princes did not fail not only to attend our gatherings but also to give their talks on the subjects proposed. They were the prince of Hesse-Kassel and the prince of Sachsen-Gotha, two youths as handsome in body as they were lofty in mind and adorned with truly royal and magnanimous virtues, and they were very kind and courteous and above all enthusiastically devoted to both the humanities and men of letters.[1]

1 Frederick (1720-1785), attended the University of Geneva 1732-1737, and became Landgrave Frederick II in 1760. A ruler of no great acclaim, he nevertheless died beloved by his subjects (*NDB* 5, p. 508). Frederick III, duke of Saxe-Gotha-Altenberg

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My name was familiar to them because their tutors had known me in Vienna, and Siegmund Liebe,[2] the antiquarian of the duke of Sachsen-Gotha, had told his prince enough about me. When, therefore, I went to visit them, they overwhelmed me with endless courtesies and at once asked me to come to the gatherings held by them one day each week, in which Professor Turrettini also used to participate and give his papers like the others. Since Turrettini himself and Monsieur Vernet, who was pastor and minister of St Gervais, had often offered to take me, I willingly agreed to take part in order to hear teachings of such learned and wise men, and accompanied by Monsieur Vernet (see Fig. 24),[3] I went for the first time to hear their discussions. When it was over, and the theme for the following gathering was being suggested, they invited me to give my views on the subject proposed. I excused myself, saying that, although I understood their discussions, albeit given in French, I did not have enough proficiency and practice in French to speak it fluently. They immediately persuaded me, however, by replying that I

(1699-1772; *NDB* 5, p. 578). His son August in 1778 remembered how often his father used to speak of Giannone (letter to Ferdinando Galiani: Nicolini, *Scritti*, p. 95).

2 Christian Siegmund Liebe (1687-1736), historian, numismatist, philologist, archivist. Liebe is not in *NDB*.

3 Jacob Vernet (1698-1789), Genevan pastor and intellectual, Turrettini's favourite student. As tutor to Turrettini's son, he shared Turrettini's conservatism, and seems to have modelled himself on him. As tutor to his children, Vernet travelled widely and felt great sympathy for Italy. For his impressions of Italy, see 'Lettre écrite à un des auteurs de ce Journal par Monsieur Vernet' (*Bibliothèque italique*, 4 (1729), 119-136; Ricuperati, *L'esperienza*, p. 438). He opposed the struggle against Aristotelian philosophy yet supported Muratori's programme for reform. He sought to make Geneva a centre of European culture and championed the development of printing there; hence his support of Marc-Michel Bousquet. He greatly enriched Turrettini's *Traité de la vérité de la religion chrétienne*, which he had translated from Latin: *De veritate religionis christiana*, published in Geneva, 1730-1736, in Paris, 1752, 2 vols, and in Lausanne 1772-1782, 5 vols; Ricuperati, *L'esperienza*, pp. 455. Vernet was G.'s closest, but unfortunately most misguided, friend in Geneva (see 'The *Triregno* and its Fate' (below) for his part in G.'s tragedy). Sven Stelling-Michaud and Paul Waeber refer to G.'s isolation in Geneva and attribute it not only to his work, but also to the political turmoil in Geneva at that time ('G. et les Genevois', in *Societe d'histoire e d'archeologie de Genève* (1978), 23-54, p. 31). We do not know how much the turmoil might have jeopardized the security and courage of Turrettini and Vernet. The conservativism of Turrettini and Vernet would certainly explain why G. seems not to have told them about the *Triregno.* Their kindness to G., nevertheless, inspired in him the sense of friendship and security necessary to continue to elaborate his magnificent concept of the fate of humanity.

could simply use my own Italian language, since, although they were unable to speak it, they could understand it as well as they did French. As a result, I had to comply with them, and especially because I noted also their tact and prudence, in that the subjects proposed were not religious controversies but indifferent matters of science, morality, and practical knowledge. The theme then proposed was *Whether commerce practised by nobles obscured their nobility*.

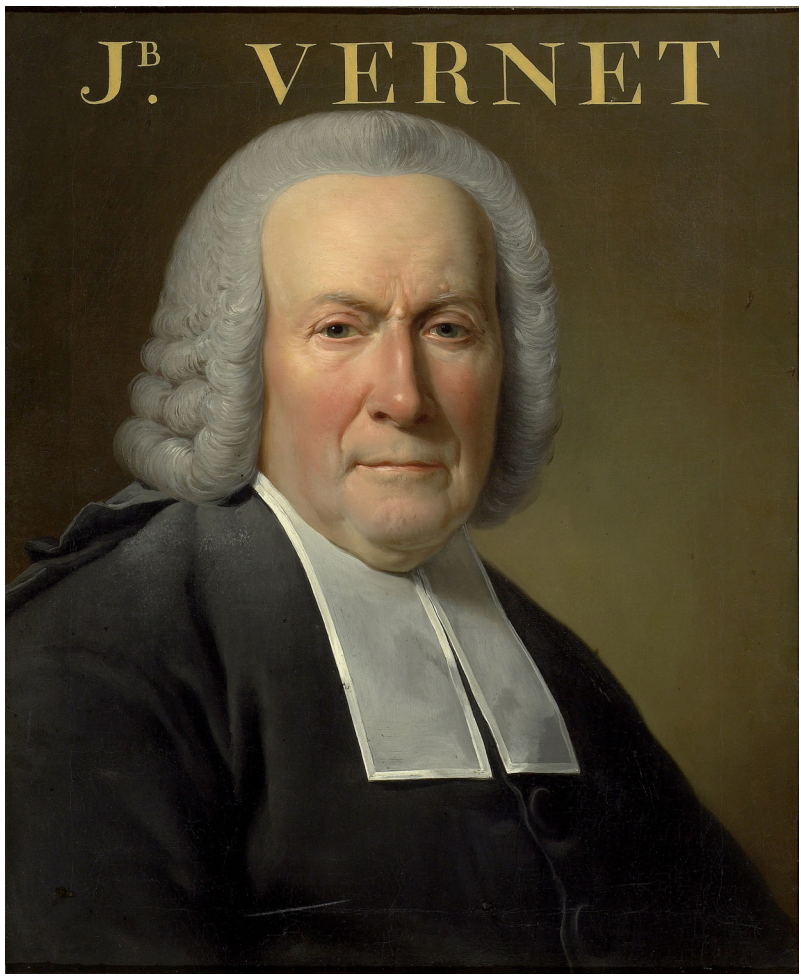

Fig. 24 Jacob Vernet (1698-1789), by Jens Juel (Bibliothèque de Genève). Wikimedia Commons, public domain.

The meeting was held on the day arranged in the presence of the two young princes, who gave their papers with much spirit and grace. Turrettini argued the subject proposed with both learning and elegance, as did the minister Vernet and the other professors gathered there. My address was not displeasing, and as a result when proposing, as was customary, the subject for the following week, which was: *What was the origin and first foundation of the Knights of St John later called the Knights of Rhodes, and at present of Malta*,[4] they again invited me to give my view. I thus participated a second time and would have done so a third time on the proposed theme of moral virtues, if my new misadventures had not upset and interrupted everything.

Cruel luck never comes in half measures, and in answer to my urging Bousquet to begin our business, telling him that two months had already passed with my having to support myself at my own expense in Geneva, and that what little money I had would soon be finished,[5] he replied that a start would be made with the new company. It had not yet been inaugurated, because the old partners wanted first to put their accounts in order, which would soon be carried out. I should therefore be patient and wait a few more weeks, when everything would be done. I began then to hear from others that Bousquet could not extricate himself so easily from Pellissari,[6] who greatly resented Bousquet's having formed a new company without first duly advising him and settling their accounts. This was because Bousquet contributed to the company only his personal industry, whereas all the money was given by Pellissari.

I was somewhat upset by this, and then I heard that Pellissari, in a dispute at his home with Bousquet, had become angry and slapped him, and then taken a stick and would have thrashed him, if Bousquet had

4 'Se la mercatura esercitata da' nobili oscurasse la loro nobilità', and 'Qual fosse stata l'origine e il primo istituto de' cavalieri di San Giovanni detto poi di Rodi, e presentemente di Malta'. Both these dissertations have been lost (Nicolini, *Scritti*, p. 84).

5 It is not possible to verify that G. actually received any financial assistance while he revised his manuscripts. With the foundering of Bousquet's company, the plan to assist G. financially as he prepared the manuscripts for publication may also have foundered. On 10 March 1736, G. wrote to Carlo: 'Two years have now passed without my pension, and in the meantime I have had to live on my savings'. G. again threatens to denounce Carlo for his laxness in reimbursing him for the copies of the *Civil History* sold. His letters to Carlo grow steadily harsher, not least because of Giovanni's disclosures (Geneva, 10 March 1736: *Epist*., p. 1116).

6 Jean-Antoine Pellisari (1702-1738).

not fled. And Bousquet's imprudence was equal to Pellissari's disdain, because after being slapped, instead of saying nothing about it because it had happened in Pellissari's rooms where they had been alone, he ran to the public magistrate to make a complaint. As a result, the matter spread through the whole city, and Pellissari, when summoned by the magistrate, denied it and, in fact, accused Bousquet of slander, claiming that he was looking for such a subterfuge in order to escape having to account for the money given to him. Bousquet had no witnesses to prove his case, and Pellissari, on the other hand, insisted on his rendering the accounts, and in the meantime blocked any new company, and threatened to sequester Bousquet's property as his security. He had a commissioner force Bousquet to settle the accounts, and obtained also the sequestration and whatever he wanted. Pellissari was well regarded in Geneva, and had the favour not only of the magistrate but also of all the citizens who, on learning that with the money given to him by Pellissari, Bousquet, who was poor, had risen in the world, accused him of showing great ingratitude to one who was so much his benefactor.

All will understand how agitated I was by this event, which was ruining all my hopes. And I cannot deny that my consternation was such that I had become tired of living, realizing that my cruel fate was not ceasing to attack me from all sides in order to destroy me. This was exacerbated by Bousquet who, whether from embarrassment at the insult or because, with this matter, I had discovered his intrigues, could not bear to see me and vanished, so that I never saw him again. And despite the greatest efforts, it was not possible to find him at home or elsewhere, because he was hiding from everyone. As he had abandoned me, I was forced to write him a letter and to use the greatest ingenuity to ensure that he received it. In it I complained of his way of proceeding, and asked him to explain himself and decide what he intended to do, so that I might take other measures, and asked that he not leave me in such suspense and confusion. At last I received a brief reply telling me to seek advice from the minister Vernet, his friend, who, being informed of everything, could give me sound advice on what I might do.

I went to see Vernet, and, after explaining my unfortunate situation and the confusion in which Bousquet had left me, I asked him for both his advice and help to climb out of the pit into which I had fallen. I showed him, moreover, letters of Bousquet, written in the company's name, in

which I was assured of finding in Geneva the fulfillment of the whole agreement between us, which had induced me to come there with such expense and travail. When Vernet read the letters written to me with such confidence, he could only reprove Bousquet's facile outspokenness. While sympathizing with my hard lot, he told me bluntly that I must no longer set any hopes on him, since Pellissari was blocking Bousquet's forming any new company until he had settled his accounts and paid him all that he believed was owed to him; that it was for this reason that he had had all his property sequestered; and, moreover, that after the new partners had learned of the many rumours and complications, they did not want any dealings with Bousquet, so that he would be excluded from both companies; that he was thinking, therefore, of going to Holland and finding there an honourable livelihood, not of remaining in Geneva, where, because of the insult received, which he himself had divulged, he was shunned by everyone and barred from all human intercourse.

On hearing this, I told him that in reference to the fifth volume and my other unpublished work I could certainly consider another publisher; but the French translation, with the new appendices and medals, which had been sent to them, I believed should be financed by the first company, which had paid for the drawing and engraving in copper of my portrait. It therefore mattered little if Bousquet went off to Holland, provided that Pellissari continued the publication, with whom I would be in agreement. Vernet offered, therefore, to speak to Pellissari, and for the printing of the other work he suggested another book-dealer, his friend, to whom he would also speak to arrange it. This was Monsieur Barillot,[7] who was also a friend of Turrettini. He felt that I also should ask Turrettini to use his influence with him on my behalf.

I did not fail to ask Turrettini immediately. Commiserating with my lot, he was so much more warmly moved to persuade Barillot to take Bousquet's place in the enterprise, since it would be profitable

7 Jacques Barillot (1684-1748), printer and bookseller. He was responsible for consigning the original of the *Triregno* to the Inquisition (B., p. 312; Bertelli, 'L'incartamento originale', pp. 28-30). See also 'The *Triregno* and its Fate'. The terms of the contract were that Barillot was to publish the Fifth Volume of the *Civil History*, and G. was to receive either fifty *zecchini* and fifty copies of the fifth volume or one hundred copies (Panzini, *Vita*, p. 164). The president of the new company was Guillaume Philibert Cramer (1693-1737) (Bonnant, 'P.G. à Genève', p. 121).

for Barillot. He also assured him that my new publications would be eagerly sought by all, no less than were the earlier works; that, in fact, the earnings from the fifth volume were certain, because everyone who had the previous four volumes would certainly want the fifth, in order to have the work whole and complete; and that the agreement made first with the printers at Venice and then with Bousquet was so very moderate that he could without any doubt accept it.

All the authority and credit of Turrettini and Vernet were necessary finally to satisfy Barillot, because the printers of Geneva are most reluctant to print Italian books, when not written in Latin or French. When told, however, that, with the author present, he could be sure of a very correct edition, he was persuaded,[8] and asked only for a little time,

8 G. was to form the Fifth Volume of the *Istoria civile* from the *Apologia dell'Istoria di Napoli*, written and finally completed in Venice (Bertelli, 'Appunti e osservazioni', pp. 198-199). It would probably have included also G.'s account of his expulsion from Venice, *Ragguaglio dell'improvviso e violento ratto praticato da Venezia* (Account of the Sudden and Violent Expulsion from Venice); the copy edited by Bertelli is in the *Opere di P.G*, translated here in Chapter Ten: Appendix [40]. Anne Denis's enlightening edition of the Budé manuscript, discovered by her, 'Un testo inedito di P.G.', in *Archivio storico italiano*, 153 (1995), 709-776, reveals substantial editing and rewriting perhaps of this copy. The Fifth Volume was written by G. in various stages between 1723 and 1735. It is divided into two parts. The first, completed in 1723, was the dissertation *Del antico concubinato de' Romani* (Ancient Roman Concubinage), written to rectify the idea that G. did not consider fornication a sin (Nicolini, *Scritti*, p. 29). This was recast in *Opere postume*, 1 (1770), Part Two, chapters 6-14. Added to this, in chapters 17-19 is the dissertation written in July 1723 entitled *De' rimedi contro la proibizione dei libri che si decretano a Roma, e della potestà de' principi in non farla valere nei loro Stati* (Remedies against the Banning of Books Decreed in Rome, and the Power of the Princes Not to Ratify that Ban in their States). This essay then formed Part One of the *Apologia dell'Istoria civile di Napoli* (Defence of the Civil History), which G. hoped to publish in Hungary. Garelli and Riccardi, however, dissuaded him from doing so, for fear that it would resurrect the old resentment of his enemies. It nevertheless circulated widely in Vienna, Italy and Naples, and copies remain in their libraries (*Opere postume*, 1 (1770), 245-301; Panzini, *Vita*, p. 53). In 1723 G. wrote also *Trattato de' rimedi contro le scommuniche invalide, e della potestà de' principi intorno a' modi di farle cassare ed abolirle* (Dissertation on the Remedies against Invalid Excommunications, and the Power of Princes to Annul and Abolish Them), included in the *Apologia dell'Istoria civile*, Part Two, chapters 17-19; *Opere postume* (1770), 1-40; *Giannoniana*, p. 3. In 1726, G. wrote in support of his friend Costantino Grimaldi against the Jesuit Giovanni Battista De Benedictis, thereby adding Chapter 20 to the *Apologia: Opere postume*, 1 (1770), pp. 302-313. In 1734 he wrote its last chapter, Part Two, chapter 21, during his stay with Pisani at Rovere di Cré: *Risposta di Pietro Giannone giurisconsulto ed avvocato napoletano, all'una lettera scritta da un amico, nella quale l'accusava della poca soddisfazione d'alcuni, in leggendo nel libro XIII della di lui Istoria civile del Regno di Napoli al cap.1, la pretensione de' napoletani* [*sic*] *intorno al dominio del mare Adriatico* (Reply of P.G., Neapolitan Jurisconsult and Lawyer, to a Letter Written by a Friend Censuring Him for the Scant

since he had to leave for the forthcoming fair at Frankfurt and could only begin it on his return.

This delay meant the space of five or six weeks and I willingly granted it, both because in the meantime I could prepare the few manuscripts which I had with me and, as I still had not received from Milan those left in Venice, which form the Fifth Volume.[9] I therefore wrote to the secretary Canari, that the reason for not writing to him before to hasten his sending them was the new troubles befallen me with Bousquet, but now that I had re-established the matter with another book-dealer, he should send them as quickly as possible by safe transport. I wrote also to Venice to Prince Trivulzio and to Senator Pisani of my travails with Bousquet, which had delayed, and were still delaying, what financial

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Satisfaction of Some on Reading in Book 13, Chapter One of his *Civil History,* the Claims of the Neapolitans Regarding Dominion over the Adriatic) (*Opere postume*, 1 (1770), 313-345; *Vita,* ed. Nicolini, pp. 298-302; Nicolini, *Scritti*, p. 30). G. had planned that Francesco Pitteri would publish the above-mentioned *Apologia* as the Fifth Volume of the *Civil History.* Pisani, however, had lent the manuscript to his friends, so that Giovanni could not bring it with him to G. who was waiting in Modena. It was sent, therefore, to G. in Milan, but he had already been forced to leave. It was thus among the sequestered papers sent to Ormea and then to Rome, where it was buried in the archives of the Inquisition. The copy of the *Apologia* sent to Naples in 1725, however, was copied many times and is found in all the great libraries, public and private, of Italy. In Geneva, moreover, of the two copies of the later *Apologia*, one remained preserved first by Turrettini and then by Vernet. Johann Friedrich Le Bret, joint-translator of the *Istoria civile* into German, affirms that it was edited by Camillo Manetto of Udine, a Venetian lawyer resident in Geneva, where he was a close friend of G. in 1735-1736; G., however, makes no mention of him (Nicolini, *Scritti*, pp. 30-32; Ricuperati, *L'esperienza*, p. 467). In 1755, an edition of the *Opere postume* was published in 'Palmyra' (Geneva) by the heirs of the faithful publisher Gosse. Vernet would certainly have provided a copy of the *Apologia* and the *Profession of Faith.*
This, then, was the fate of the often-mentioned Fifth Volume of the *Istoria civile*, which was initially to be published by the famous Pitteri in Venice as the fifth volume of the second edition of the *Istoria civile*, and then as such by Barillot in Geneva.

9 From Bertelli's exhaustive deductions (*Giannoniana*, pp. 390-391 and 'L'incartamento originale', pp. 16-38), it would appear that the manuscripts of the *Triregno* and those comprising the Fifth Volume of the *Civil History* had long arrived in Geneva from Milan, in time for Bousquet in Geneva to resume Pitteri's contract in Venice and to publish 'some other work'; that is, the *Triregno*. Pisani had already written assuring G. that everything had been sent to Prince Trivulzio and 'certainly nothing has been left of your written papers' (Pisani to G., Venice, 29 March 1736: *Epist*., p. 1134). This was no doubt G.'s ruse to deceive his persecutors and put them off the trail of the *Triregno,* which he had been completing and correcting in Geneva. If he had known that it had fallen into the hands of the Inquisition, his last vital hope of ever gaining freedom would have been destroyed.

assistance I might have in Geneva, so that it was necessary to live at my own expense. And foreseeing that thus my little ready money would soon be finished, I asked them to send me some small remittance on my books left in Venice to provide for my needs until Barillot returned from Frankfurt.

As for the French translation, when I learned that my appendices and notes, sent to Bousquet from Vienna, were in the possession of Monsieur Bochat, a professor in Lausanne, I wrote to him that, as the contract had been completely dissolved with Bousquet, he send them to me, thereby restoring them to their owner, and with great promptitude he did not fail to send me them at once. Having them, therefore, in my possession, I was assured that without me it would be impossible for others to go ahead with the translation. I had been informed by Monsieur Vernet that, after settling the accounts with Bousquet, Pellissari was left with what had been prepared for the printing of the translation, and that it remained for the use of the old company. Through him, therefore, I let Pellissari know that I had in my possession the appendices and notes, and if he still wished to undertake the edition, I would not fail to give him them and settle with him what had been agreed upon with Bousquet.

Pellissari sent to tell me that he would willingly take over the costs, that the edition would be brought out at his expense, and that I might depend on his commencing it as soon as he had dispatched his other pressing business. In the best way possible, therefore, through the favour and authority of Professor Turrettini and Monsieur Vernet, the contract which had begun many years ago with Bousquet was re-established with Barillot and Pellissari. Bousquet had already left for Holland to establish himself as best he could there, or even in Lausanne,[10] after the misadventure which had befallen him in Geneva.

We had in the meantime entered the month of March, and I was awaiting Barillot's return from Frankfurt and the manuscripts from

10 Stelling-Michaud and Waeben emphasize that Bousquet was the one Genevan who truly helped G. After his trauma, Bousquet was thus summoned earnestly to Lausanne by Charles-Guillaume Loys de Bochat, since Lausanne lacked a publisher 'worthy of its Academy and its humanists' ('G et les Genèvois', in *Societé d'histoire et d'archéologie de Genève* (1978), 213-254, p. 235). Bousquet was able to reestablish himself in Lausanne, from where, with Vernet's editorial assistance, he published Turrettini's *Commentaire sur l'Épître aux Romains* (Lausanne 1741).

Milan to make a start on the printing, whence I would derive some income, in order to be able to live honourably by my labours in Geneva for as long as Heaven did not dispose differently of me. I often visited the home of Professor Turrettini, who showed me extraordinary goodwill, offering me from his fine library whatever books I might need, which was wonderful, since in it were to be found rare and most select books on every subject. Above all, however, I enjoyed some profitable and pleasant conversations with a man who was truly wise and profound in the sciences, ecclesiastical history and other weighty disciplines, and above all was most proficient in Greek, Hebrew and other Oriental languages, who had in Latin acquired his own polished, correct and elegant style, and in the precision and clarity with which he expressed himself had few equals. The world will have clear testimony of this in his learned and elegant *Historiae ecclesiasticae compendium*,[11] which has recently been published, of which he gave me a copy which I accepted as though it were a smooth, polished gem without any roughness or flaw to cloud it.

He had had other small works published on various occasions, which he was collecting in a comprehensive volume[12] to give the public, and it will be indubitably received by the republic of letters with the applause and commendation of which the illustrious monuments of his rare and incomparable talents were always deserving. In the magistracy and the university devoted to those studies and with everyone, he had, therefore, acquired the authority and reverence due to him. And he used to tell me that he was sorry for my having arrived at a time not so felicitous for that republic (already completely disturbed by internal strife), which at other times had been much more flourishing, both because of renowned

11 *Historiae ecclesiasticae compendium a Christo nato usque ad annum MDCC* (Compendium of ecclesiastical history from the birth of Christ to 1700) (Geneva 1734). There exists also Turrettini's correspondence, ed. by Eugène de Budé, *Lettres inédites addressées de 1686 à 1737 à J.A. Turrettini, théologien genevois* (Paris and Geneva 1887). The only references to G. are two letters of Saint-Saphorin (below, n.21).

12 Nicolini (ed. *Vita*, p. 376.1). suggests that perhaps G. refers here to *Pyrrhonismus pontificus*, which Turrettini wrote to refute Bossuet's *Histoire des variations des églises protestantes* (Paris 1688). Turrettini's numerous academic labours were published in three volumes in Geneva in 1734. Vernet, his student, then edited in three volumes his writings on natural religion and the divinity of Christianity. His work was subsequently printed under the title of *Opera omnia theologica, philosophica et philologica* (Louvain 1774-1776) (B., p. 314).

professors and more active and extended commerce. That had received a terrible blow with the last plague at Marseilles[13] which had upset and diverted the routes of the merchants. And I told him that, given the wise laws and institutions by which it was administered, it deserved much more extensive territory, since I had observed, to my utter disbelief, that it ended virtually with the city's walls. When going round all sides of it, as I did my usual exercises, I found myself within Savoy's borders, then those of France, and then of Switzerland, by which countries it was enclosed. He replied that it was precisely because of this that it had preserved its liberty for so many years, since, being content with little, it did not excite any envy or suspicion from its neighbours, who therefore let it live in peace and tranquillity.

While engaged in such activities I continued my stay in Geneva, awaiting Barillot's return and the manuscripts from Milan. The court of Rome, on the other hand, was much more anxious than before for my person, having learnt both through its many emissaries and spies, who did not let me out of their sight, and through my actual letters to Milan, Venice, and Vienna, in which I made clear to friends that I was not about to change religion, but had come to Geneva to find an honourable livelihood by my labours. It again took up more fiercely than ever its customary insidious weapons to ruin me. It would not have cared at all if I had changed religion. That, on the contrary, would perhaps have given it pleasure and me quiet, since it would have dampened its rage and indignation. When it learned, however, the reason and the aim of my sojourn, I was in no way benefited by the reflection that, because it had not left me any place in Italy to live, I finally had to find elsewhere some way of supporting myself, and it stormed in such a way as to leave no stone unturned to ruin me.

The many false reports invented in Rome which filled the gazettes were incredible in reference to my leaving Venice and Milan and taking refuge in Geneva. The slanders to discredit me even in the court of Vienna went to such lengths as inventing the story that I had stolen from the Imperial library a rare manuscript of the emperor Frederick II, and had shown it to some Venetian gentlemen.[14] The deception,

13 It was in 1722 (B., p. 314).

14 Panzini writes that this slander, spread from Rome by one Abate Ruelin, 'brought down on Giannone the indignation of Charles VI and his court'. Nicola Forlosia

however, was soon revealed, because a Roman in Vienna had written about it to the second custodian of the library, his friend, and informed him of the rumour spread by Rome. The latter took the letter to the librarian, the cavaliere Garelli, who immediately realized that it was a slander, and on making a painstaking search among the manuscripts to see if the one said to have been stolen by me was missing, he found that it was there, and when the other manuscripts were checked against the catalogue, none was missing. The deception was exposed in Rome and the necessary letters written there and to Venice revealing the foul and unworthy ways of the vile Roman slanderers. The first custodian, Forlosia, wrote me a letter on behalf of the cavaliere Garelli, while I was in Geneva, in which to comfort me he informed me fully of the outcome. And since I had advised him of my arrival in Geneva, and that perhaps being close, I would go to Lyons to see that city, he warned me not to stay there long, for Rome would be sure to lay traps for me even there, as she was attempting everywhere.

The place which I felt less suspect for me was the court of Turin, since it had been my experience that it demanded nothing more than my leaving the city and State of Milan. It had the power to have me arrested in Milan, where I had stayed for almost a month. I had travelled safely through the cities of Piedmont and had stayed in Turin for two days. I had crossed Savoy and stayed a night and half a day at Chambery. When I left Milan, Princess Trivulzio, out of pity for my lot, had expressed her regret to the grand chancellor Olivazzi that finally harsh necessity had forced me to go to Turin and from there to Geneva, since I could not find any refuge in Italy. The ministers of that court, therefore, were not ignorant of my forced and necessary decision to pass through there, and my passage was not impeded.

I had, therefore, strong reasons for not fearing any evil from that Court and, as I was not a Piedmontese, for believing that it was indifferent to me, and that I might try to escape elsewhere. And I was all the more sure, because I had in no way offended its king. On the contrary, as he was a magnanimous and clement prince, and one who had surpassed

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wrote to G. on 26 November 1735 that it was Garelli who immediately cleared G.'s name of the insidious charge in the eyes of the emperor and the Court. For the letters of Forlosia and Apostolo Zeno, and also the letter of Pisani of 29 March 1736 on sending G.'s books and papers to him in Geneva: Chapter Eleven: Appendix.

his august predecessors in valour, prudence and both civil and military knowledge, I had turned to him imploring his benign and vigorous protection, of which, if I were unworthy, only my slight merit and hard, bitter destiny were to blame. All these reflections made me feel secure and completely unsuspecting. And if, on arriving in Geneva, I had not trespassed over the neighbouring borders of Savoy, it was because I had arrived in winter, in those severe months which did not allow me to extend my walks in more open countryside. The cold forced me mostly to stay at home, or even on the mild days to take brief turns around the city and quickly take refuge under my own roof or that of a friend.

The court of Rome, however, was bringing pressure to bear to deprive me of a means of support through my writings, which it could not like, because many repeated attempts had proved that it had no other reply to them than that of persecuting their author. It had informed the court of Turin that my stay in Geneva would be harmful both for it and the other princes, because I would publish books injurious, impious and heretical to all. It had with its cunning ways and flattery, therefore, induced that prince to lend a helping hand in its iniquitous and unjust wishes, and to arrange for me to be enticed away from Geneva and placed under arrest in close custody.[15] And even my writings, which I was preparing to have printed in Geneva solely to earn a livelihood, were only those which the publishers in Venice were to print, which I had submitted to the censorship of the theologian of that Republic! And my other published works had proved sufficiently and clearly to the world how far I was from writing against the princes, when I had used all the few talents granted me by God solely to establish their sovereign rights and ancient prerogatives in their dominions and empires. My hard and cruel destiny, however, which never tired of persecuting me in every way, had my arrest entrusted to a man who, to accomplish it, did not omit to use the most horrible treachery and the most unworthy, inhospitable and inhuman means which could ever have happened or been imagined.

The order that I be drawn away from Geneva, placed under arrest and taken to Chambery, was sent to General Count Picon, the governor of Chambery and lieutenant-general of Savoy. He happened to have as

15 As dell'Aquila observes (*Giannone, de Sanctis, Scolletaro* (Naples 1981), p. 61), G. here still lays the major blame for his arrest on the court of Rome rather than on Charles Emanuel III.

his aide-de-camp a certain Guastaldi, a Piedmontese, who had a brother at Vézenaz, a small village on the borders of Savoy near Geneva, who was employed collecting the taxes of a small customs house there.[16] He was commissioned by the governor to arrest me, but, according to the document shown to me later by that Guastaldi, the customs officer, in a humane and very discreet way, not roughly but with every skill and pleasantness, so that I did not suffer any discomfort. From the commission given to him and the letters shown to me later, I realized that he had received the order on 10 December of the previous year. As soon as my arrival was known in Geneva, therefore, traps began to be set for me, and the more its execution was delayed, the more was pressure exerted on Guastaldi from Chambery, as a result of the growing commitment and the demands made by Rome on the court of Turin.

The agent of my misfortune was a friend of many years of Chénevé, my landlord, and often used to come to his house, and, being good friends, they used to drink and eat together. And in turn Chénevé often used to go to Vézenaz to carouse and have a good time with him. It was on such an occasion that I became acquainted with this Guastaldi, the customs officer, who used often visit me and showed great respect and affection for me. He used most earnestly invite me, as I liked the country so much, to go and stay a few days at Vézenaz, which would restore me to perfect health. And I, suspecting nothing, used to excuse myself by telling him that the months of that severe winter did not allow me to leave the house, much less the city, but that in the following spring, when the countryside would be bright and green, I would not fail to take advantage of his invitations.

16 An account of this tragedy was first recorded in 1832 by the uniquely courageous head of the Royal Archives, Count Luigi Nomis di Cosilla, who secretly copied G.'s *Vita*, moved by the fact that it was to be destroyed. It is entitled: 'Relazione istorica di ciò che è passato all'occasione dell'arresto del Giannone, seguito nelle vicinanze di Geneva, sino alla di lui morte succeduta nella Citadella di Torino' (An Historical Account of What Happened on the Occasion of the Arrest of Giannone, Which Took Place in the Environs of Geneva, until his Death in the Citadel of Turin): TAS, *Mss. Giannone:* Ricuperati, *Carte torinesi* (Turin 1967), p. 59. The standard account, however, based without acknowledgement on that of the archivist, 'Filippi', is by Pietro Occella, 'Ultimi dodici anni'. Of Giuseppe Guastaldi or Gastaldi, Angelo Fabroni states that he was one of the chamberlains of Charles Emanuel III and pretended to be on leave from service. His brother was Felice, the aide-de-camp. (*Vitae Italorum doctrina excellentrium qui saeculis XVII et XVIII floruerunt* (Pisa 1787), 13, p. 178).

He meanwhile became friendly with my young son and lavished affection on him, and not being able to draw me away from the city, asked that at least I send my son there, in company with Chénevé, because being young he would hardly care about the severity of the season. And I made no objection, and on the two or three times that he went there with Chénevé, he was extremely courteous to him and gave him a generous welcome.

He seemed very glad to have become acquainted, and often asked me about the business which I was negotiating with Bousquet, but seemed more concerned about it with my boy and Chénevé, asking them what I was doing. And often, on finding me engrossed in re-reading the manuscripts which Bousquet had brought to me from the French translation of my *History*, he used to ask me when they would be printed and similar things. Whatever he saw and heard from me, my boy and Chénevé, he reported to his brother at Chambery, as he confessed to me later, and being ignorant and uneducated, he wrote incorrect and nonsensical things and, above all, that I was writing indefatigably against the pope. Three or four weeks would go by without seeing him, then he would come back, following new spurs given him in reply to his reports. And making ever greater displays of affection and eagerness to be friends, he asked to read some Italian booklets which I had. I lent them to him, although I knew that he could hardly have understood them. And his only reason for asking for them was to write to Chambery describing the books to show thereby his great familiarity with me, thus reassuring them that I would fall into his net.

Chénevé had taken one of my portraits, those printed from the copper engraving done in Vienna, which I had sent to Geneva, and had made a picture of it framed in black wood under glass, and kept it in his apartment. Guastaldi constantly asked him for it, saying that he wanted to keep it as a souvenir of me. When given it, he sent it to his brother at Chambery, who sent it back to him with a letter saying that His Majesty wanted to have the original in his hands not the portrait, and he might rest assured that if he brought off the business, his circumstances would change and he would be rewarded by the king with honourable and lucrative posts. These enveiglings excited him even more, and he would have committed any villainy, provided that he succeeded in kidnapping me. The loving attentions intensified. He wanted me to see

the warehouses for salt and tobacco which the king had in Geneva, and from the passion which he manifested to take me to such places and the unhappy event then following, I realized that even within the city of Geneva he was looking for a way to remove me from men's sight and carry me off under the cloak of friendship and affectionate expressions of veneration and esteem.

While I did not suspect any sinister outcome, but felt that so much courtesy and kindness was excessive in an ignorant and uneducated man, I expressed my surprise to Chénevé at finding such affection in a Piedmontese, especially one deformed and having only one eye, because apart from lacking an eye he was cross-eyed in the other. Chénevé, however, replied that he had been his friend for four years, and he had always found him loyal, kind-hearted and affectionate with friends. And Chénevé's wife and the other members of his household told me the same.

For more than three months after my arrival in Geneva, he tracked me down to catch me in his net, using no other weapons than those of Judas. At last, when the end of March was approaching and the weather had become milder and the countryside more pleasant, he felt that the right moment had come to bring things to a head. After first persuading my boy to go to Vézenaz for the day and enjoy the air, they both came to tell me that as the days were fine the opportunity should not be missed. I replied that they had still not become mild enough for me, but that they might go, and at the beginning of April I would certainly keep them company. I then, however, let myself be persuaded for a reason which was very efficacious in my deciding to follow them.

In that year the feast of the Annunciation of 25 March was to fall on Palm Sunday, and I foresaw the difficulty of fulfilling my Easter Dues in the small chapel of the Resident of France, where there was only one chaplain, whereas the number of Savoyard and French catholics was immense.[17] I therefore decided to fulfil them without such a throng of people and more devoutly by going to the closest village in Savoy.

17 Giovanni in his *Memorie* (below), however, reveals that Catholics residing in Geneva were obliged to go to churches in Catholic areas to fulfil their Easter Dues, and the only exception was the Resident of France and his family, who fulfilled them to their resident chaplain (see also 'The *Triregno* and its Fate', below). On the chapel of the Resident of France; see P. Fleury, *Histoire de l'Église de Genève* (Geneva 1880), 2, p. 274; B., p. 321.

Guastaldi claimed that there was no better place than Vézenaz, where he would advise the parish priest, who understood Italian, and on the morning of Palm Sunday itself, as he also would do, I and my boy could go to confession and receive the Eucharist without any haste; that to do so, it would be best to go to his home on the Saturday evening, in order that on Sunday morning we would be the first, without a crowd, to fulfil them, and to stay there for the day to enjoy the countryside. The offer was not disagreeable, but I told him that I would come provided the weather were mild and fine. He was very glad, and told us that on returning to Vézenaz he would immediately inform the parish priest, and would expect us at his home on the Saturday evening. That day of my fatal destiny was clear, mild and pleasant. At the urging also of my boy and Chénevé, therefore, after I had finished my correspondence, in the afternoon at sunset, so as not to tire myself walking, the three of us took our place in a small boat and sailed across Lake Lemano. We easily reached the shore, and after disembarking at the borders, went on foot the short distance to Vézenaz.

Guastaldi, who was expecting us, came to meet us in a festive, courteous way, and after taking us to his home, told us that he had informed the parish priest, who was expecting us on the following morning in church, so that we could be attended to first. He then began to prepare dinner, which was as appropriate and moderate as I had requested. He sat down to dine with us, and the time passed happily with him and Chénevé, both big drinkers, many times drinking our health. He showed me my portrait, which he had in his house, telling me that nothing could be more precious.

After dinner he told me that, given the limited space at his home, he had asked a Genevan, his friend, who had a more comfortable house next door, to prepare a room with a comfortable bed where I and my young son could sleep the night; that he could easily keep Chénevé with him in his house; and that when I wished to go there he would accompany me. I replied that it was already time to go to bed, being night, and he and Chénevé went with us and did not leave until he saw us in bed.[18] When closing the door from behind, it was noticed that there

18 Panzini (*Vita*, pp. 155-156), who wrote his biography with the help of Giovanni, states how, especially during dinner, G. began to suspect danger, but that it was too late to hide, and they both went to bed agitated and frightened. Chapter Eleven:

was no key, but he told us that it was unnecessary, as we were in the safe home of a decent man. My son nevertheless closed it as best he could with another key, and when Guastaldi had left with Chénevé we settled down to sleep.

My son went immediately to sleep and I also was falling asleep, when after less than an hour had passed I heard a noise in the next room and then the door being violently struck. As I was calling out half-asleep, 'Who is it?' the door suddenly opened and many armed men bearing a lantern entered, who seemed like so many bears, so roughly were they dressed and carrying not guns but iron pitch-forks, lances and long pikes. Shouting jarringly and confusedly, they approached the bed and put the point of their blades at our throats as though wanting to slit them. Thinking them thieves, I shouted that they could take everything and leave us naked if only they spared our lives. My son, who had been in a deep sleep, awoke at such uproar and on opening his eyes to see the points of the pitch-forks at his throat and those terrible figures, burst into tears, crying for mercy that they not kill him.

In all this, among the mob who I believed were thieves, I made out one dressed in red who was the leader. In the dim light not recognizing him, therefore, I directed my entreaties to him, that he restrain them and take everything but spare our lives. He then, seizing my clothes, made the others raise their pitch-forks and lances, and in a dreadful disguised voice ordered that a search be made of everything, and above all for writings or letters which perhaps I had on me, and even then I did not recognize him. Later, however, when he shouted that we were to be arrested and bound, because that was the order of the king and the pope, I realized that they were not thieves but police-spies. And I did not think that it was Guastaldi himself leading them, but others with his connivance, nevertheless, and treachery. I was then soon made aware of this other error, because, as he was searching my clothes and removing the letters which I happened to have on me, and threatening in a voice disguised to make me even more terrified, he came near so that finally I recognized him. Then in a weak and broken voice I said to him: 'Is this, Signor Guastaldi, how you extend hospitality and friendship to your guests and friends?' And he replied that he had to obey his king, who

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Appendix [40].

had commanded him to do it. I replied that, as he had me in his power, there was no need, at night time, for such a distressing and terrible display; that it would have been enough, as soon as I arrived at his home, to have me arrested, revealing that it was the king's order; that as I was not a ruffian who could do battle or show any resistance, I would willingly have submitted to the king's order, from whose clemency and justice, not having offended him in any way, I was sure that I could have nothing to fear. What pained me, however, was to hear from him that he was arresting me by order of both the king and the pope, which I found incomprehensible, knowing that in Savoy only the king rules and not the pope.[19] He replied grimly that it was the case, because I had gone to Geneva to write against the pope. And as though he had never known me, he raged tormentingly at me, making me get up instantly and dress quickly. He then took my belt and ordered those ruffians to tie up my hands and arms with it. What horrified and terrified me in his perverse, brutish nature, however, was that with the innocent who was my son, to whom he had behaved like a close friend, for whom there was no order of arrest, he himself took a rope and tightly bound him. Thus bound, he took us that night to his house which we found full of armed men, with Chénevé held in the middle of them so that he could not escape to give the news to Geneva.[20]

When going down the stairs of the Genevan's house where we had been imprisoned, he and Guastaldi came to blows, with the Genevan calling him an infamous traitor for having asked for those rooms to lodge us and then abused his trust by bringing scoundrels into his house in the night. He also had first believed, from how it was done, that they had come to assassinate not arrest us.

We were thus held in Guastaldi's house all that night, surrounded by armed men. Their number continued to grow, because Guastaldi, after leaving us with guards who were many more than enough to make his heroic action more clamorous and great, went away and sent as many

19 Nicolini observes how this remark 'seemingly ingenuous, but full of irony, is completely typical of G.' (*Vita*, ed. Nicolini, p. 386).

20 Panzini (*Vita*, pp. 156-157) records that G. berated the unfortunate, weeping Chénevé: 'he thanked him for the friendship which he had made him form with Guastaldi, the worst man ever to live on earth... and he [Chénevé] apologized, saying that he would never ever have expected such infamous treachery from a man whose friendship he had cultivated for so long'.

armed men as could be mustered from the surrounding villages to his house for our custody. He then went to Geneva to arrange for the calash to take us to Chambery, since such was that governor's order. On his return very late next morning he seemed both lively and somewhat more humane, and showed me the order for my arrest in the name of the king, and the letters in which with increasing urgency he was ordered to execute it. He told me that even if he had not succeeded in arresting me there, the king would have written about it to the Republic, since he did not want me to stay in Geneva on any account; that what he had added about the pope was not true, his having said it to make me more terrified. When I immediately asked him to let my son go free, as he was not included in the order, it was impossible to persuade him, and he told me that he had to take him with me to Chambery, and let the governor decide what he considered best for us.

Two hours before midday on that Sunday we left Vézenaz, and when mounting into the calash with my son, I saw that he had gathered more than fifty armed men, who surrounded the calash in a squadron. These were changed as we passed through the villages on the way to make the show more pompous. When we were in the calash, Chénevé was released, and I gave him charge of my belongings left in his house, and told him that I would write from Chambery to Monsieur Vernet about what was to be done with them.[21] It was truly worthy both of pity and

21 The document found in Geneva's State Archives PCN 8355, 'Janone, Declaration du Sr Charles Chenevière habitant, concernant Pietro Janoni Napolitain et un jeune homme qui l'accompagnait du 26 mars 1736', reveals that the investigation was held two days after G.'s arrest. Seals were placed on the room where father and son had lived in the house of Chénevé or Chenevière, tailor, aged fifty-two. The Auditeur, Jean-Jacques Martine, authorized by the Premier Sindic Jean Lullin, gave permission to Vernet to remove the papers and personal belongings of 'Janoni' who had received correspondence under the name of Antonio Rinaldi (Ricuperati, 'Dopo la Giannoniana', in *Nella costellazione del Triregno* (Foggia 2004), p. 180). Vernet thus saved, in particular the Fifth Volume of the *Istoria civile*, the complete copy of the *Triregno* done by Giovanni in Geneva, G.'s original manuscript of the *Regno terreno* and fragments of the *Regno celeste*, and the original manuscript of the unfinished *Regno papale* with notes on the last incomplete chapters, and G.'s correspondence. They were placed safely for the time being with Charles- Guillaume Loys de Bochat in Lausanne and with Jean-Alphonse Turrettini in Saconnex (*Giannoniana*, p. 391; 'The *Triregno* and its Fate', below). The investigation testifies, against Voltaire's later accusations, to the good faith of Vernet, who with Turrettini thus had G.'s room sealed, and then took into his keeping the precious manuscripts and books. The Genevan magistrates, urged on by Vernet, had considered also Chénevé suspect, so that he had to give an account of G.'s arrest. He stated that Guastaldi after dinner

laughter to see Guastaldi on horseback at the head of his troops with my portrait in his hand, so that on entering a village he could show it to

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had had a few more glasses with him and left, and returned with twelve fusiliers who threatened to kill him if he moved. Half an hour later he saw 'Monsieur Janoni and the young man, bound hand and foot, handed over to the armed men. These had guarded the prisoners until morning when Guastaldi returned with four constables and fifty men armed with guns and pitchforks'. As Nicolini observes (ed. *Vita*, p. 388), G. would have tried to have Chénevé ask Vernet to contact his most powerful patron in Vienna, Prince Eugene, but he was to die in his sleep on 21 April 1736; G. was arrested on 25 March. Eugene's influence in the court of Vienna had waned because of his neglect to reform the Council of War, and because of his refusal to protect himself politically by ingratiation (McKay, *Prince Eugene*, pp. 178-179). Of his mental and physical decline, Guido Starhemberg, the prince's old antagonist, who had lost the use of his legs, described, in particular, Eugene's mental decline thus: 'I am growing old from the feet upwards, but I know someone to whom it is happening, in fact, from the head downwards' (Alfred von Arneth, *Das Leben des kaiserlichen Feldmarschalls Grafen Guido Starhemberg, 1657-1737* (Vienna 1863), p. 781; McKay, *Prince Eugene*, p. 242). Apart from his exhaustion as supreme commander in the war of the Polish Succession in the previous year and his mental and physical decline, he could not have done much from Vienna, where Rialp and Sintzendorf had more or less supplanted him. And the emperor blamed him for Austria's defeat in the war. Despite Eugene's having helped drive the invading French from Turin in 1706 and 1707 in the reign of Charles Emanuel's father Victor Amadeus II, any influence Eugene had at the court of Savoy as cousin of Charles Emanuel, would have been fruitless, given Ormea's intrigues with the court of Rome. At the time of G.'s arrest, furthermore, for the whole of the month, Geneva was embroiled in serious unrest after years of crisis and social conflict, hence the timid reaction of the authorities (Stelling-Michaud and Waeber, 'P.G. et le Genévois', *Societé d'histoire e d'archéologie de Genève* (1978), 23-54, p. 31). Turrettini immediately wrote to General François-Louis de Pesme de Saint-Saphorin(1688-1737), who had been English minister in Vienna from 1718 to 1728 and had close links with Garelli, who was his physician: 'As you, Monsieur, have several powerful friends in that court... I dare implore you to extend your tender arms to this honest man and persuade some powerful persons to interest themselves on his behalf' (28 March 1736: Mestral Archives, Pesmes; Stelling-Michaud and Waeber, 'P.G. et le Genévois', pp. 50-51). Saint-Saphorin replied to Turrettini immediately on 27 March:

> 'I have reason to believe that this affair will make a very great noise in the whole of Europe, given all its odious circumstances. Tomorrow I shall inform Chevalier Garelli of all you have told me... He is the man in Vienna entitled to speak most fearlessly to the Emperor. And all the ministers who know the intimate trust placed in him by the Emperor have the greatest regard for his representations, and fear above all to disoblige him' (Archives de Mestral, Pesmes: Stelling-Michaud and Waeber, 'P.G. et le Genévois', p. 51).

He wrote on 30 March 1736 to Garelli (Archives de Mestral, Pesmes: Stelling-Michaud and Waeber, 'P.G. et le Genévois', pp. 52-53). No reply was received. Turrettini, in his letter thanking Saint-Saphorin, asked also how to contact Count Harrach (19 May 1736; Archives de Mestral, Pesmes: Stelling-Michaud and Waeber, 'P.G. et le Genévois', p. 54). Turrettini wrote again to him on 4 April 1735 and on 11 January 1737 (Archives de Mestral, Pesmes: *Giannoniana*, p. 592).

the peasants who, men and women, trooped to see the spectacle. And as though he were bringing in captured King Marcone of Calabria or Rocco Guinart of Barcelona, one the famous bandit of the kingdom of Naples and the other of Catalonia, he would boast to the rough and credulous people of his brave deed. To anyone moved by curiosity to ask him who I was and what crime I had committed, he would reply only that he had captured a great man. Some simple people, especially the women, were left open-mouthed at his reply. Others, more knowing, marvelled among themselves, muttering: 'That fellow was captured for being a great man.[22] So you have to be a little man and a good-for-nothing not to stumble on similar misfortunes'. When entering an extensive region called San Giuliano,[23] something both lamentable and laughable occurred. Guastaldi went ahead with the portrait in his hand and took his place on horseback in the piazza and in the manner of a quack was making a show of it, and as it was Sunday a big crowd gathered round.

The governor, who was called the Baron,[24] was there, and as also his curiosity was aroused, he came to meet us, and after showering us with greetings and courtesy, asked me to alight from the calash and stay at a nearby house until Guastaldi had assembled new men to change with those who had brought us there. When we alighted, he offered us coffee and, although we refused, tried in every way to make us drink it, so that in order not to abuse such kindness we did so. When we had spoken together on different matters, with his expressing great sympathy for my situation, he made a great deal of me with much cordiality and affection. After taking leave of him, we had barely turned to remount into the calash when one of his officials appeared, and presented us with

22 King Marcone was the sobriquet of the brigand Marco Berardi of the second half of the sixteenth century. He was a native of Cosenza where, as leader of a band of robbers, he became a law unto himself, and even exacted tribute from local inhabitants. He was overthrown by Pedro Afán de Rivera, duke of Alcalá, viceroy of Naples 1559-1571 (B., p. 325). Panzini (*Vita*, p. 157) writes of how Guastaldi was holding Chénevé's framed engraving of Sedelmayer's portrait of G. and was shouting out at every step: 'A great man, a great man.' And people thought that, since peace had not been concluded in the War of the Polish Succession, G. must have been some great personage captured from the Austrian side. See also Giovanni's *Memorie* (below).

23 St-Julien-en-Genevois, at that time bailiwick of Ternier (B., p. 325).

24 Joseph Marie de Vidonne, baron de Cusy (Bonnant, 'P.G. à Genève', p. 121). Raul Rossini identifies him as an official of Picon (*La prigionia e la morte di un grande storico* (Turin 1959), p. 11).

a pair of iron hand-cuffs, saying that it was the custom there to place prisoners passing through that region and its district in safer custody by putting them in hand-cuffs; that I should, therefore, patiently suffer them, and he took my left arm and the right arm of my son, clasped us together with the irons and locked them with a key, and we were given a soldier to accompany us until evening to the inn where we were to pass the night, who would remove them and report back, as was done. And when the soldier was returning, I told him to give due thanks on my behalf to the Baron for the great care which it had pleased him to take of my person, that he had thought it so precious that the custody of Guastaldi's numerous escort was not enough and he had decided to add his.

The evening of the following day, Monday, we arrived in Chambery towards two hours after vespers [9 p.m.], because, as Guastaldi could not do his show in that capital where the general Count Picon resided, he arranged for us to enter it at night. And when he had advised the other Guastaldi,[25] the general's aide-de-camp, of my arrival, the last

25 Giuseppe Picon (Piccon/Piccone) (d. 1755), Count Perosa (his title newly conferred), governor of Savoy (Ricuperati, *Piemonte sabaudo*, p. 449). The provincial governor occupied a position of enormous importance in Savoy at that time, as the crown's military power. In him was vested an extension of the protection of the king himself of the people's moral welfare. The king wrote to him directly, moreover, on matters of ceremony (*ibid*., pp. 449-451). He was one of Ormea's henchmen, and had been entrusted with the notoriously brutal arrest of Victor Amadeus II and his wife, when Victor Amedeus fell out of favour after his abdication: Chapter Eight: Appendix [72].

Picon to Ormea, Chambery, 27 March 1736:

'After many stratagems and pains, it has finally been possible for me to draw Monsieur Pietro Giannoni [sic] away from Geneva on to Savoyard territory, whence he has been moved here to the prisons with a nephew [sic] of his. It was thought necessary to arrest the nephew with him to avoid, when his uncle was taken, his going to give the alarm in Geneva, where there are several friends and protectors. As I had no orders, however, to arrest the nephew, I await the pleasure of His Majesty to direct me whether to release him or not, as he will command in reference to his uncle, and the manner in which they are to be treated.

The said Monsieur Giannoni is an old fox who knows his worth. For more than a month I have had a man shadowing him in Geneva, who has at last made him fall into the trap' (Rome, Biblioteca Corsiniana, *Memorie... di Savoia colla Corte di Roma... 1730-1740*; *Lettres écrites par M. le Comte Piccon... au Marquis d'Ormea*: *Giannoniana*, pp. 172-173).

Picon remorselessly hunted down both G. and his writings. See his ominous letters to the king of 31 March 1736, and to Ormea 27 and 31 March, and 4 April, and 'The *Triregno* and its Fate' (below). The 'other Guastaldi' is Felice Domenico Guastaldi/Gastaldi, on whom see Ricuperati, 'Dopo la Giannoniana', in *Nella costellazione del*

came to tell me, with great courtesy and civility on behalf of his general, that since he did not know the reason for my arrest, which had been ordered by the king, I could remain in the home of the head-goaler where I would be well treated, until he (Guastaldi) were advised of the next step and received instructions on what to do.

When taken there, I cannot deny that I was received with my son with great humanity and courtesy by both the goaler and his wife, who were kind, leaving us in free custody in their lodgings, and the general sent his aide-de-camp Guastaldi every day to see me and offer me whatever I needed. I thus passed from one Guastaldi to the other, who was, however, very different from the first and treated me with every loving kindness and courtesy. The other, whom I saw only occasionally, was greatly upset and depressed, because, contrary to all his expectations, Count Picon seemed quite unconcerned about rewarding him for such a heroic act which he believed himself to have done, for which he had imagined he was to receive great rank and honour.[26]

The governor-general sent to tell me that he would come one day to speak to me and asked in the meantime what had moved the king to arrest me, and if I had written anything or committed any crime to deserve it. I assured him, as I had assured Guastaldi and the others to whom he gave permission to visit me, that I had not offended His Majesty the king in the slightest way, and that my misfortunes came from the court of Rome; that I was confident of the justice and clemency of the king, who would not allow me to be sacrificed to its rage and indignation; that I was happy for him to judge me and know my crimes, and asked permission to express these sentiments in a letter to the marquis d'Ormea, declaring the heartfelt devotion which I had always professed for His Majesty, and would retain until the end of my life. He permitted me to write it, and I sent it unsealed through Guastaldi into his hands, who later told me that it was on its way to Turin.[27]

Triregno, p. 181.

26 From the research of Lomond Boleslau it is known that, after arresting G., Giuseppe Guastaldi was promoted by the regime to the status of an official, whereby he became an unrelenting persecutor of Savoy's Protestants in the Bailiff's court at Ternier in 1754 (Geneva State Archives, Actes François Chuit, notaire of the Royal College 1766-1772: Ricuperati, 'Dopo la Giannoniana', p. 181, notes 45, 47).

27 Charles Emanuel III (1701-1773): above, Chapter Eight, n.72. Regarding the letter to Ormea, Nicolini states that Picon 'probably told a solemn lie, because no trace of this letter is found in Occella or Pierantoni' (ed. *Vita*, p. 390). It could, however, have

I also asked him, since I had only the clothes and linen which I was wearing, to allow me to write to Geneva to Monsieur Vernet to send me what was necessary. On his willingly consenting I did so, and wrote to him that, not knowing the king's will and where I was destined, he might look after my belongings, and in the meantime send what he thought most necessary for house or travel. The letter, unsealed, was given to Guastaldi and, from the acknowledgements which then I had of it, arrived in Geneva, whence I was sent some clothes and shirts.[28] From Turin replies came at last on what General Picon was to do. The king wrote to him that I had not been arrested for any crime, but for political and State reasons; that I was therefore to be taken to the castle of Miolans, where the governor had been given orders to hold me under arrest in free custody until further orders; and that necessary provision had been made with him for my support and that of my boy, whom His Majesty did not wish sent away from me, for my assistance and company.[29]

After staying eleven days at Chambery, on 7 April we were taken to the castle of Miolans (see Fig. 25),[30] twelve miles from Chambery and six

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been one of the letters referred to by Picon which he enclosed in his letter to Ormea of 4 April 1736, which may have been lost.

28 Vernet replied in a letter, which G. in his despair was probably never given:
Jacob Vernet to G., 2 April 1736
'...one could truly not have expected such a blow, because you had not come here for reasons of religion, being a good, practising Catholic and wanting only to supervise the French translation of your history, which was ready to be published. Since God, however, let you be overtaken by this misfortune, I hope that he will provide some outcome, and let you find the protection which you deserve from all the princes, since you have defended with your pen their natural rights. News of your calamity has therefore been sent to your many friends and patrons, especially in Vienna, as you are a servant of His Imperial Majesty... the linen which was ready I shall send tomorrow with the same man who brought me your letter. The books and papers which you mentioned will be returned to those to whom they belong, and nothing will be given to the publisher without your permission...' (TAS *Mss. Giannone*: Ricuperati, *Carte torinesi*, p. 5).
In Vernet's letter of 6 April, the day of G.'s transfer to Miolans, he asks G.'s permission to give a copy of the *Civil History* to Picon. There would have been time for Pisani to send some or all of the four sets left unclaimed in Venice. Picon had requested a copy to read, and it was this copy which he later offered to Ormea, who thanked him, but said that there was a copy at Court (*ibid.*).

29 Charles Emanuel wrote thanking Picon on 31 March 1736. See also Ormea's letter to Picon of the same date, and Picon's letter to Ormea, 4 April 1736, Ormea to Albani, 10 April 1736, Clement XII to Charles Emanuel, 5 May 1736, and Charles Emanuel to Clement, 5 June 1736: Chapter Eleven: Appendix.

30 'The name Miolans arouses in our regions the same fear and apprehension and inspires the same terror as that of La Bastille in France. This prison was used to rid the

from Montmélian, situated on the side of a mountain facing south and

government of those who embarrassed it' (Louis-Augustin Blondel, French ambassador to Turin in the reigns of father and son, Victor Amadeus II and Charles Emanuel III, quoted by François Rabaut, *Miolan, Prison d'État* (Chambery 1879), pp. 31-32).

Ormea to Etienne Le Blanc, the governor of Miolans, 31 March 1736:

'Count Picon, governor of Savoy, with this will send you Pierre Giannoni with his young nephew. We order you to receive them and have them kept in the best rooms which you have in the fort, where they may live with propriety and at the same time under security. And you are at liberty to leave them together or separate them, as you judge best. We shall provide you with 50 sols per day for each of them...' (*Vita*, ed. Pierantoni, p. 466).

G. was utterly fortunate to arrive in Miolans when its former brutal tyrant le Blanc was dead, and in his place, at the request of his widow, so that her brother-in-law could support her, on 12 September 1735, his brother, Etienne, had been appointed. This was also owing to his good service as captain in the regiment of Savoy. His orders came direct from the State, since only prisoners sent by the king were kept at Miolans. He was personally to make frequent and unexpected visits to the prisoners and ensure that they did not find any tool to enable them to escape, or have ink, pen or paper enabling them to write. No one was permitted to approach the prisoners' doors or windows. The commander was to write a monthly report on each prisoner. The chaplain was permitted to tend to prisoners only on important feast-days such as Easter and Ash Wednesday. All extra expenses were to be avoided, and only the most indispensable medicines were to be provided (Rabaut, *Miolan*, pp. 262-264). The Marquis de Sade (1740-1814) was also imprisoned here, probably in the same rooms as father and son, from 9 December 1772 until 30 April 1773, when, with the aid of his servants, he escaped through an unbarred window in the latrines. Thanks to his biographer, Maurice Lever, we have a detailed description of Miolans, presumably at that time:

'Surmounting a steep promontory twenty-five kilometres from Chambery, the citadel of Miolans, also known as the Bastille of the dukes of Savoy, thrust its proud head high above the town of Saint-Pierre-d'Albigny. This eagle's nest, which dominated the valley of the Isère from a height of 780 feet, was encircled by three walls and a double moat. Besides the fort proper, comprising the dungeon and the Tour Saint-Pierre, facing the outer wall, one could make out what was called the lower fort. The dungeon, which served as a prison, was a formidable crenellated square tower with pepper-pot turrets on three sides. Its walls, thrusting straight upwards, were relieved by a few windows, and these stood more than 250 feet above the ground. Any attempt to escape from a tower so smooth and steep seemed doomed to failure. Each of the dungeons' three stories contained rooms of various sizes with semi-circular vaulted roofs. A spiral staircase led to the terrace, from which one looked out on Mont Blanc, the Roche-Pourrie, the glaciers of La Seillère, the Belledonne range, and the Grand-Chartreuse massif. In the base of the edifice, underneath the drawbridge, lower gates led to a prison of frigid cells, illuminated only by the dim light filtering in through a few loopholes; this part of the fortress was known as Hell. Above this was Purgatory, consisting of a single room of modest size equipped with a fireplace and a stone bench. The second story, known as the Treasury, contained two rooms for prisoners, one with a south-facing window and a fireplace. The apartment of the commandant… was above this. Higher up were two more prisoners' rooms: the Petite Espérance to the north and the Grande Espérance to the south, with a double barred window that offered a remarkable view of the Alps. This was the room assigned to M.de Sade… the Grand Espérance, the largest and most comfortable cell in the fortress… There was also a chapel, a vegetable garden and a well. The lower fort contained

under a very high rock which shields it from the north wind (at the foot there is a very broad plain through which passes the Isère River. On this plain I imagine took place that famous battle which the consul Fabius Maximus [121 BC] fought against the Allobrogians and Avernians, which Pliny recounts (*Natural History*, 7.166) when describing the place of the camp near the river Isère. He adds that at the time when Fabius won the battle, fought in the month of August, the air cured him of the quartan ague, which for a long time had kept him unhealthy and languid.

Fig. 25 The fort of Miolans, from St-Pierre tower. Photo by OpaleRacoon (2022), Wikimedia Commons, CC BY-SA 4.0.

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a chapel, canteen, powder storage, and supply-room for the troops, as well as private gardens' (Maurice Lever, *Marquis de Sade* (London 1993), pp. 217-218).

Ormea informed Albani in Rome of G.'s arrest and imprisonment at Miolans, and made some remarkable admissions. Clement XII and Charles Emanuel exchanged letters on G.'s arrest: Chapter Eleven: Appendix [29]. When G.'s arrest was reported on 18 April 1736, the cardinal inquisitors asked that G. be sent to them: 'Since the primary duty of His Holiness is to punish anyone guilty of divine *lèse majesté*, it is believed that such a request is indispensable...' (BAV, *Rossiano 1180*: Bertelli, 'L'incartamento originale', p. 22). Ormea had already offered to send G. bound to Rome (Letter to Albani of 13 December 1735). When Charles Emanuel refused to consign G. to Rome, Ormea had to disavow his pledge (letter to Albani of 10 April 1736: above). For reactions to G.'s arrest by Ludovico Muratori, Charles de Brosses, Antonio Gallenga, Domenico Carutti, Fausto Nicolini, Ludwig Pastor, Lino Marini and Giuseppe Ricuperati, see Chapter Eleven: Appendix.

On arriving here accompanied by the aide-de-camp Guastaldi, without a crowd and with only four soldiers, we were courteously welcomed by the commander, the chevalier Le Blanc, a Savoyard both upright and kind in his ways, who assigned us a room which he told us was the best in the castle, as I discovered later, because it had a window facing east and conveniently placed to check both the force of the winds and the rigours of the cold.[31] And he did not neglect to visit us every day, and in the afternoon towards evening to take us for an hour's walk through the castle's courtyard in an open place, whence could be seen the mountains which surrounded the castle and the flat extended plain which lay at the foot of them and merged with them. And there was no lack at our table of whatever that region produced and what could be had from the village of Saint Pierre a short distance away.

The deserted place, the site of the castle, constructed on a great cliff, and the solitude, certainly horrified and dismayed us at the beginning. All was compensated for, however, by the commander's kindness. He left us at liberty, not under lock and key, took us every Sunday morning to the castle's church to hear mass, and during the day to the Exposition of the Sacrament, and gave us whatever we needed, thus making the arrest seem less worrying for me. Above all, however, I was comforted by the reflection that I had been taken there by the order of a prince whom I had not offended in any way. And his wish that my innocent son not be parted from me made me hopeful that, out of pity for my unhappy state, he would soon put an end to my travail.

A few days after my arrival at Miolans I received a very kind letter dated 11 April from the general Count Picon, accompanied by a gift of coffee, sugar and tobacco for our use. After informing me that the clothes and shirts which I had asked for from Monsieur Vernet would be sent to me, he ordered me to have my belongings, writings, and everything left in Geneva sent to Champery into his hands; that he would arrange to send them to me.[32] I understood from this that I was no longer to

31 Le Blanc is untraceable. Picon, who had organized the diabolical plot to arrest G. and had then inexorably tracked down his manuscripts, did, ironically. recommend clemency for father and son: to Ormea, 11 April 1736. Similarly, Ormea to le Blanc, 14 April 1736, 18 April, 1736, Clement XII to Albani, 19 May 1736: Chapter Eleven: Appendix.

32 Picon, nevertheless, wrote to Ormea.
Picon to Ormea, 9 May 1736:

think of returning to Geneva. I therefore wrote to Monsieur Vernet to send to Chambery my few books, writings, and the trunk with the other clothes left there; that, above all, since I was expecting from Milan the manuscripts to be used in printing the Fifth Volume,[33] he take great care to see that they arrived and send them also to Chambery to the governor; that he apologize on my behalf to Barillot for being unable to carry out what had been arranged between us, now that hard necessity was preventing it; and to tell Pellissari the same, that in reference to the French translation he might consider others, since I could no longer think of it, and that I cancelled any contract with both of them.[34]

'I have succeeded, after much intrigue, to retrieve from *Geneva* Monsieur Giannoni's trunk, retained under the seal of the Seigneurie, I have no doubt, however, that before it was passed on to me, the papers of interest to the said Gianoni had been removed. After I glanced through those in the said trunk, which I send with this in a parcel under seal to Your Excellency, it seems to me that there is nothing of consequence. What remains in the trunk is only linen, old clothes and a few books, apart from ten letters which Your Excellency will find included in the same parcel. I have, moreover, removed the letters, of which you will doubtless approve, and have had kept only the clothes and linen of the said Gianoni. The poor man, who is greatly bored in his prison, as is natural, would like to be provided with some books to divert himself, in lieu of being given work, if he were found capable of something in the service of His Majesty. Your Excellency will see whether or not that can be done. As for his nephew, all he does is weep, not knowing why he is included in the misfortune of his uncle'. (TAS, *Mss. Giannone*: Occella, 'Ultimi dodoci anni', pp. 670-671).

It was, however, the trunk from *Milan* which revealed the *Triregno*: see below, n.37.

33 See Chapter Eleven: Appendix [37] for Ormea's letter to Picon, 9 May 1736, and in particular the letters of Picon to Ormea of 29 August and of Felice Guastaldi to Ormea of 16 October 1736; see also 'The *Triregno* and its Fate'. From Bertelli's deductions, it appears that two bundles of G.'s papers were taken from Geneva, one of which, probably the second (see below), contained G.'s original draft of the *Triregno*, put out of order by Vernet when surrendering it. It was therefore from that draft that the Dominican inquisitor Vincenzo Elefante related the summary for G.'s condemnation as a heretic by the Sacred Congregration (Bertelli, 'L'incartamento originale', p. 22).

34 The French translation was eventually published in Geneva in 1742 under the title *Histoire civile du Royaume de Naples, traduite de l'italien de Pierre Giannone, Jurisconsulte et Avocat napolitain. Avec de Nouvelles Notes, Réflexions et Médailles fournies par l'Auteur, et qui ne se trouvent point dans l'édition italienne*, four volumes, à La Haye, chez Pierre Gosse et Isaac Beauregard. This was despite the best efforts of the papal government to prevent it (see above, Chapter Eight: Appendix [24]):
Raniero D'Elci, nuncio to Paris, to Giuseppe Firrao, cardinal secretary of state, 30 April 1736:

'The request made verbally and in writing by me to try to block the implementation of the evil plans of Pietro Giannoni, who has withdrawn to Geneva, has been very well received here. I have been promised that the Resident of this Crown living in Geneva [Pierre de la Closure] will be given the commission of exerting every

I included the unsealed letter in my reply to the general and thanked him profusely for his kindness, and stated that, as I had obeyed all that had been required of me, I was ready to carry out whatever I would be ordered, and I asked him for his protection with His Majesty the king, since I had no one to intercede for me at the court of Turin. I included also a letter for Milan written to the secretary Canari, in which I asked him to beseech Princess Trivulzio's intercession on my behalf at that court, knowing how effective and advantageous her intervention might be. I had no acknowledgement of this and my other letters written to Milan. When Commander Le Blanc told me that there was no need to write again to Milan, as he could accept only my letters to Chambery and Geneva, I understood that they had not been sent.[35] And I could never discover whether the manuscripts expected from Milan had been

effort to block the French translation of his [G.'s] detestable book and thus be sure to report, should the said Giannone come to France, in order to have him arrested. They are fully persuaded here that it is not necessary to increase the number of those who think and speak as evilly as he does. I have had, however, almost certain news that, through the work of the king of Sardinia, Giannoni has been made leave the Genevan states and been arrested and taken to the prisons at Chambery, whereby perhaps the aim of liberating human commerce from such a pernicious man will have been achieved' (AAV, *Francia*: Marini, *Mezzogiorno*, pp. 262, 300-301 (doc. 39)).

Pierre de la Closure, French Resident in Geneva, 'administered his profession for forty-one years and gained the respect of the Genevans for his kindness and moderation' (*Histoire de Genève*, published by the *Societé d'Histoire et d'Archéologie de Genève* (Geneva 1951), p. 387). La Closure made a noble reply to Giovanni Battista Barni, the archbishop of Edessa, nuncio to the Swiss. He informed Barni that Bousquet's associate would not divulge the translator's name; it was, in fact, irrelevant, because 'M. Bousquet... is convinced that if this translation were not published here, it would infallibly be published in Holland or anywhere else... [H]e assured me, however, that [the translator] was of a totally established reputation, and would not have undertaken such a work if it were so pernicious and defamatory' (Geneva, 18 November 1732; letter sent by Barni to Banchieri in Rome, 22 November: AAV, Svizzera: Marini, *Mezzogiorno*, pp. 234, 281-282 (doc. 19)). The second Italian edition of the *Istoria civile* was also published in Geneva in 1753. The Hague was again given as the fictitious place of publication. The publishers were the steadfast Errigo-Alberto (Henri Albert) Gosse & Co.

35 G. wrote from Chambery, 4 April 1736, to his friend Nicola Forlosia, in a state of bewilderment about his kidnapping entreating him to intercede for him with Garelli, but the letter was never sent. G.'s letter to Forlosia also included a note for another friend, Domenico Lalli: Appendix. Vernet's biographer notes that Vernet informed Vienna of G.'s arrest, and sought the advice of Forlosia (Eugène de Budé, *Vie de Jacob Vernet* (Lausanne 1893), p. 112). He would certainly have appealed to Prince Eugene, but the prince died on 21 April 1736, fourteen days after G.'s arrival at Miolans.

sent to Geneva, or had remained there, or fallen into other hands.

The aide-de-camp Guastaldi later wrote to me that Monsieur Vernet had sent the governor at Chambery my trunk with my other belongings, writings and books, but from the list sent to me, many things were missing. I wrote back asking him to try to recover what remained, which he let me know had been done. As everything, however, was kept in his possession, I did not receive anything. I complained of this in another letter written to the governor, who informed me through Monsieur Le Blanc, that as Guastaldi, who had everything in his keeping, had left for Turin, I could only have it when he returned. I waited until his return and was finally sent my trunk with the clothes and other belongings. Guastaldi wrote that as I did not need what remained, it was left in his keeping, and he hoped before long, on my regaining my freedom, to put it into my own hands.[36]

As in a shipwreck I thus saw scattered here and there the few relics of my rags,[37] most of them left in Venice, others perhaps in Milan or even missing, others in Geneva, and others in Chambery. It did not worry me at all not to be sent the remnants of my writings or other belongings, but I was afflicted not to have those few poor books, which would have alleviated the boredom and tedium in the desperate idleness and that solitude. Foreseeing this, however, on leaving Chambery I had as best

36 For an account of G.'s belongings left in the possession of Felice Domenico Guastaldi, aide-de-camp of Count Picon, see letters of G. to Marquis Breglio of 20 January, 16 February, and 18 March, and to Charles Emanuel, 12 May 1745 (Chapter Twelve). Guastaldi stole the best things in G.'s belongings, as well as the rest of G.'s savings, on which he and Giovanni had been living in Geneva. Guastaldi claimed that the money was used for masses for the salvation of G.'s soul! G. made many requests for the return of his books and belongings left in Guastaldi's possession. In 1745, Guastaldi was dismissed for stealing the belongings of prisoners. G.'s agonized plea to Prever to have returned to him also the books left in Geneva went unanswered. For the list of those books, see Chapter Eleven: Appendix.

37 Despite Clement's satisfaction that G. would be imprisoned for the rest of his life, the cardinals in Rome sought to have G. sent there to be tried by the Inquisition. On the refusal of Charles Emanuel to send G. to Rome, attention focused on the recovery of his papers and manuscripts. In the trunk of G.'s papers found in *Milan* was his Preface to the *Triregno*, which alerted Turin and Rome to the existence of his major work. On 29 October, Cardinal Giuseppe Firrao, secretary of state, wrote to the nuncio in Naples, Zanieri Simonetti: 'I want to give you some secret news. There has been sent to the king of Sardinia all the writings of the infamous G., among which there is one not quite finished, which Mohammed or Luther could not have written. The author, however, pays the penalty for his iniquity' (Naples, Bibl.Nat., Mss. B.19, cc, not numbered). See Chapter Eleven: Appendix.

I could provided myself with a Livy bought there from a bookshop, to find which was a pure miracle, even though the edition was bad and full of mistakes. It was undeniably a great comfort to me to while away many hours of the day reading and re-reading it, and thus rendering my isolation less boring.

When I saw from the letters of the governor-general and Guastaldi that it was the king's wish not to think any more about Geneva or of the printing or reprinting, and as I had done all that I was ordered, I decided in May to compose a full petition for His Majesty. After setting out my vicissitudes from when I left Vienna and the hard necessity which had forced me to go to Geneva, not to change religion, but to find there an honourable livelihood, I begged the king in his clemency that, as I was in his hands and ready to carry out whatever he commanded, he not permit me to go on suffering such anguish, there being no need to hold me in custody, when not only freely but gladly I had declared, and was declaring, to him my wish to sacrifice the rest of my life to his royal service, that he could dispose of me as he pleased. And I especially drew his attention to the fact that, as I was a poor foreigner abandoned by all, I could not expect anyone to intercede with His Majesty on my behalf; that it was not unreasonable, therefore, to fear that I had been consigned to oblivion. I would, of course, have had many accusers from the court of Rome, but I asked that he might grant me the favour of exposing their accusations by having them investigated. He would then realize that I had become the object of their hatred and abomination, not because my sentiments were contrary to our Holy Faith, or because I disagreed with the principal articles of the Catholic religion, but solely because I refused to adopt as true with craven adulation the false maxims of the papal monarchy over all the princes of the earth, and because I had revealed the stratagems against the authority of princes; and I had placed in clearer light the royal prerogatives and exalted, sovereign and independent rights granted them by God over their states and dominions; that this and nothing else had brought down on me the rage and indignation of the court of Rome. I begged him as a wise and just prince, therefore, not to give facile credence to the charges made against me, but to have them investigated by learned and dispassionate men, and to allow me to defend my innocence against the insidious weapons of vicious and malevolent slander.

This petition was sent to the governor at Chambery, who assured me through Monsieur Le Blanc that it had been sent to the king at the court of Turin.[38] I waited for a long time without seeing any provision made for it. And meanwhile my painful arrest continued. Monsieur Le Blanc comforted me by telling me that, as the court of Turin was engaged in other more important and grave matters, negotiating the peace between the emperor and the princes allied in the last war fought against him,[39] it was not surprising that he could not think of other trifling matters.

I spent the three months of summer as best I could under this illusion, and to make my stay less tedious and not to rot in such painful idleness, I began to write these memoirs, which are not complete because my life is not yet ended, and I do not know whether it will end here or whether my fierce destiny has reserved the remainder for harder, more cruel torments.

The summer of this year, 1736, spent in the middle of the mountains of Savoy, revealed many things not observed elsewhere. In each month whether it were June, July, or August, I saw on the summits of the mountains that when it rained on the plain, new snow fell. On rainy days towards evening, the rainbow could be seen fragmented at the foot of the mountains and at one moment shaped like a curved column, and at another, assuming an irregular shape according to how the sun's rays struck the spray of the shattered mists. Sometimes its arc began from the foot of one mountain and ended in another, without crossing their summits, so that from the castle the complete arc could be seen between the plain and the mountains without advancing over them in the lofty sky. When in the most intense heat or the driving rain the great masses of snow formed on those ancient rocks crashed down, they made a din so frightful that from a distance it seemed like the boom of great cannons levelling and carrying away all in their path of trees, great rocks, buildings and huts. In spring and autumn, moreover, the winds blew so violently and strongly that it seemed not only the castle, but the whole machine of the world would be destroyed. And yet such spectacles, din and storm, served somewhat to relieve my mind from the long, painful boredom, and direct my sorrowful gloomy thoughts to

38 It was dated 4 May 1736 (Ormea to Picon, 9 May 1736): for the petition, see Chapter Eleven: Appendix [40].

39 The War of the Polish Succession (1733-1735). G.'s irony is crushing.

new objects, even though full of horror and terror.

I often took refuge in the thought that, as the mountain on the slope of which the castle was built had at its foot a vast plain which extended between the mountains for many miles with the Isère River flowing through the middle, it may have been the place of that famous and bloody battle which the consul Quintus Fabius Maximus [121 BC] fought against the Allobrogians and Avernians, referred to by Pliny the Elder when describing the battlefield's location as near the Isère, since there was no plain as broad as it among those mountains capable of holding such vast armies. Pliny in Chapter 5, Book 7 [7.166] of his *Natural History* commemorates the battle for having been the occasion when, on the field in the heat of fighting, Fabius was cured of a quartan ague which had troubled him for a long time. Here he was freed from the ague, but I not from my prison.

In autumn, seeing that my arrest was continuing and the winter approaching, I sent another petition for His Majesty[40] to the governor at Chambery, in which I entreated him not to permit me to spend winter in those grim mountains, given the obvious danger, with my frail constitution and advanced age, of dying there; that if it so pleased His Majesty, at least he might order to have me sent the books left at Chambery and arrange to have me sent some others to enable me to endure such solitude less tediously. And added to this petition I sent also to the governor the small list of books wanted, asking him to intercede for me with the king; that, if he could do nothing else, at least he could in that way comfort my anguished and oppressed mind. In no more than three or four weeks, the books were sent from Chambery, from

40 There is no trace of this second petition of 1736. There was again no acknowledgement of it, and G. subsequently sent one or two petitions each year, either to the king or to Ormea, requesting his liberty and also ineffectually requesting books which he needed (*Vita*, ed. Nicolini, p. 401). For the petitions of 4 May 1736 and 8 August 1737, see Appendix. As the renowned historian Benedetto Croce wrote on G.'s imprisonment by Charles Emanuel III and Ormea for reasons of state: 'justice and pity were of no avail, and the laments and pleas of the hapless G. remained unheard' (review of A. Pierantoni's *Autobiografia di P.G. etc.*, in *ASPN*, 15 (1890), 684-85). As Gaja observes (*Il marchese d'Ormea*, p. 195), G.'s petitions reveal that his imprisonment was unnecessarily cruel and severe. His concessions were for the most part only to be able to read and write. G. decided to translate Livy into Italian, and used it also to teach Giovanni, which led him to record his own reflections on Livy (see Chapter Twelve). There was also at this time the very serious illness of Giovanni: Chapter Eleven: Appendix.

which fact I understood that I was to spend all winter in the castle. Not all the books, however, came, and on looking through them for Pliny's *Natural History* I found that, instead of it, they had sent me the *Letters* and the *Panegyric* of the other Pliny,[41] either because they thought him the same, or because nothing else was to be found at Chambery.

With such succour, I prepared myself patiently to endure the grim winter there in the narrowness of one room, because, apart from going to hear mass on Sundays, one could not take a step outside without going numb with the extreme cold. And although I was used to the cold of Germany, apart from the fact that sufficient provision is made for it by the stoves used there, I found that the cold of Savoy was more palpable and troublesome, because it was sharper and more penetrating. It was inadequately held in check by the simple fireplace, which did not heat the whole room, so that one had only to go one step away from the fire to feel the severity of it.

[1737]

Twice, in January of the new year 1737 and at the beginning of March, I fell ill with a slow fever caused by visceral obstruction [constipation]. After being treated by a skilled doctor, however, in the nearby village of San Pierre, who, being in the king's employ, had the castle under his care, I was cured by light purges and a correct diet.

A year has gone by and we have entered the second year of suffering in this solitude the pain and tedium of a wretched, boring life. And as though no longer in the world since being brought here, I know nothing of what has happened in it of peace or war or other matters, and much less of my relatives and friends. My life, therefore, seems like an image of death. And I do not know what will become of us; but fear and dread

41 The *Epistulae* and the *Panegyricus Traiano*, of Pliny the Younger, the elder Pliny's nephew, edition unknown (Merlotti, *L'ape ingegnosa*, intro., p. xcix). Thanks to Andrea Merlotti's masterly edition of *L'ape ingegnosa*, and his invaluable list of books possessed or read by G., including those few in prison (see Chapter Twelve), we know that G. did eventually acquire his longed-for *Natural History* by Pliny the Elder, edited by Jean Hardouin (1723 (2 vols), or 1741 (3 vols), both published in Paris). As it is not mentioned in the letter of thanks to Prever of April 1740 for his books or to Ormea, Merlotti surmises that it came from within the fort of Ceva (intro., p. lxvi). G. used Pliny for his *Apologia de' teologi scolastici*, written in Ceva 1740-1741 (*ibid.*, lxii). He was able to take Pliny with him to the Citadel of Turin, one of very few books (*ibid.*, lxvi).

that, when the court of Rome feels it is too long to wait for the death of an old man, which I am, it might contrive, with its shrewd tricks and expedients, to have my stay here prolonged in such a wretched and unhappy state, in order to hasten it as much as possible, at least with discomfort, deprivation and suffering, to which at my advanced age I must eventually succumb.

To this end, should I die here with Rome having set me up as an object of attention for all and made me more famous on account of its incessant and fierce persecutions than for my published works, I have decided, with the opportunity provided by this idleness and solitude, to give the world a full and faithful account of my life and all that has happened to me in the course of it, in order that all might be informed of its events and know how to discern the true reports from the false, with which Rome will undoubtedly have confused the minds of the most simple.

Perhaps some of them, moved by pity and compassion, will sigh for the dead whom, while he lived, they despised or neglected. Perhaps from my example they will realize that the court of Rome has no other defence or argument to support its unjust gains made on the power and jurisdiction of princes than that of persecuting the authors, not of replying to their works in which, with manifest proof, Rome's many stratagems and usurpations are revealed and elucidated. What will perhaps seem even stranger and more prodigious, and will astound them, however, will be to see that, in order to destroy and ruin the authors, Rome seeks and finds help from the princes themselves, 'having even kings as her instruments of servitude'. They would no longer doubt, therefore, the appositeness and truth of St Jerome[42] when he wrote that John the Evangelist in the *Apocalypse* was referring to corrupt Rome when alluding to the great city called by him Babylon, and to Rome also when he described that harlot adorned in purple, jewels and gold, who, after prostituting herself on the seven hills, was seen shamelessly to solicit kings, as Dante also observed.[43]

42 Jerome, *Liber de viris illustribus* in Migne, *P.L.*, 23, col. 654: *On Illustrious men*, trans. Thomas Halton (Washington 1999). He cites not the *Apocalypse* but *Peter* 1.5.13, according to Bertelli (B., p. 334); the place in the *Apocalypse* would be 17.1-4.4

43 Dante, *Inferno* 19.106-108: *Di voi, pastor, s'accorse il vangelista / quando colei che i siede*

For myself who has suffered such trouble and travail, not because of hatred of others or contempt, but solely for love of truth and in order to investigate it in the obscurity of the darkest and most neglected centuries, if I am to leave my lifeless body here among these rugged cliffs, I shall ask God, who is truth itself, to gather up my spirit in peace. And as I have suffered such torture and martyrdom for truth, it is right that at last it be given tranquillity and rest.

I shall ask also the peasants and travellers who, when crossing these mountains and passing through Savoy into France, have to take the road from which, not far away can be seen the castle of Miolans, to cast their pitying eyes on the great rock under which will be buried my old bones, that, moved by pity, they shall say to them as they pass by: 'Parched and dry bones, may you have the peace and rest which you could never find in life'.

Di nuove pene mi convien far versi.

(Of new punishment it behoves me to make verses)[44]

1737, 15 September. From Miolans I arrived at the prisons of the Porta del Po.[45]

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sopra l'acquae / puttaneggiar coi regi a lui fu vista ('The Evangelist had shepherds such as you in mind,/when she who sits upon the waters was observed by him to be a whore for kings', trans. Roderick Foster). It was a popular quote with the jurisdictionalists of the 1700s (Bernardo Tanucci, *Epistolario* (Rome 1988), 1, p. 187).

44 *Inferno* 20, line 1. On 20 February 1737, Albani finally sent the original manuscript of the *Regno terreno* and parts of the *Regno celeste*, put in order by Palazzi di Selve, to the Inquisition, with an accompanying letter to Monsignor Girolami. For the history of the hunt for these texts, see 'The *Triregno* and its Fate' (below). For the petition to Charles Emanuel of 8 August 1737 with the list of books, see Chapter Eleven: Appendix [40]. For the inscriptions prepared by G. and never used for his tombstone and for the villa of Due Porte, see Chapter Twelve. The poignancy of G.'s petitions reflects his incomparable eloquence and as though instinctively eloquent choice of words, expressing his life of erudition. They condemn the terrible heedlessness of Ormea and the king.

45 The journey from Miolans to Turin thus took five days. G. has anticipated his arrival. See Giovanni's *Memorie* (below) for the account of the brutal and final separation of father and son, when G. left Miolans. Gaja (*Il marchese d'Ormea*, p. 195) observes that Giovanni was released as though he were a criminal. No reparation was made to him, and since he was forbidden to take any luggage, he left without the manuscript of his father's *Vita.*

1737, 20 September. [I arrived] in Turin.

1738

27 January 1738—Fr Prever.[46]

15 March. Following information from the above-mentioned father and the letter of the king to Rome, an order was sent from the Sacred Congregation of the Holy Office to the Father-General, Brother Giovanni Alberto Alfiero,[47] vicar-general of the Inquisition in Turin, to receive my retraction, with instruction for self and Father Prever, my confessor and director of my conscience. [The last] having come to the said prison with the said father on 4 April, he received my deposition, and consequently the retraction, according to the instruction sent on the points prescribed

46 There is no reason we can discover for G.'s singling out of this date in the middle of his tribulation with Giovan Battista Prever (1684-1751), a canon of the Oratory of St Filippo Neri. He was appointed (pseudo-) registrar of the proceedings against G. by the vicar-general, in order to make G's Abjuration seem more genuine (Panzini, *Vita,* p. 161). As Bertelli observes, Ormea's choice of the kindly, obtuse Prever was 'diabolically felicitous'. Twelve years later in 1749, Prever wrote in his obituary for G. an unctuous, and it would appear self-justificatory, account of his first visit in 1737 to G.: 'The Marquis [Ormea] told me: You will be given six months. I remember telling him [G.] on my first visit no longer to think of leaving the prison or of changing his circumstances; that whatever would result from my intervention, if it were good, would benefit only his soul and nothing else; as then it truly was, and I could see that he was convinced of that'. For the whole of that winter, 1737/1738, G. remained firm. Ormea wrote to Albani as late as 16 March 1738 on the little progress having been made, but that efforts would be doubled 'to make him come to his senses; that His Holiness may rest assured, given the piety of His Majesty' (Pio Occella, 'Ultimi dodici anni', p. 680). Only after the six months passed did the prisoner break down and relent. Apart from the known harsh conditions, the Abjuration was probably finally extorted by the perfidious promise that G. would regain his freedom. Nicolini, ed. *Vita*, pp. 406-407, documents such a brutal bribe: G.'s letters to Prever 6 July 1738, to the king 27 March 1741, to Ormea 3 July 1741, to the king 19 March 1742 (see also G.'s Preface to the *Vita*). For extracts of G.'s letters to Prever of 6 July 1738, 23 February, 24 May 1739, 8 April 1740, and for Prever's two letters, one undated but with 1739 written in the top corner, and the other of 12 April 1739, see below. G.'s letters to Prever from Ceva reflect G.'s unique humanity and kindness with no trace of condescension. Prever, however, did not ever visit him during his six years in Ceva or find a way to answer G.'s letters, in which G. had implored Prever to give him news of his family in Naples. Prever never fulfilled his commission. For the history of the Abjuration, see Chapter Eleven: Appendix.

47 Giovanni Alberto Alfieri da Magliano, d. 1742 (B., p. 335).

in the Abjuration.[48] In execution of said order, I was given absolution from all the censures, prohibitions, et cetera, and permission was given to the said Father Prever to hear my confession and absolve me from all the sins and matters reserved in Rome at the Sacred Congregation of the Holy Office.[49]

The booklet *Jani Perontini* etc., was condemned in Rome on 17 August, 1735, for containing 'clauses which were false, calumniating, scandalous, corrupting for simple minds, rash, injurious to the jurisdiction of the Church, erroneous, and bordering on heresy'.[50]

This booklet induced the Sacred Congregation of the Holy Office to write to the Inquisitor of Venice to take action against the author. Nothing, however, could be done because he was very circumspect in order not to lose asylum there and to obtain a lectureship at the University of Padua, as the Inquisitor signified.

Not long after, nevertheless, it was learnt that he had been arrested in Venice, at night, and put in a boat to be disembarked outside the State's borders. The notice to arrest him, however, arrived too late, notwithstanding the previous diligence of the Holy Congregation in alerting the Inquisitors of Ferrara, Genoa, Florence, Pisa, and Lombardy, because when it arrived from Venice, he had already left for Geneva.

The manuscripts left in Milan were sent by the king to the pope, who, through Cardinal Alessandro Albani,[51] had them sent to the Sacred

48 The icy tenor of G's Abjuration, sometimes set in the third person, as though to distance himself from the self-inflicted treachery, defies any suggestion of the spontaneity which was formally required. Ricuperati describes the Abjuration as 'a ritual ably conducted by Ormea...all involved seem to accept the desperate version of the truth which the prisoner was forced to sign' (*Apologia de' teologi scolastici*, ed. Liliana Cecchetto, intro., p. xxvii). The revision of the text of the Abjuration must have been the work of the Holy Office (Bertelli, 'L'incartamento originale', p. 36). G.'s expression and style, especially in his postscript, reflect the tension and formality with the repetition verbatim of such errors as 'San Felice' and 'Peruntini'.

49 For the reaction of the courts of Rome and of Turin, see Chapter Eleven: Appendix.

50 The manuscript was, in fact, G.'s *De Consiliis, ac Dicasteriis, quae in Urba Vindobona habentur* (The Councils and Ministries of Vienna)=*Opere postume*, 2 (1766), pp. 181-235.

51 Alessandro Albani (1692-1779) had been made colonel of a regiment when aged fifteen. His uncle Clement XI had appointed him nuncio extraordinary to Vienna

Congregation, ordering that they be kept under lock and key. And afterwards he sent the other manuscripts which were recovered from Geneva.[52]

On 5 April [1738] Abate Palazzi visited me.[53]

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in the dispute over the restitution of Comachio. He became one of Rome's most powerful figures. Innocent XIII made him a cardinal in 1721. 'Through Cardinal Albani, Marquis d'Ormea, the leading personality in Turin, had learnt of the Pope's keen desire that the Neapolitan writer Pietro Giannone, one of the bitterest enemies of the Holy See, should not find refuge in Piedmontese territory' (Pastor, 34, p. 352). For his part in negotiations for the Concordat between Turin and the court of Rome under Benedict XIII, Albani received from Turin a wealthy abbey and the office and title of 'Protector of Sardinia' (Pastor, 34, p. 153). The old age of Albani, in contrast with that of the prisoner, was softened by the attentions of his mistress, Countess Cheruffini, who bore him two daughters (Louis Dutens, *Memoires d'un voyageur* (London 1806), 1, p. 254). He died blind. *DBI* 1, pp. 595-598: Gianni Sofri. The library of Alessandro Albani was famous. It was purchased for the Prussian government by the great Roman historian Theodore Mommsen (1817-1903).

> 'The precious freight was on its way via Hamburg to Berlin. As it moved towards the Atlantic, the vessel sprang a leak and was compelled to put in at Gibraltar. There, when help proved unavailing, it went to the bottom of the sea, library and all. With the total of the volumes which perished—some 800, with manuscripts accounting for 989 of them, apart from 656 groups of miscellaneous papers—we do not know the composition of the lost treasure in detail' (Bernard M. Peebles, *The Biblioteca Albana Urbinas as represented in the Library of the Catholic University of America* (New York 1961), p. 332).

This disaster has vital repercussions. Proof of Albani's involvement in the copying of the manuscript of the *Triregno*, sent to the archives of the Inquisition, thus cannot be established, nor can we know what other works of G. his library might have possessed.

52 G.'s friends, moreover, albeit unknowingly, had failed him. Garelli remained silent in Vienna; he was a widower, and one of his children had died. Pisani in Florence allowed his friends to look at G.'s manuscripts after G.'s expulsion, so that Giovanni, who had remained in Venice, could not take them with him to G. waiting for him in Modena. The manuscripts then had to be sent separately to Milan, whence G. had already been expelled and gone to Geneva. In Milan, Princess Trivulzio in all good faith grievously failed him by cementing Savoy's machinations with Rome. She or her secretary, Francesco Canari, also surrendered to Savoy's agent a chest, in which, among G.'s belongings, was the totally condemnatory Preface to the *Triregno.* In Geneva Vernet and Turrettini committed the supreme mistake of parting with the original draft of the major part of the *Triregno,* with G.'s notes from Geneva. Vernet finally surrendered Giovanni's entire copy of the *Triregno*, with Giovanni's full knowledge and consent (see 'The *Triregno* and its Fate', below).

53 Abate Antonio Palazzi di Selve (no dates) put into order the original copy of the *Triregno*, with G.'s notes on the last chapters of the *Regno papale* (Papal Kingdom),

On Sunday, 15 June, I left Turin and was taken to the castle of Ceva (see Fig. 26), arriving there on 17 June.[54]

surrendered, albeit deliberately out of order, to Guastaldi by Vernet. Ricuperati described Palazzi as 'moderately jurisdictionalist', and not ignorant of Deist culture (*L'esperienza*, p. 478). Palazzi di Selve was the deputy librarian in the library of Turin University, and a trusted official of Charles Emanuel. He was an intellectual and a theologian, and it was he who reviewed G.'s writings from prison. In 1735, he became the royal bursar for the provinces of Alessandria, Lomellina, and Valesia. After his labours on G.'s manuscripts, he was immediately appointed a councillor of Charles Emanuel and, ironically, prefect of the university library. His prestige was assured when in 1745 the king gave him the responsibility of writing the account of the abdication and brutal arrest and imprisonment of his father, Victor Amadeus II, at Rivoli: 'Dell'abdicazione del re Vittorio Amedeo e della sua detenzione ne'castelli di Rivoli e Moncarieri' (Turin Royal Library, Ms St Patria 76, cod. 2). It tends inevitably to exculpate Charles Emanuel and lay the blame on Ormea, who had died in that year (Gaja, *Il marchese d'Ormea*, pp. 66, 119). The only entry for Palazzi in a reference work is Carlo Frati, *Dizionario bio-bibliografico dei bibliotecari e bibliofili italiana dal XIV al XIX secoli* (Florence 1933), p. 430: prefect of the university library c.1760!

54 In a letter to Ormea, 6 July 1738, G. made the sorrowful observation: 'I must, however, render infinite thanks to divine providence and the clemency of His Majesty, who deigned to have me transferred to this fort' from the prisons of the Porta del Po, where I would certainly have departed this life'. In the same letter he included one for Prever 'to stir you to reply to me', in which he referred to his ill health on arriving at Ceva: 'Now as I am becoming used to the new climate, I am gaining new strength, and hope to recover from the previous suffering in the prisons of Porta del Po, where if I had stayed any longer, I would certainly have lost my life'. G.'s letters to Prever began about three weeks after his arrival. They reveal much about G.'s preoccupations, and about the real intimacy which had previously developed on his part with Prever during his six months of suffering in the prisons of Porta del Po. It had been a terrible year (1738) for G. the prisoner, with the separation from Giovanni, with not even a chance to say goodbye, over six months in Porto del Po with no exercise, and virtually no books, and in fear of losing his life, the abjuration, and moreover, no acknowledgement of his request from Miolans for books especially in his petition to Charles Emanuel on 8 August 1737: Chapter Eleven: Appendix [40]. In Ceva, as Merlotti reveals (*L'ape ingegnosa*, intro., p. cxiv), almost the only books available to G. were commentaries on the Gospels by Benito Pereira, Juan de Pineda, Roberto Bellarmino (who as cardinal-inquisitor condemned Bruno and Galileo), or texts of the Church Fathers: Augustine, Gregory the Great, and Lactantius. They became, nevertheless, G.'s primary sources, especially for the *Apologia de' teologi scolastici*, a hitherto unknown masterpiece on the Church Fathers, edited by Liliana Cecchetto, and published in Turin in 2011. The last official reference to G. came in this year (1738) when negotiations were reopened with Clement XII for Savoy's Concordat. Ormea's successor as envoy sent to Rome was Count Giambattista Balbis di Rovera, who, according to the word of Ormea, had had to reassure Clement that G. was well guarded and that the Inquisition had been given full liberty in extracting the abjuration ('Relazione', quoted by Ricuperati in

Fig. 26 The fort of Ceva (1796), destroyed by the French in 1800, on the right, overlooking the city, by Giuseppe Bagetti (d.1831). Wikimedia Commons, public domain.

In November I fell ill and my grave illness lasted for the whole of February, 1739.[55]

Piemonte sabaudo, p. 496).

55 G.'s sojourn in Ceva was exacerbated by long and debilitating illness. In the letter to Ormea, 15 January 1742, he wrote of having suffered long illnesses in three successive winters, 'and given the inclement weather and the excessive cold which followed, I was again assailed by the usual fevers' (TAS *Mss. Giannone*, mazzo 5, ins. 6, I.2=*Giannoniana*, p. 461). Although not as great or as dangerous as in the past winters, they were troublesome and molesting for the greatly weakened G. Merlotti quotes a passage from a letter to Ormea, 23 December 1743, when G. had begun to write the *L'ape Ingegnosa*:

> 'As I grow old, every year I become quite disproportionately ruined in health, and I experience ever greater exhaustion and weakness, so that I may say with St Paul, "I am now called, and the time of my decision is upon me". My stomach is almost finished, without there being any hope of restoring it because of the severity of the climate, and I cannot always have the comfort of walking in the open air to exercise, which is the sole salutary remedy for my malady of obstruction [constipation]. And I assure Your Excellency in all sincerity that it is superfluous still to keep me under lock and key, and with a soldier to guard me in the hours of my walk, when possible. In my case, it is not a matter of the custody of a prisoner, but of an old man aged seventy, infirm and so weak that he can barely stand on his feet' (Ceva, TAS, *Lettere particulari*: *L'ape ingegnosa*, p. 545).

Although the *Vita* and G.'s letters to Prever reveal that his health was poor, in

1739

I was charitably assisted by the cavaliere De Magistris.[56]

When recovered from the illness, I began to write up *I Discorsi sopra Livio* [Discourses on Livy] from my notes. I began them in early March and finished them on 15 May. They were sent to Turin on 8 June with a letter to the marquis D'Ormea, asking him to present them to the king, to whom they were dedicated.[57]

On 4 September, I again fell ill with the same sickness, although not as severe as last year, and it lasted two months with another three months of convalescence.

1740

This year was memorable for the excessive cold and the death of Pope Clement XII, which occurred on 6 February, and also for the election of the new pope Lambertini, on 16 August.[58] It was, however, much more

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1739 he resumed his work, the *Discorsi sopra gli Annali di Tito Livio* (Discourses on the Annals of Livy): see Chapter Twelve. Despite such grievous observations, it must be noted that all G.'s writings 1738-1748 are in the firmest, tiniest, yet most legible hand, even though often on scraps of paper one inch wide. Sorrow seems, nevertheless, to pervade G.'s letters during his life in Ceva.

56 On De Magistris' great kindness to G., see Chapter Twelve.

57 On the *Discorsi*, see Chapter Twelve: Works written in prison.

58 See the comments on Clement XII (1730-1740) by Charles de Brosses: Chapter Eleven: Appendix. Benedict XIV (1740-1758), Prospero Lambertini (b.1675), was head of the Church for the last eight years of G.'s life, and thus controlled his imprisonment. He was educated in the famous Collegio Clementino, where he studied law, and became archbishop of his native city, Bologna. He chose the name as pope of Benedict, because Benedict XIII had made him a cardinal (Moroni, *Dizionario*, 5, pp. 21); the rank was purchased for him by his father. He was part of the Savoyard party in the Sacro Consiglio, which consisted of cardinals Coscia, Fini, and Lercari, the secretary of state and 'Coscia's creature' (Pastor, 34, p. 147). For his help to Ormea on obtaining the Concordat between Rome and Turin under Benedict XIII, Savoy granted him a pension of 1,000 *scudi* with the expectation of a further 500 (*ibid*, p. 153). It was Benedict XIV who from 1745 gave permission to read the *Civil History* on condition that one read Fr Bianchi's *Della podestà e polizia della Chiesa* in six volumes (Nicolini, *Scritti*, p. 106). In the correspondence on the Concordat between Benedict, the so-called 'intellectual pope' and Ormea, however, Roberto Gaja has found no reference to G.'s imprisonment, despite G.'s moving pleas (*Il marchese d'Ormea*, p. 194). Benedict wrote to his nuncio in Turin, however, that he not allow any laxness in the severity of G.'s imprisonment. Anti-Giannonian submissions presented to both Clement XII and Benedict XIV are preserved in the Archives of the Congregation for the Propagation of the Faith: Chapter Eleven: Appendix.

memorable for the death of the emperor, which I learned on Sunday, 30 October, and which occurred in Vienna on 20 October.[59]

I fell ill also at the beginning of November and the illness lasted until April of the following year. 1741.[60]

Appendix (Chapter Eleven)

[14]

The refutation of charges that G. had taken documents from the Imperial Library:

Forlosia (*unsigned*) *to G., Vienna, 26 November 1735:*

> Most kind friend and my most honoured Sir. I and our good friends in common were sorry to hear of your misfortune, as you can imagine. What a comfort it was for us, however, to hear that you had taken refuge from danger, and a consolation to know that you keep in good health there. We are still not certain whether you will stay there. All your friends are well, and principally my superior [G. has added here in his own hand 'il cav. Garelli': Bertelli], in whose name this also will serve as acknowledgement, as he has ordered. After hearing the unhappy news, he, therefore, is glad that you are well. He lets you know, alas, of the following matter which happened here after your misfortune. Sig. Spannaghel went to see him about a letter sent to him from Abate Ruelin from Rome, in which he wrote of how in Venice you had shown around a manuscript from the Imperial Library which contained the correspondence of Emperor Frederick II. He straight away replied to him that this could not be so, but that he himself would search the library to see if such a manuscript were missing. After making a thorough search he sent him a note in reply that nothing was missing. As well, on his own initiative he had me and everyone from the library attest that you

59 Heinrich Benedikt (*Königreich Neapel*, p. 534) observes that G. remained in prison at the pope's pleasure for almost as long as he had found refuge and support at the court of Charles VI (the cause of Charles' sudden death was his passion for mushrooms: he died after eating a great dish of them). History, however, condemns the failure of Charles VI for his heedlessness of G.'s fate. He had been king of Naples and sympathetic to the cause of the legal class (the jurisdictionalists). G. therefore had dedicated to him his famous *Civil History*. Charles failed to exert his considerable influence on the papal court.

60 On the possibility of G.'s being employed by Charles Emanuel, raised at this time, see Chapter Eleven: Appendix. On 1 September 1744, G. was moved to the Citadel of Turin.

> had never requested or seen or ever been near any manuscript, or the place where they are kept. That would have been enough for us, for you and for him. He, however, wanted to know the truth of the matter, if possible. He wrote about it to Sig. Ratzeb and Sig. Apostolo Zeno, who both assured him with complete honesty that you had never spoken of such manuscripts to them or to those closer to you. He wrote even to Rome to Ruelli [Ruelin: Bertelli], who replied that a man of standing had seen it there, and he was waiting for the reply to know who that man of standing was. He wanted you to know about this matter for your consolation, and so that you might provide him with anything else about it, if you happen to have it, because, being certain of you and your honesty, he would like to know the author of the invention. With that he sends you a thousand best wishes. All at your residence [the women of the Leichsenhoffen family: Bertelli] are well and only sigh to have good news of you, as do I, and kiss your hand with devotion.[61]

Zeno wrote to his brother: 'I spoke to one of his servants who had his catalogue of books. They told me that they had never seen him with the manuscript of letters, or anything with the name Pietro della Vigna'.[62]

Angiolo Pisani to G., Venice, 29 March 1736:

(the letter opens with a long account of Pisani's ill-health and poor financial situation, so that he can do little to help G., and the trouble in selling sets of the *Istoria civile.*)

> ... In all secrecy I must add, relying on your discretion that you erase from this letter the present paragraph, concerning whether you might have Sig. Cav. Garelli make a strong appeal to our ambassador resident there about the misrepresentation devised against you in Rome, which failed because of this discourse, and oblige him to take some appropriate part in it. I would imagine such an outcome very worthwhile, because perhaps petitions have arrived from these over the misrepresentation, which, although they have not come here, are circulating in the Supreme Tribunal [the Inquisition]. Notice of your persecuted innocence would thus be necessary and would promote the correct appraisal of you there. The matter, however, would need to be treated with delicacy, so that Sig. Garelli is not offended about what has happened, and so that his good grace leads to this favour for you. In all this may you give me heart, and I again recommend all secrecy, because if ever this confidence

61 Florence National Central Library, *Magliabechiano*: *Giannoniana*, pp. 530-531.
62 *Lettere di Apostolo Zeno,* 5, p. 161, no. 898.

> and initiative which I suggest to you were noticed, it would be greatly prejudicial. Would you therefore be so kind, when you reply to me on this point, as to write on a separate piece of paper separated from the rest of the letter thus, turned over on the back....' [The rest of this letter has been written on the remaining white part: Bertelli.] 'I take the liberty to confirm to you my sentiments that you refrain from publishing matters which, believe me, are prejudicial to this country, because they conclude little, and for your persecutors will be a great source of new, odious accusations, of which you have enough, without having to increase their hatred. And all this I tell you from the love I bear you and the esteem I profess to you...[63]

Apostolo Zeno to Garelli:

Apostolo Zeno replied to Garelli that he had not had occasion to meet G. in Venice and had only caught a glimpse of him in the Piazza San Marco, but he had nevertheless spoken

> to more than one of those gentlemen who were more familiar with him; and expressly with one of them [Pisani] who had made a catalogue of all the books which he [G.] had in his house. And both he [Pisani] and the others had assured me that they had not seen in his possession the letters in manuscript of the emperor Frederick II or the printed material with the name of Pier della Vigne, who was his secretary, and they told me also that he [G.] had never mentioned a word about them in his private discussions. All this I can verify on my honour, and you may declare it on my behalf also to His Majesty the emperor.[64]

Ruelin's accusation may be traced back to the project to republish unedited letters of Pietro della Vigna, which G had tried to persuade his friend Giovanni Lorenzo Acampora in Naples to undertake, and it would no doubt have been one of the labours to which he would gladly have devoted himself, if his persecutors had left him in peace (see his letter from Vienna, among others, 23 June 1725,[65] in which he refers to the twenty unpublished letters in the codex in question, which was in the library of Prince Eugene).

[29]

63 Angiolo Pisani to Giannone, Venice, 29 March 1736: RBN, *Fondo Vittorio Emanuale*: *Giannoniana*, pp. 320-322.

64 *Lettere di Apostolo Zeno*, 5, pp. 160-161, no. 898; B., p. 315.2.

65 *Epist*., p. 259.

G.'s kidnapping, 24 March 1736.

Charles Emanuel to Count Picon, 31 March 1736:

> The Marquis D'Ormea has informed me of your carrying out of our orders to have arrested the said Pierre Giannoni [sic] with a nephew [sic] of his. We declare to you by these lines our gratitude, that we knew the trouble you have taken for the success of this affair, and bid you to send both of them under a good escort to the fort of Miolans, to be kept there until further orders. And to this end we send you enclosed in this another dispatch for the governor of that fort, in order that he receive them. And we pray God that he keep you in his holy protection.[66]

Picon to Ormea, 4 April 1736:

> I shall have Sig. Pietro Giaononi [sic] and his nephew leave for the fort of Miolans, according to the order as received, although I have had the nephew arrested without orders. He is a young man not capable of great things. In reference to the information requested on the activity of Sig. Gioanoni during his sojourn in Geneva, I have questioned the man whom I kept near him for a long while to induce him to leave that City, who did not leave him, and who spied on all his movements. He said that he hardly left his lodgings, as he was busy with work, and with having his history translated into French. He was much consulted and sought out by the principal men of Geneva, and mainly by the Ministers. That does not surprise me, since he is regarded as a declared enemy of the Court of Rome. There was not, however, the slightest indication that he had planned to change Religion, since what determined him to go out of Geneva was to fulfil his Easter Dues in a Catholic village. He was not, nevertheless, given time to do so, for as soon as he was in Savoyard territory he was arrested. He frequented also the house of Monsieur the Prince of Hessen-Kassel, where he was much appreciated and welcome. I am even assured that the said Prince has learned with grief of his arrest and has written to the King of Sweden asking him to write to the King our Master in his favour...
>
> As for the writings which he left in Geneva, though it will be very difficult, I do not despair of having them. I have a friend who is very powerful in that city, who will perhaps be able to help me...
>
> Sig. Gioanoni says that, provided he is not sacrificed to the Court of Rome, he will not trouble himself about anything. that far away from there the potentates of Europe are obliged to support him against that dread Court, and that it would be ingratitude if they did not. Your

66 TAS, *Mss. Giannone*: Nicolini, ed. *Vita*, p. 391; Ricuperati, *Carte torinesi*, p. 85.

> Excellency will find enclosed a letter which Sig. Gioanoni has taken the liberty to write to you. It has been given to me open….
>
> After my writing this letter, Pietro Gioanoni has given me another letter written to Your Excellency.[67]

The friend was Isaac de Budé de Boisy (not in *IBBNH*), an aristocrat and influential member of the Genevan Senate in the 1730s, an informer for Charles Emanuel, and ironically a relative of Turrettini.[68]

Ormea to Albani, 10 April 1736:

> With the information in my other letter to Your Eminence on the arrest which followed of the famous Giannone, I add these lines in confidence to you, even though I cannot believe that Court will ever insist on the said prisoner's being consigned to perpetual imprisonment, and much less after the assurances given it, that he will remain under guard in the fort of Miolans in the guise of a prisoner of State. In case I was ever mistaken, and you should happen to write about it, I ask you not to divulge my having already signified in principle that, in reference to the arrest of Giannone, a company of dragoons would be sent to take him there. To tell the truth, I wrote this without having consulted the royal intentions, and it was my own whim in view of the facility at that time of the troops of His Majesty being able to go, without any check, within the borders of the Pontifical State. Your Eminence knows well that no one lacks his rivals, and I no less than anyone else, hence such a matter would cause me some trouble, and by saying nothing the matter will be completed.[69]

Clement XII to Charles Emanuel 4 (5) May, in gratitude:

> To our dear son in Christ, Charles Emanuel, king of Sardinia, greetings.
>
> After it was announced to us by our dear son, Cardinal Alessandro Albani, in the name of Your Majesty that, on your order, the seditious Giannone had been imprisoned, lest any book of his stir up anything contrary to Christian truth and the State, we have immediately thought about your singular prudence and outstanding intelligence, which decided that turbulent minds of this type should swiftly be dislodged and removed from human commerce, and you would not be deterred. Then that most provident counsel removed from us that care which did not allow us to remove our eyes from his wily way of speaking and acting.

67 Rome, Biblioteca Corsiniana: *Giannoniana*, pp. 173-174.

68 Sven Stelling-Michaud and Paul Waeber, 'P.G. et les Genevois', *Societé d'histoire et d'archéologie de Genève* (1978), 23-54, pp. 40-41.

69 TAS, *Mss. Giannone*: Pio Occella, 'Ultimi dodici anni', pp. 520-521.

> We feared, indeed, that the inexperienced multitude, which is easily imbued with evil thoughts, might be surrounded by them and ensnared by treacherous speeches. Your Majesty has therefore acted well in this matter in favour of holy and civil calm, and we are extremely grateful. At the same time we make known with the highest praise that you did not wish this ruin and plague to spread through your most happy kingdom. We give thanks that that most healthy desire increases in you every day, and that no one there should dare violate the most holy dogmas of our faith and the rules of right living. We equally entertain this most desired hope, *that Your Majesty should take pains for his own equanimity and religion, so that we may come to an agreement about a certain equitable rule by which ecclesiastical business may be managed there* [the Concordat between Rome and Piedmont!]. We have often told you that we shall never abandon that desire, and indeed shall openly do as much as the consideration of protecting our apostolic duty may allow, taking into account our great and everlasting love for you. As a gauge of this now we give our paternal blessing, which we very lovingly impart to Your Majesty, our most dear son in Christ. Given at Rome, 5 May 1736.[70]

Charles Emanuel's reply from the Venaria (his hunting lodge), *5 June 1736:*

> The very loving expressions with which Your Holiness has wished to favour us with your letter of 5 May last well demonstrate the partiality of your good heart in accepting with gratitude the proofs given by us of our sincere interest in the benefit of our holy Religion, as a result of the arrest ordered of Pietro Giannone. And if these our steps were moved solely by such an end, Your Beatitude may ever more greatly infer the vigour of our attention to give you ever greater marks of our reverend and sincere sentiments in all which pertains to the welfare of the Holy See and the Person of Your Holiness, as the occasion arises.
>
> *In reference, then, to our affairs*, the declarations which Your Holiness is pleased to make us of *your desire to bring them to a final settlement* can only be to our very distinct satisfaction. And we therefore feel there is reason to hope that Your Beatitude will wish to render effective those favourable arrangements [the Concordat] which it seems you are persuaded to meet, with all that facility and co-operation for an end which is compatible with our decorum and the preservation of our just rights. And wishing Your Holiness from Heaven very long years of life to bless the Christian World, I kiss your most holy feet.[71]

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70 Included in Albani's letter of 19 May 1736: AAV, *Lettere ministri*: Occella, 'Ultimi dodici anni', p. 673; my italics.

71 TAS, 'Dispatches of the Court of Turin to those of Rome': Ricuperati, *Piemonte sabaudo*, pp. 494-95; Pierantoni, ed. *Vita*, pp. 475-476; my italics.

[30]

Reactions to G.'s kidnapping and arrest:

Documentary evidence convicts both the king Charles Emanuel and Ormea of active complicity and culpability for the perpetual imprisonment in solitary confinement without charge or trial of the innocent Giannone. The crime was notorious in Europe. Charles Emanuel's only merit was in his resisting Rome's request to surrender G. to the Inquisition, as Domenico Carutti in the *Storia del Regno di Carlo Emanuele* (Turin 1859), 1, p. 135 had already shown. G.'s continued imprisonment in Charles Emanuel's Savoy, however, had the much more cynical and sinister motive of self-interest: a favourable Concordat with Rome.

Ludovico Muratori, on learning of G.'s arrest, wrote: 'It will be hard for the court of Turin to surrender G. They will want to keep him to frighten Rome'.[72]

Charles de Brosses announced in 1741:

> Some time ago the king committed an ungenerous act....Giannone, who wrote a history of the kingdom of Naples in a way which brought the court of Rome furiously into the field against him, came here in search of asylum in Piedmont...and the king had him buried in an obscure prison, in order to court the popes and obtain some better outcome for his affairs.[73]

Antonio Gallenga referred to G.'s arrest and imprisonment as:

> the blackest stain which obscures the memory of a prince otherwise good and benevolent. It is, in effect, one of the darkest pages in the history of Piedmont. ...With Giannone's imprisonment, the responsibility falls entirely on Charles Emanuel... for sacrificing the man who had given him no offence and had violated none of his laws.[74]

Fausto Nicolini asserted:

72 Muratori to Riva, 30 May 1736: *Epist*., 8.3568.
73 *Lettres familières*, ed. Bézard, 2, p. 582.
74 *Storia del Piemonte dai primi tempi alla pace di Parigi* (Turin 1856), 2, pp. 356-357.

> A sovereign who signs orders for arrest and receives congratulatory letters from the pope, without having even the curiosity to read them or ask why a subject not his own was, without any motive in the world, detained in his States, is rejected by history and reason.[75]

Ludwig von Pastor, in his *History of the Popes* did not hesitate to condemn the villainy, and, of course, saw the hidden motive:

> ... in March 1736 he [Ormea] lured him [P.G.] from Geneva, where the wretched man had found shelter, into Savoyard territory where he had him arrested and securely guarded; he would even have extradited him to Rome if the King had not opposed the plan. In his letter of thanks for the arrest of Giannone, dated May 4th, 1736 [above [29]: in fact, 5 May], the Pope gave utterance to a lively desire for the settlement of the disputes with the Government of Turin.[76]

On the significance of the power which triumphed in G.'s tragedy, Lino Marini wrote:

> It was a sovereign who imprisoned unto death the jurisdictionalist, the defender of sovereigns and 'patrons'. The Savoyard government decided on the arrest and had the strength to do it, also the strength to move other men suitable for the undertaking outside the state. It would be too facile a paradox to observe that fundamentally the arrest on the part of Savoy confirmed the pre-eminence of the power of the prince, for which precisely Giannone had fought, over the power of the papacy. And there is little point in noting the irony of a sort, which not only imprisoned Giannone, the most notable advocate of princes, but led him to that end a few short months after his expressing the wish to serve Charles Emanuel himself.[77]

See Ricuperati's account which traces the tragedy of G., the victim of, and sacrifice to, the negotiations for the Concordat: 'Relazione delle negoziazione colla corte di Roma nel pontificato di Clemente XII', in *Piemonte sabaudo*, pp. 484-497. See also Ricuperati's incisive deductions on Charles Emanuel's cynical self-interest in retaining such a valuable pawn as G. in the negotiations for a favourable Concordat.[78]

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75 Nicolini, ed. *Vita*, pp. 391-392.
76 Pastor, 34, pp. 352-353.
77 Marini, *Mezzogiorno*, p. 261.
78 *Nella costellazione del Triregno*, p. 188.

[31]

G.'s conditions in Miolans:

Picon to Ormea, 11 April 1736:

> In acknowledging Your Excellency's letter, which you have done me the honour of writing on the seventh day of this month, I reply that on the same day of the seventh I had Monsieur Giannoni and his nephew leave for Miolans, where they were consigned to the Chevalier Le Blanc, to whom I have had delivered the sealed order (*lettre de cachet*) of His Majesty. I await news from Geneva on my attempts underway to have the papers left there by the prisoner, and I shall not neglect any means to obtain them. I cannot refrain from representing to Your Excellency that this poor man, given his advanced age and delicate health, will not have long to live, if the king does not have the charity to order that he be looked after and treated in a manner appropriate for his frailty. As for his nephew, given his tender age and mien of never having been hardened in anything criminal, he dissolves in tears from morning to night, and implores endlessly the clemency of His Majesty.[79]

Charles Emanuel, through Ormea, wrote to the commander Le Chevalier Le Blanc:

Ormea to Le Blanc, 14 April 1736:

> I have received your letter of 7 and 8 April. You will have seen in that of the King, which brought you the orders on Signor Giannoni and his nephew, that he intends you to have them treated with all the kindness compatible with the security of their persons. This means that if he asks for fire to warm himself, for candles or tobacco, there be no difficulty at all in providing him with them, granted always that the convenience which you give to the two prisoners, and above all the uncle, does not give him the slightest possibility of making contact outside the fort, and much less enabling him to attempt to escape.[80]

On 18 April Ormea replied to Le Blanc, giving him permission to have G. shaved, to go to confession and to write.[81]

Ormea wrote again to Le Blanc on 9 Mary 1736:

79 Rome, Biblioteca Corsiniana: *Giannoniana*, p. 174.
80 TAS, *Mss. Giannone*: *Vita*, ed. Pierantoni, p. 468; Ricuperati, *Carte torinesi*, p. 85.
81 *Vita*, ed. Pierantoni, p. 468.

> You will be able, Monsieur, to provide for the said Giannoni paper, pen and ink to divert himself studying and writing what he thinks fit, to render his imprisonment less tedious. This must always be, however, with the precaution of preventing him absolutely from writing to anyone apart from his correspondent in Geneva, and by *cachet volant*, and putting the letter in that of Count Picon. With all this, allow me to recommend again Your prompt execution of the King's intentions which refer to the security of the person of the said Giannoni and that of his nephew, that they may in no way attempt to escape.[82]

Clement XII to Albani, 19 May 1736:

> ...far be it from his paternal piety to want this wretch harshly punished. On the contrary, he recommends him to the clemency of His Majesty to have him treated with that mildness and discretion which his charity will dictate and will be more appropriate for his advanced age and delicate health. All his [the pope's] solicitude is directed solely to his retraction, to procure which he desires that His Majesty will adopt such measures...[83]

This measure, however, was not taken into consideration for some eighteen months.

[35]

G. to Nicola Forlosia, 4 April 1736:

> (Today, 9 April, I arrived at the castle of Miolans near Momiglian in Savoy).
>
> I trust in the loyalty and good faith of one of my friends, to whom I profess infinite obligations, that this letter safely reaches you, and hope that he will kindly do me this favour. I am here at Chambery where people have brought me by order of His Majesty the king of Savoy. I am held in custody as a prisoner, and it is not known whether I shall be taken to Turin or elsewhere to some fort in Savoy. On me misfortunes do not rain but deluge, and when one finishes another begins. This one, however, which I do not know whether to call the last, has left me dumbfounded and amazed. No matter how much I examine my conscience, I cannot understand how it came about and the reason for it. I know that my persecutors try in every way to slander me, as they did in Venice, to the extent of victimizing me in that Imperial court about removing the manuscript from the Imperial library, which was then exposed to be a

82 *Ibid*., p. 469.
83 Albani to Ormea, AAV, *Lettere ministri*: Occella, p. 672.

complete fabrication [above, Appendix (14)]. They have even gone so far as to spread the rumour that I was driven out of the Court in Vienna, and they did not hesitate to spread it round, even though it was easy to prove untrue. Now who knows whether they have invented some other slander with that king, given that I find myself treated as a prisoner of State. He has been given to understand that, after staying so many years at the Court in Vienna as a pensioner of the emperor, I had passed through Milan after my misfortune in Venice to intrigue or investigate and make a report to the Imperial court on the state of that city. I remember having written to you that there was no lack of those who, on seeing me in Milan, were suspicious of my going there. They knew of the peace treaty between His Majesty the emperor and the king of France, and the restitution which was to follow by virtue of it of Milan to the emperor, and [believed] that I had obtained some appointment there. All that was foreign to the truth, as events proved. From this, therefore, I suspected that later they could have invented some other slander to render me odious and suspect to that Prince for something which has not even crossed my mind. All my friends who know me are aware that I have always been loath and averse to becoming involved in the affairs of princes and much more so the affairs of State. I therefore earnestly ask you to speak to the Cavaliere [Garelli]. Since he knew how to unmask the deception inflicted on me about the manuscript, he will want to help me with His Catholic Majesty and supreme magistrates to defend my innocence with his usual efficacy and fervour. He will thus be convinced of the deception, which can be only an evil invention without the slightest foundation. People know that by nature I have always abhorred becoming involved in such a way, and in that Court I was not ever employed in similar affairs. It was only my allowance which His Catholic Majesty in his clemency assigned me, to live privately for myself and my studies. Knowing myself, I would not have anything to worry about if I were under such a suspicion, because after a thousand examinations and searchings, in fact with little labour, they would all recognize the slander. I cannot, however, deny the agitation which such base deceptions cause me, and being of poor health and advanced years, I cannot say that I will not finally succumb to the many so cruel persecutions. It is not possible to explain myself better, because, overwhelmed with consternation, I cannot trust myself to survive anywhere in the world. Be a good friend, shout, cry out, and do not stop helping me, and also the other friends, to whom I send loving regards. And I remain, giving you a hundred loving embraces.

G.'s letter to Forlosia also included a note for another friend, Domenico Lalli:

> My most esteemed Sir, Domenico Lalli, I include the present letter so that you do me the favour of redirecting it to where it is addressed. I am certain that you will be kind enough to do me this favour, given how utterly important it is that it reaches its destination. Please remember me to friends and everyone in your family, and I remain devotedly kissing your hand.[84]

This letter to Forlosia was never delivered. The note at the top (my brackets), dated 9 April, was added to the letter of 4 April, but contradicts his own *Vita:* G. was moved from Chambery to Miolans, a distance of twelve miles, on 7 April.

[36]

G.'s attempts to recover his books from Geneva:

In reference to G.'s virtually futile attempts to recover his belongings. De Boisy's list of the few books from Geneva must have been for the most part those left in the possession of Felice Guastaldi and never given to the prisoner.

Paul van Heck[85] quotes the 'Inventaire des livres et papiers qui se sont trouvés dans le Coffre Baku envoyé a S.E.Monseigneur le Comte Piccon par M.r de Boisy des Seig[neu]rs de la Ville de Genève'.[86] They are the few books left in Geneva, most of which G. had with him after his summary expulsion from Venice and Milan. The following list, left in its original state, was compiled by Savoy's lackey, De Boisy, who had collaborated in G.'s capture from Geneva. They are listed thus by De Boisy (titles have been italicized):

> [Cahiers: notebooks]
>
> Savoir, un petit Cahier intitulé *Historia delle Leggi del Re di Napoli* del Rinaldy;
>
> Autre intitulé *Notizie intorno ad Angelo Polisiano* [sic] *e le sue opere* [cf. TAS. *ibid.*, mazzo 1, ins.9];
>
> Autre intitulé *Ristretto di Produtto alli Carnasco e trabone* [sic: the condensed edition of Strabo's *Geography*, TAS *ibid.*, mazzo 1, ins.11];

84 Chambery, 6 April 1736: TAS, *Mss. Giannone*: Ricuperati, *Carte torinesi,* pp. 83-84; *Lettere autografe*, pp. 71-74.

85 *Discorsi sopra gli Annali di Tito Livio*, ed. Van Heck (Turin 2019), intro., p. 1.

86 TAS, *Mss. Giannone*, mazzo 5, ins.8.

Autre intitulé *Parere sopra le libro del padre Constanzio*;

Autre intitulé *Parere intorno alla Censura del Padre Massimiliano Gesuita*;

Autre intitulé *Voto del fiscal Riccardi intorno al Tribunal della fabrica di Napoli*;

Autre intitulé *Parere sopra la riforma di regii studij di Napoli* [*ibid.*, mazzo 1, ins.7];

Autre intitulé per l'edizione Milanese de Vilani e della Napolitana di Passavanti [*ibid.*, mazzo 2, ins.2];

Autre intitulé et imprimé *Responsio ad Votum Em.et R.dmi Card.Pereira* [*ibid.*, mazzo 2, ins.2 DDD];

Autre intitulé et imprimé *Nota di fatto per la Teresa Carlotta* etc.;

Autre intitulé *agger objectus Cart*. etc. [*ibid.*, mazzo 1, ins. 19];

Autre imprimé et intitulé *Cogitationes de Controversiis etc. Sub Praesidio Alphonsi Turrineti* [sic] *Pastoris Genevensis* etc. [*ibid*., mazzo 2, ins.4 EEE].

LIVRES:

Livre en Caier couvert de papier sur carton *Prova d'Omero travestito nella Napolitana;*

Autre livre couvert de carton intitulé *Introduction à l'histoire universelle* imprimé à La Haye;

Autre livre couvert de même intitulé *Histoire universelle* tom.1 imprimé à Venise;

Autre livre Tome 3 de la même histoire imprimé comme dessus;

Autre livre couvert de bazanne sur carton imprimé à Genève imtitulé *Histoires ecclésiastiques*;

Autre livre couvert de parchemin sur carton intitulé *L'ingenieux Citoien D.Guichotte de la Manche;*

Autre livre intitulé *Confessioni di S*[*an*]*to Agostino*;

Autres deux petits livres intitulés *Catalogus librorum e Riccardiana Bibliotheca*.

A note added to the *Vita*, dated 4 December 1737 from a fragmentary *Note of Belongings Remaining in Chambery*, states: 'Some of the books were sent to Miolans, but some others remained in the possession of Guastaldi, if memory is correct'.[87]

After the trauma of the abjuration, on the very day, 15 June 1738, that G. left Porta del Po on the way to Ceva, the triumphant Charles Emanuel and Ormea turned their attention, in fact, to disposing of G.'s library, the hard-won and unique possession of the imprisoned, yet vitally active scholar. In the view of his ambitious persecutors, the books themselves might have been seen as capable of inducing a change of mind in their

87 *Discorsi,* ed. van Heck, intro., p. 1.

seemingly beaten victim, and a rejection of their prized abjuration. Ormea wrote to Palazzi: 'You will be sent the books listed in the enclosed note. His Majesty wishes that they be placed and kept (*custoditi*) in the Library of the Royal University'.[88] The fact that they belonged to G. sealed their fate: they were confiscated. Some three months later, on 6 September 1738, G. wrote requesting Ormea's assistance, and that of Prever, in tracing and returning to him the books sent by his faithful friend Angelo Pisani in Venice.

We can reconstruct in part this library. G. had brought his library with him from Naples to Vienna (see Chapter Ten: Appendix [44]). To these must have been added the books given to him to review by the *Acta eruditorum*. This precious library, then, constituted the books which, on the dreadful night of G.'s expulsion from Venice, the desperate Pisani, fearing that G. had been sent to prison, bundled up—not G.'s cash box or his clothes, but all his books, his most precious possessions—on the orders of the impatiently waiting foot soldier, the 'old blockhead', who simply piled them up in heaps in the boat. As G. wrote: 'At dawn I saw, not without tears, the sorrowful spectacle of my books, collected by me with such diligence and expense, tossed here and there by the boat' (above, Chapter Ten, p. 520). On arriving at Crespino, it was found that the distance between the boat and G.'s inn was too great for the sailors to carry them there. G. persuaded the sailors to return them to Pisani (note, this personal library has obviously nothing to do with the list of G.'s reading in prison, reconstructed by Merlotti, see Chapter Twelve: they were books lent to him.)

[37]:

The search for G.'s manuscripts, attempts to have him extradited to Rome, and plans for his abjuration. These matters are all intermingled in 1736-1737. The focus of letters is therefore highlighted for ease of understanding, by my italics.

Ormea to Picon, 31 March 1736:

> ... I say nothing to Your Excellency of the very distinct gratification of His Majesty on receiving the news of the imprisonment of Pierre Giannoni

88 TAS, *Mss. Giannone*, mazzo 5, ins.1, 1-1 bis.

> and his nephew. Your Excellency will observe it better in the enclosed letter from His Majesty. To this I add that it is wished to know if possible what the said Giannoni did during his sojourn in Geneva, his discourse, and his intentions which could have been observed, mainly whether he would ever have stated the wish to apostatize. It could be better clarified *if one could seize his papers*, but the matter will be too difficult. If, however, Your Excellency believes there could be some way, rest assured that success would be very gratifying to His Majesty.[89]

Session of the Holy Office, 18 April 1736:

As soon as news arrived of G.'s capture and imprisonment, the Holy Office raised the matter of having him sent to Rome. The minutes of the session stated:

> The cardinal inquisitors have insinuated that His Beatitude, through Cardinal Albani, should request *that the said Giannone be consigned to them*. Even though it may not eventuate, since it is the primary task of His Holiness to punish one guilty of divine *lèse majesté*, it is believed that such a request is indispensable. And if it is not possible to obtain it or it is deferred, it is considered necessary to intimate, through the said intermediary, to the King that he endeavour with all his zeal to have admitted into the place where Giannone is imprisoned some person of much learning and singularly practised in matters of controversy, who will try to enlighten Giannone and reduce him, if possible, to perceive his great crime and the reparation which he must make to the whole scandalized Christianity by *retracting in writing all that he has stated in print*.[90]

Five months later, in the session of 28 September 1736, after the cardinals had thanked the king for his assurance that G. would be imprisoned for life, they reverted to insisting on the pope's wish that the king 'be induced (as would be better) to have the notorious heretic Giannone consigned either to an inquisition in the states of Turin or *sent here to Rome*'.[91]

Albani to Ormea (undated):

> When it was publicly learned here of the arrest, Your Excellency could

89 *Vita*, ed. Pierantoni, p. 440.
90 BAV, *Rossiano 1180*: Bertelli, 'L'incartamento originale', p. 22.
91 BAV, *Rossiano* 1180: *ibid.*, p. 23.

not have believed what an enthusiastic clamour was raised to the glory of His Majesty, and what and how much praise and applause all good men have given for his heroic zeal. And indeed, to tell you everything on that subject, I am aware of some discussion here to have me write asking whether you are inclined to have the said Giannone tried by the Inquisition there, always with his remaining, however, in the power of His Majesty; and that I modestly ascertain whether you wish *to consign him to this Court* in such a manner and under such conditions as are to the major satisfaction of His Majesty. Let this be only an indication for Your Excellency of what I understand is rumoured here about it, given that as yet I have not received a request of any kind, and understand certainly that they will not do so if they think it may displease His Majesty.[92]

Ormea's reply to Albani, 1 May 1736:

Your Eminence writes of the desire discovered by you to have Giannone tried by the Inquisition, while remaining, however, in the hands of His Majesty, or that *he be handed over* on condition acceptable to His Majesty. May I, in the meantime, observe to Your Eminence that, if the aim of His Holiness is to secure the person of Giannone, so that he no longer has to fear the harm which he may cause, His Majesty has no less an obligation to the good of religion than to *refuse to allow this man ever to regain his freedom.*

If, then, it is wished to keep him there, in order to do justice to him, His Majesty could desire precisely no less than I that it be on condition that he not be physically punished.

If, finally, it is wished to have him amend his errors and *bring about his retraction*, His Majesty has already considered this point, and thinks to send to him a priest of probity and learning who will use every possible effort *to obtain his reformation*, and, if possible, *a retraction of his writings*...

His Majesty, moreover, has anticipated the praiseworthy and just preoccupations of His Holiness, by adopting all means *to have in his possession Giannone's writings*, as you must have gathered from the enclosed letter of Count Piccone, governor of Savoy. We have, in fact, recently had some news that Giannone may have left some of *his writings in Milan*, and a person was sent there who knows the one who he thinks may have them, with the most urgent orders to employ all his credit and adopt all the authority of His Majesty to have them. And His Holiness may be convinced that, if it succeeds, no other use will be made of the said works other than what he wishes...[93]

92 AAV, *Lettere ministri*: Occella, 'Ultimi dodici anni', p. 521.

93 Rome, Biblioteca Corsiniana, Ms 1197: Occella, 'Ultimi dodici anni', pp. 521-522; *Giannoniana*, p. 172.

It was in Milan that the Preface to the *Triregno* was found, necessitating G's Abjuration.

Albani to Ormea, 12 May 1736:

> The pope expressed with the most tender and loving sentiments possible... his keenest and most manifest thanks for seeing intercepted Giannone's power to disseminate and spread his poison through his books. This has been the primary objective of his apostolic solicitude. In his discussions held with me, he has mainly signified three things, the first of which is his request to His Majesty *to continue holding Giannone under strict custody*, so that he can never again regain freedom, never again cause harm with his pernicious writings; in conformity with all this, His Majesty has deigned to assure him. Second, far be it from his paternal piety to wish that this unfortunate be harshly punished. On the contrary, he recommends to the clemency of His Majesty that he be treated with that mildness and discretion dictated to him by his charity which will be more appropriate for his [G.'s] advanced age and delicate health; that all his [the king's] *attention be directed solely to Giannone's amendment*. To obtain it, the Pope desires that His Majesty will have adopted those measures which in his very religious zeal he has already considered, of sending there some person of probity and learning who can suggest to him that he correct with an efficacious amendment the grave scandal which with his writings he has only too notoriously caused. And although His Holiness reflects that a retraction made by him in prison will not hold major weight with the public, he cannot omit insisting that attempts be made to induce it.
>
> If he retracts with heartfelt sincerity, it will benefit him before God for the salvation of his soul, which is a matter for serious thought on the part of His Holiness, in accordance with the duty of his apostleship. The third matter which finally he brings to the graciousness of His Majesty is the nephew of the said Giannone. He should arrange for him as His Majesty thinks best, given that it was the view of Count Piccone, governor of Savoy, that he does not have the misfortune of the uncle's wicked and obstinate nature. What His Beatitude wishes is that such a step as restoring the youth to freedom should not happen before *making every effort to have the said writings of the uncle*, so that he not impede their retrieval, and much less find a way to take them away with him or have the slightest communication or contact with him from outside. This is all that His Holiness has in particular suggested to me, and in his discourse he is unable to refrain from commending the sublime virtues of His Majesty.[94]

94 Rome, *Lettere ministri*; Occella, 'Ultimi dodici anni', pp. 669-670.

Albani to Ormea, 19 May 1736:

> As the Pope in recent days has had issued his letter [see above] for His Majesty, which is to be sent to him, I have the honour to send it through Your Excellency. In it, to discharge his pontifical responsibilities, he has wanted to thank His Majesty for all that he has done to his great glory in the arrest of Pietro Giannone. And I have observed that, in so doing, *His Beatitude begins to show the earnest wish in reference to contributing what is possible for the accommodation of his royal interests with this Court* [the Concordat between Savoy and Rome]. I think it well to await the reply which His Majesty will deign to make him, and at such a juncture I shall begin to make myself familiar with all due reserve on certain matters. It will thus appear that His Majesty is moved by the overtures in the letter of His Holiness, and this, it seems to me, will prove to be also more decorous for His Majesty.[95]

Ormea to Albani, 22 May 1736:

After thanking Albani in the king's name for the pope's expressions of gratitude, Ormea continues:

> ...I am charged to tell Your Eminence of His Majesty's pleasure in assuring His Holiness that his express wishes will be carried out, and that His Majesty is waiting solely for the passage of the French troops from part of Savoy on their return to France to be ended, finally to arrange for the transfer of the said Giannone from the State prison of the fort of Miolans to the fort of Ceva, also a State prison, which has been already considered an easier and more convenient place to employ the necessary measures for his conversion, for which efforts have not been neglected.
>
> At the same time, Your Eminence is also asked to signify to His Holiness that *two lots of Giannone's writings have been taken,* one from Milan and the other from Geneva. The first consists of a box which, somewhat prior to his arrest, he had ordered to be sent to him in Geneva. The other is a bundle of various quinternions [five sheets of paper, folded in half, to create ten leaves or twenty pages] on different subjects, and these were obtained by means of one of his letters to his correspondent in Geneva. Neither one, however, could yet be examined, because they arrived only last week. I am actually working on them, and as the work is not finished, I shall give You further news by the next post.[96]

95 AAV, *Lettere ministri*; Occella, 'Ultimi dodici anni', p. 672.

96 Register of letters of Marquis D'Ormea on the negotiations: Occella, 'Ultimi dodici anni', pp. 671-672.

Albani to Ormea, 16 June 1736:

> Yesterday morning... I gave an account to him [the pope] of all which you have informed me in your dispatch of 22 May in reference to the two lots of Giannone's writings from Milan and Geneva. And the pope expressed to me all his most earnest paternal approbation, and revealed his most tender and affectionate sentiments in reference to the person of His Majesty, by confirming to me his ardent wish to see concluded with mutual satisfaction *his royal business with this Court* [the Concordat]. I have done the same with his Ministers of the Palace, informing them of this new and solicitous concern of His Majesty about the above-mentioned writings, which has excited universal applause. And both the pope and his ministers have revealed to me the wish to cast their eyes on those writings which refer either to religion or this Court. In the talks which they have had with me, however, on this matter, I have noticed some sense and half-said word let drop that they are bestirring themselves perhaps to ask His Majesty *to have Giannone himself consigned to Rome*, subject to all the conditions which His Majesty might wish to require of them. If he were to ask that Giannone not even be brought to trial, I have ascertained that they would give him their assurances not to try him. I believe it to be my duty to inform you of this idea which I have sensed in them, and to ask you to indicate sincerely to me if there be any reluctance there to gratify them in this particular matter. And I do not ask this for any other reason, because if there [in Turin] it is decided not to agree to the request of handing Giannone over, I would consider it better to dissuade them from investigating it, if ever they were to propose it to me, by my intimating to them that it is not expedient, and therefore could not be countenanced. I would charge myself to give them thus promptly a negative answer, rather than wait for it to be given from there [in Turin] after they had proceeded to make the request. May Your Excellency condone the liberty which I have taken in making you such a suggestion. And you may rest assured that no one has intimated that I make such an announcement, because if they had, in all frankness, I would have told you. It is, however, a purely precautionary measure on my part [!], because of all that I have observed from the discussion put to me by the above-mentioned ministers.[97]

Albani to Ormea, 23 June 1736:

> From my previous dispatch you will have been aware of the anxiety of the pope and his ministers to have some *specific news of the refound writings of Pietro Giannone*, hence I have greatly welcomed what you have let me

97 AAV, *Lettere ministri*: Occella, 'Ultimi dodici anni', pp. 673-675.

> hope for in the next post. It will be a particular acknowledgement to satisfy the longing of this Minister and His Holiness, if in them is found something pertaining to this Court or Religion. Please understand that here applause for the arrest of Giannone, for such a glorious action of His Majesty, increases every day. Not only has Cardinal Riviera spoken of it to me, in particular attesting to me the universal approbation, but he has also asked me to assure Your Excellency in his name that this is a major service which His Majesty was able to render to the Catholic Religion. If you, therefore, see fit to write me a paragraph on it in reply, ostensibly to show the said cardinal that I have been of some service, I would think it a good idea [!] but always relying on your most clear-sighted judgement.[98]

Ormea to Albani, 26 June 1736:

> After all which His Holiness has said to Your Eminence, and you have advised here, and after the reply made to you in reference to the person of Giannone, I cannot believe that *you are again considering asking for him to be sent to you*, even on any condition, since anything else could only signify distrust. And it also does not seem to me either reasonable or honest.[99]

Ormea to Albani, 26 June 1736:

> I am beginning to send to the very reverend hands of Your Eminence the *complete volume* [see next letter] found here among the writings of Giannone and in those which he was to print in Geneva. Your Excellency, out of just and natural curiosity, will want to cast an eye over the said volume before remitting it to the pope and his ministers; you will certainly understand what an affront it would have meant to the Court of Rome, and also to our Holy Religion in reference to the Protestants, if such a work were published. I shall say no more, only that here there is the complete satisfaction for having prevented it. And I shall not send the other writings until they are examined here. And until then, I remain...[100]

On the *Triregno*, see 'The *Triregno* and its Fate' (below).

Picon to Ormea, 29 August 1736:

> After many attempts which have been useless, I have finally succeeded in *retrieving from Geneva the rest of the papers of Signor Gianoni*. Monsieur

98 AAV, *Lettere ministri*; Occella, 'Ultimi dodici anni', p. 675.

99 Occella, 'Ultimi dodici anni', p. 675; Pierantoni, ed. *Vita*, p. 477: in reply to Albani's letter of 16 June.

100 *Vita*, ed. Pierantoni, pp. 476-477.

> Guastaldi went there with one of my letters to Monsieur de Boisy, who has forgotten nothing to satisfy my request. Since he was coming on a tour of this city, he brought with him the small case which Your Excellency will receive by the courier leaving here today. He has assured me that it contains all that remains in Geneva of the papers belonging to the said Gianoni. I will not answer, however, for the minister Vernet, who kept them, not having skimmed off something.[101]

Ormea to Albani, 19 September 1736:

> I have again to inform Your Eminence that, after no little effort, it has been discovered that the said Giannone, apart from the *writings* already received from Geneva, had still others belonging to him. This has transpired by means of money and by expressly sending a person there, and keeping him there for some time solely for that reason. He has finally succeeded in retrieving everything, and a half-suitcase has been sent to me here. They are at this moment being considered. I can already signify to Your Eminence that among them has been found a good part of that work which, we know already, the said Giannone was meditating, described by the Preface which I copied for Your Eminence with my letter of 10 July. The work, however, has been put in such disorder that to put it together again and have it in a readable state will take some time. You are therefore not to be surprised if I have not yet sent it to You. The other pieces, then, from a cursory look at them, are not of substance, but consist of various copies of legal writings done for private interests...[102]

Felice Guastaldi to Ormea, 16 October 1736:

> I would be honoured humbly to submit to Your Excellency, that in the event of setting free the boy companion of the said Gianone, it would not be good if he took the road to Geneva. It would then be discovered that I have used the word of Gianone to uproot the last writings, which I send to Your Excellency. They were in the keeping of the said Turtin [Turrettini].[103]

On 13 October 1736 Ormea, the arch-negotiator, wrote to Rome of the manuscript, gradually being put into order, of the 'Earthly Kingdom' and 'Kingdom of Heaven': 'The little I have read makes me shudder,

101 TAS, *Mss. Giannone*: Ricuperati, *Carte torinesi*, p. 85; Occella, 'Ultimi dodici anni', pp. 677-678; Pierantoni, ed. *Vita*, pp. 450-451; Nicolini, ed. *Vita*, p. 395.1.

102 TAS, *Registro lettere del marchese d'Ormea riguardanti la negoziazione*; Occella, 'Ultimi dodici anni', p. 678.

103 TAS, *Mss. Giannone*: Ricuperati, *Carte torinesi*, p. 85.

and I am certain that it was a stroke of Heaven to have such a pernicious man arrested; that if ever a book like that had been published, it would have caused religion endless harm'.[104] On G.'s draft of the Fifth Volume of the *Civil History*, however, Ormea wrote: 'In it are to be found many passages not only advanced but rash and violent, but many others cannot fail to be sound and based on excellent foundations'.[105]

Albani wrote to the Holy Office the following letter, which accompanied the original manuscript of the *Regno terreno* and *Regno celeste* (as documented by the manuscript *Rossiano 1180*, ed. Bertelli), extorted from Vernet in Geneva and finally put in order by Palazzi de Selve.

Albani to Fr Girolami, 20 February 1737:

> After His Majesty the King of Sardinia, as everyone knows, satisfied the apostolic solicitude of His Holiness, Our Lord, by keeping under secure and discreet custody, as he always will, the person of Pietro Giannone, he has continued with his indefatigable and hereditary zeal for the Catholic Religion with all the most exact diligence *to have in his power what remained of his writings*, which, it was suspected, were left in the possession of Geneva's heretics. His aim was to prevent the manuscripts from being published, because of their godlessness, to the scandal of the faithful and the prejudice of our Holy Faith. As, therefore, the Father of the Misericordie seconded for the good of his Church the pious wishes of the Most Religious Prince, he [the king] arranged, by means of much gold and effort, and by expressly sending a person to Geneva with this sole objective of extracting from the possession of the Genevans a very important work of Giannone. It was already on the point of being made public, and is indicated by the title 'The Earthly Kingdom' and 'The Kingdom of Heaven'. In execution of the supreme orders of His Holiness, I delivered it to You on 25 September last year together with all the other writings found at the time of the author's arrest, in order that they were consigned to the Sacred Congregation of the Holy Office. The great piety of His Majesty has sent it to me, in order that, in his royal name, I humbly present it to His Holiness. I had the honour of giving him notice of it yesterday morning, signifying to him that it was at his disposal. With his customary sovereign clemency, he deigned not only to show me all

104 Occella, 'Ultimi dodici anni', pp. 678-679.

105 Roberto Gaya, *Il marchese Ormea* (Milan 1988), p. 190, without further documentation. See Ricuperati's acute observations in 'Relazione', pp. 263-264, in *Piemonte sabaudo*, p. 495.

his paternal approbation, with the most loving expressions of his great apostolic mind; he also asked me to have it sent to you, in order to use it as you have the other writings, consigning it to the Sacred Congregation. In obedience, therefore, to this pontifical command, it will be presented to You on my behalf with my seals by Sig. Carlo Armagni, secretary of His Majesty, to whom I have given the task. It is not for me to explain to You what an essential blessing it is, which will redound to our Holy Religion, to have prevented the publication of such a pernicious work...[106]

[40]

Giovanni's grave illness.

G. to Felice Guastaldi, Miolans, 20 September, 1736:

Monsieur

You may well imagine how beneficial your very kind letters are for me, and how I feel deprived of them, especially of a reply to my last letter to you. I have undergone here the great danger of losing my boy, because of a grave illness which he suffered and was delivered from, firstly by God's will and then through the diligent care of the doctor of this fort. I have wanted to inform you of it, so that Your Excellency may be aware of our unhappy state, fearful of having to suffer worse with the season turning to winter. There is a great difference between keeping in prison an old man, as I am, who does not need much exercise, and a young and robust twenty-year old. And with the Governor providing so sumptuously for me at table, I know how to abstain from many things, but the young cannot so willingly do so, in order not to eat to excess, and it cannot be rectified without physical exercise and walking. It has thus happened that, because of a too great abundance of blood, his heart began to palpitate so strongly with sharp shooting pains in his chest, that suddenly a fatal accident almost occurred. Since we were terrified, the Governor sent immediately for the doctor of the fort, who lives in Saint Pierre, who had difficulty finding any pulse. And realizing that everything resulted from the abundance of blood, as soon as he was called on last Friday evening, he took blood from his right arm, and he felt some relief. The night, however, was completely upset with his palpitations and our vigil. The following morning, therefore, the doctor decided to take a great deal more blood from his left arm, which gave him major relief, and after prescribing a precise diet, ordered medicine for him to unburden his stomach with vomiting and to purge his body of the excess. This produced the fortunate results which we were hoping

106 BAV, *Rossiano 1180*: Bertelli, 'L'incartamento originale', p. 26.

for, so that he seemed restored and returned to a good state of health. As the doctor, however, was not satisfied even with that, last Tuesday morning he ordered another light purge, which finished by cleansing the bowels and returning him to perfect health. The affection and charity of the Governor in this ordeal have overwhelmed me with a sense of infinite obligation which I must profess. And the exact and diligent attention of the doctor impressed me so greatly that I consider him superior to any doctor in the big cities. He looked after him by his correct diagnosis and gave him opportune treatment, without which we would have been in grave distress and danger. At the moment everything possible is being done to keep him on the diet, and I have asked the Governor to reduce certain things at table, especially in the evening. He is, however, young and does not lack an appetite, and without exercise it seems to me a difficult matter, as he is enclosed in a room, for any diet to benefit him. I ask you, therefore, to request His Excellency that, if not for me, at least his custody be broadened to let him, when he wishes, walk at will in the piazza of the fort. The Governor who favours me with such courtesy, tells me that he cannot do more, when the weather is fine, than walk with us for an hour a day in the said piazza, as has been done until now, and take us to hear mass on Sundays and feast-days in the chapel. For me this would be enough, but for a youth it is not. I beg you in this for the favour of His Excellency with His Majesty, and to let me know if you consider it opportune to send another petition to the Court of Turin, because I fear that we are forgotten.

Do me the favour of honouring me with your reply, and sending me the *Natural History* in Latin of the other Pliny, which will be sent on immediately, since by the same conveyance will be sent back that of Pliny the Younger, which I do not need. And I remain devotedly kissing the hands of your Lord.[107]

G'.s petition to Charles Emanuel, 4 May 1736 (a history of his vicissitudes from 1723, and an offer of service):

To His Sacred Majesty King Charles Emanuel, duke of Savoy:

The lawyer Pietro Giannone, Neapolitan jurisconsult, detained by order of Your Majesty in the fort of Miolans, humbly has recourse to the mercy and clemency of Your Majesty, imploring you to admit him before your Royal Throne and before your supreme Magistrates, whom you will select, to justify with incontrovertible proof his innocence of all of which perhaps he has been falsely accused to Your Majesty by those who wish him ill.

107 Turin, Biblioteca Civica: *Lett. ant.*, pp. 77-79.

Since 1723 when his *Istoria civile del Regno di Napoli* was published, they have most fiercely persecuted him in Naples and in Vienna to make him fall from grace with the Emperor to whom the *History* was dedicated. The Emperor graciously received him at the Imperial court and, to support him in Vienna, assigned him 1,000 florins per annum on the taxes of the secretariat of the Kingdom of Sicily. The suppliant lived in Vienna on the emperor's stipend for the period of no fewer than eleven years and several months, and would have lived there still but for the unfortunate loss of the kingdoms of Naples and Sicily in 1734, when all the taxes ceased in that Council, and consequently the suppliant lost his sole means of support. And despite all his pressure and petitions to have the equivalent amount for his livelihood assigned elsewhere, it was not possible to obtain this, given the lack of funds on which to assign it, and the infinite number of Spaniards who had to be fed.

The suppliant was forced by hard necessity, therefore, to decide to repatriate himself to Naples, and retire to his small property near that city to live there alone, for himself and his studies. He therefore took leave of His Majesty the Emperor and his supreme ministers, who, while commiserating with his plight, revealed that they could not remedy it. He left Vienna and went to Venice in order to pass on to Naples. The court of Rome, however, which was keeping a watch on him, was informed of everything, and advised Monsignor Ratto, bishop of Cordova, who was at that time the minister in Rome of the king of Spain, and the count of Santo Stefano, chief minister in Naples of the Infante Don Carlos. As they were new and not well informed, it was easy to persuade them not to allow the suppliant to return to Naples, by describing him as an unsettled man who would render that Court in constant jurisdictional conflict with the court of Rome. It induced him [Santo Stefano], therefore, to write to the ambassador of the king of Spain resident in Venice to deny him a passport, and, in fact, when the suppliant went to the ambassador to obtain it, he was refused. Surprised that he was not permitted even to retire to a retreat in his own country, he remained in Venice.

There he was welcomed by that nobility with much kindness and courtesy, and he was offered the Chair, at that time vacant, of Civil Law at the University of Padua. After due thanks, he apologized for being unable to accept, as his profession was not that of a professor in a teaching post, and he had had no experience in lecturing. Gratified by his sincerity, therefore, they turned their thoughts to other employment with which to provide him a livelihood there. In the meantime Senator Pisani gave him board and lodgings in his palace. And since there was a scarcity of copies of his *Istoria civile*, published in four volumes in Naples twelve years earlier, these gentlemen set about republishing it in Venice to make it more profitable and a sure source of income. They requested

from him additions, corrections and illustrations, in order to produce a fuller and more accurate edition than the first, and offered him a just and reasonable honorarium for his new labours. To make good his needs, the suppliant consented and promised them, as well as the additions, also a supplement, so that the new edition would be enlarged by a fifth volume, although to them he gave the responsibility of obtaining the licence to publish it. They promised to do so, and the original manuscripts were then sent to the father-theologian of the Republic, to whom was entrusted the review. When he had read them to find if there were anything contrary to the Holy See, in order that the prerogatives and exalted privileges and sovereign rights of the princes be upheld in them, he judged them worthy of being printed. And it was the Venetians' view that the reprinting would redound also to the benefit of that capital, where it would bring in much money, and commerce would be all the more resuscitated by the new edition of a work already celebrated and commended throughout the whole of Europe.

When the court of Rome learned of all this, it began to show displeasure at the author's sojourn in that city, and through the Jesuits began to conspire to have him expelled and thereby prevent the planned publication. They set in train against the suppliant the blackest slanders which human malice could invent to make him lose that benevolence and love which the Venetians showed for him, and on finding all roads closed, the Jesuits tried one which they considered easier for their plan. It was to slander the suppliant to one or two of the three State Inquisitors of that Republic, of whom they were the confessors, who were shortly to relinquish their posts as Inquisitors. They gave them to understand that the suppliant, while living in the home of a Venetian patrician, did not refrain from visiting the homes of the ambassadors of France and Spain, and as he was untrustworthy in the eyes of the Republic, he was to be driven out of its dominions. That was the pretext on which the Inquisitors, without the participation of the Senate, and to gratify the court of Rome and the Jesuits, ordered that, despite his having lived there for a year, he [be forced to] leave Venice and its State. The suppliant was suddenly seized at night by a numerous group of armed men, and taken by water to the bank of the Po in the State of Ferrara, and left there alone, in spite of his having begged and implored the official taking him to go another way and leave him in Trieste, and not at that border which was dangerous for him.

After being set down on the bank of the Po in a hostile place, virtually by a miracle he escaped others' traps because of a peasant whom he found in those regions, who by good fortune provided him with transport and took him in haste to Modena, where he stayed incognito for several weeks. From here he went to Milan, where on arrival 1 November [1736]

he presented himself to the lord chancellor, Marquis Olivazzi, and after explaining to him his misfortunes, he asked him to recommend him to the clemency of Your Majesty, in order that you might admit him under your exalted protection among the number of your most devoted servants. Marquis Olivazzi promised to do so, and advised the suppliant to write to Marquis d'Ormea, first minister and secretary of state, to intercede for him with Your Majesty. This the suppliant did in a very humble letter written with the most humble and modest sentiments, as Your Majesty may ascertain from the Marquis. While awaiting replies to those very humble petitions, however, on the twenty-second of that month [November], he was given notice of orders on the part of Your Majesty to leave the State of Milan within two days under pain of imprisonment in the case of disobedience. This order threw the suppliant into a state of utter consternation, finding himself forced by hard necessity to go elsewhere, where he would not only be safe but also able to find a way to support the miserable life to which so many disasters had reduced him. As he had to obey the royal orders of Your Majesty, he decided to go to Geneva, not to change religion, but because he could supervise the French translation of his *History* being done there. The publishers of that city had decided to publish it, and in the course of the past five years, when the suppliant was in Vienna, had requested him to send additions and illustrations, in order that their translation be better than the English one already published in London. The suppliant had begun to send these to them, and was hoping to check the edition in Milan, without being obliged to go to Geneva as the publishers would have wished. On finding himself forced, therefore, to leave Milan within the two days prescribed to him, he left and went to Turin, and after staying there for two days, hurried on his way, so as not to expose himself to crossing the rugged mountains of Savoy in grim winter. After much discomfort and hardship, he arrived in Geneva on 5 December. There he began negotiations with the commercial publishers to check the said edition. They offered to publish also the Fifth Volume, which was to have been printed in Venice, and offered him adequate remuneration for the labours which he was to employ on it.

In the first days he went to the Resident of France and also of Savoy, and told him and everyone of his having come there, how in that city he was to have his work published, and had not come to change religion. And it was well known that, when the suppliant's indispositions did not prevent him, he used to go every Sunday to the Chapel within the palace of the Resident to hear Mass, and observed all the holy rites and fasts on the days prescribed, as does every Roman Catholic in Savoy who lives there. And he left Genevan territory only to fulfil his Easter Dues in the village nearest to it in Savoy. From here he was abducted by armed men

and taken to the prisons of Chambery. It is similarly known to all that, in those six months and days [actually, four months and four days] of his stay in Geneva, he attended to nothing but putting in order the said works to be sent to the publisher, from which he was able to derive a means of support there until, when better days followed the rumoured peace, the occasion arose to return either to Italy to a retreat in his own country or to Germany.

Sacred Majesty, these are truths only too well known and manifest, which, when you deign to verify them, you will very easily and promptly be able to do so by making enquiries in Venice with the ambassadors of France and Spain, and in Milan with Chancellor Olivazzi and Princess Trivulzi, and in Geneva with Professor Turrettini and Vernet and the publishers themselves who live there. It was hard necessity which forced the suppliant to go to Geneva, as he had no way to live anywhere except there through the publication of his books. His persecutors did not want him to retire to a retreat in the Kingdom of Naples, where they would certainly have made sure that he could no longer have thought of either publishing or reprinting. They forced him to stay in Venice, where also he had to think of an honest way of supporting himself, which he found through the graciousness of that Venetian patrician who welcomed him to his home, and through the offer by those publishers of honest earnings for the reprinting of his history. Its publication was promoted by the Venetians, and they wanted it only if it were approved by the superiors, and the originals for that reason were sent to the father-theologian of the Republic, to whom was entrusted their review. Not even that pleased the court of Rome, and to prevent it they arranged to have the suppliant leave Venice [!] on the pretext that he was untrustworthy. He went to Milan, believing it a safe refuge, and had recourse to the protection of Your Majesty, and because you perhaps had been malignly informed by those wishing the suppliant ill, you commanded that he leave the State of Milan where he had been staying for approximately one month. He promptly obeyed Your royal orders, and after going to Turin, crossed the mountains of Savoy and betook himself to Geneva, there to find the means of supporting himself by his honest labours. He had before him the example of the famous theologian of Paris, Louis Ellies Dupin, who, when persecuted by his enemies in France, was forced to withdraw to Holland, where he remained a Catholic and supported himself with the publication of his books. And Your Majesty must remember that the wise King Victor Amadeus, your father, in his dispute with Pope Clement XI on the Tribunal of the Monarchy in Sicily, who sought by his Bulls to abolish it, had recourse to the pen of that famous theologian Dupin, who at his request wrote that learned book in defence of the Tribunal and the royal rights of the kings of Sicily to preserve it. Through the

activities of the court of Rome the suppliant was driven out of all the places to which he went in Italy, and by hard necessity was forced to withdraw to Geneva, in order with his labours to earn a living. And if he had been aware of your will that he not go there, he would willingly have obeyed you. The slightest suggestion of which you deigned to have him informed, that it did not please you to have him stay in that city and retire to Your Dominions, would have sufficed for him willingly to have executed your royal orders, given that he was also sure that the clemency and compassion of Your Majesty would not have permitted him to suffer hunger, and would have given him some way to end the rest of his life with some employment beyond the reach of all misery and poverty.

He finds himself at present again in the hands of Your Majesty to execute your royal will hitherto unknown to him. It has already been announced to the commercial publishers of Geneva that he can no longer attend to the corrections of the French translation of his history or give them the promised notes and supplements, so that it is now stopped. The agreement relating to the printing of the Fifth Volume has been abandoned, and it will no longer be published. He was told by letter that the originals, which had been brought from Venice to Milan to be transported to Geneva in order to begin printing, were to be placed in your possession[1] and, as printing had not been commenced, it remains similarly blocked. If it will please Your Majesty to have that Fifth Volume published under your auspices and dedicated to you, it is for you to decide completely as you wish. The suppliant has the audacity to offer it to Your Majesty, because, exactly like the preceding four volumes, it contains only the well-grounded defence of the authority and supreme rights of the princes against the assaults and outrages of the court of Rome. And as the suppliant was not reluctant to show the originals in Venice to several Senators and sent them to the father-theologian of that Republic to be reviewed, he thus also presents them to Your Majesty in order that, on examination by learned and unprejudiced persons, they be deemed worthy of being taken to Your Majesty. The suppliant will be pleased if, as the four preceding volumes were dedicated to His Majesty the emperor, this Fifth Volume be dedicated to a prince who is as Catholic as he is magnanimous and wise. If, on the contrary, you will judge that it be relegated to profound oblivion and total obscurity, he will conform willingly to your wish that it be suppressed and quashed, and that there remain no longer any memory of it.

Sacred Majesty, this is the suppliant's crime: that he wrote against the pretensions of the court of Rome in defence of the supreme rights of princes and their privileges and authority. Rome, not being content with profusely rewarding Roman writers who champion its ventures against

royal power, wants also to destroy and in every way ruin those who defend the contrary. What is at issue is not controversies of religion or points relating to our holy faith, but points of jurisdiction and temporal conflicts. Your Majesty has obvious proof in that the censure brought down in Rome itself of the four volumes dedicated to the Emperor, whereby they were banned, did not dare qualify any proposition as *heretical*, the ordinary qualification which it facilely places on any book when banning it. As the court of Rome is unable, therefore, to accuse the suppliant of another crime, not even for the whole course of almost twelve years of his sojourn at the Imperial court of Vienna, or in the year when he lived in Venice, and much less in his few months in Geneva, may he again submit to your profound consideration whether he deserves the punishment presently suffered, after having been imprisoned for almost two weeks in the prisons of Chambery, and then detained in very cramped conditions for already a month in the fort of Miolans, in solitude among the grim mountains of Savoy, where if the clemency of Your Majesty will not soon put an end to it, he will lose his life, given his constant indispositions and advanced age.

To all this is added the affliction of finding oneself in a foreign country, abandoned by all human help and with no one to intercede for the unfortunate suppliant with Your Majesty, who will not permit that he be left in oblivion to perish wretchedly in discomfort, in solitude, and in such anguish and straitened circumstances.

Your Majesty does not need to have the unfortunate suppliant treated with such severity and held in such strict custody. He is completely subordinate and submissive to your wishes. Your royal commands will be obeyed exactly, and all his work in the service of Your Majesty, as it was in Milan, is offered with a sincere heart to your will, which he will bear out inviolably as long as he lives. He trusts therefore in the clemency of Your Majesty to be heard, and humbly begs you to let him end the last days of his life in your good grace, and with the honorable character, may one say, of the humble and devoted servants of Your Majesty. He prays that there may descend on you from Heaven all the happiness and contentment of which your heroic virtues, great graciousness, civil grandeur and military bravery have made you worthily deserving. From the castle of Miolans, 4 May 1737.[108]

G. continues to dupe his captors on the existence of the manuscript in Geneva in the sorrowful hope, no doubt, of saving the *Triregno*.

108 TAS, *Mss. Giannone*: *Vita*, ed. Pierantoni, pp. 457-466, whose text bears the incorrect date of 4 March 1724!

G.'s petition to the king, Miolans, 8 August 1737, for the recovery of his books:

To the Sacred Majesty of King Charles Emanuel, Duke of Savoy:

> The lawyer Pietro Giannone, prostrate at the feet of Your Majesty, turns again to renew in your memory his devoted and humble prayers addressed to you at other times, and his unhappy state in this fort of Miolans where, by order of Your Majesty, he has been detained already for one year and five months. And as the suppliant is a poor foreigner abandoned by all, unable to hope that others will intercede for him with Your Majesty, he has no other course but to appeal directly to the pity and clemency of Your Majesty, imploring you to put an end to his wretched state and not allow his life to end here. If it is his fatal misfortune to have to live here another winter, he must certainly succumb to the rigours and harshness of the climate and the acute, penetrating cold which, from experience last winter, given his decrepit old age and weak and feeble constitution, proved to be unbearable and will send him to the grave. He brings to the notice of Your Majesty that for the elderly, a year of suffering causes a loss of strength out of all proportion to the time spent in travail, but as though ten years were taken from one's life; the decline in strength thus continues to double and grow with the passing of time. To add to all this, the suppliant and his boy have begun to lack the clothes necessary to rebuff in part the rigours of winter, and although in this desert they do not lack quail and manna through the providence of Your Majesty and the governor here, they do not experience that blessing of God of which the Hebrews who followed Moses were deserving, of their clothes never growing old or their shoes splitting. He implores, therefore, the pity and clemency of Your Majesty that, given the anguish and misery of the unfortunate suppliant, confined in a corner of the world under a cliff among Alpine mountains, where the only thing to be heard are the blasts of impetuous winds and the continuous rumble of thunder and storms, and nothing is to be seen but driving rain and the flakes of incessant snows, you are moved to compassion by such a wretched and unhappy state, and after his long hardship and suffering to render him deserving of your great and powerful protection and most benevolent favour.
>
> He finally brings to the exalted notice of Your Majesty that to live in desperate idleness, especially for those who have spent their life in continual activity, is the hardest and most unbearable pain imaginable. The suppliant finds no other comfort in this than to wear away the days' long and idle hours reading those few books which he was sent from Chambery which, having been exhausted, read and reread, now cause him more boredom and tedium than relief. The suppliant had the audacity on another occasion to implore His Majesty to order that his books left in

Venice in the possession of Senator Pisani be recovered, and that, by order of Count Picon, Governor and Lieutenant-General of Savoy, the suppliant write a letter to Venice to Pisani to send them to the person designated by Your Majesty to receive them, and that he send the letter to the above General as ordered. He implores, therefore, the clemency of Your Majesty that, if ever they are recovered and it pleases you to prolong much longer his painful state, that at least you grant him the favour of ordering that the suppliant be sent those books which Your Majesty will see marked in the extra note. He can thus in part alleviate the pain which he suffers in such desperate idleness by compensating for the boredom and tedium at least with this honest and innocent occupation. The great pity of Your Majesty and the exalted sympathy whereby you understand the affliction of the unfortunate and know how to compensate it and relieve their oppression justly make the poor suppliant hope soon to be liberated from such a wretched and unhappy state and made worthy of your most gracious favours. As these proceed from your inherent and innate goodness and clemency, we who are your lowest and most humble servants, who beg to sacrifice themselves and their lives in homage to Your Majesty and your royal service, ought not despair.

Note of the books sought (appended to the petition):

Bibliotheca historica of Diodoros Sikulos, Greek-Latin, in folio

Calmet, [Augustin]. *Il Dizionario della Sacra Scrittura* [*Dictionaire historique, critique, chronologique, géographique et litérale du Bible* (Paris 1722)].

Deyling, Salomon, *Observationes sacrae* [*Observationum sacrarum in quibus multa scriptura veteris et novi Testamenti dubia vexata solvuntur loca difficiliora ex antiquitate et variae doctrinae apparatu illustrantur* (Leipzig 1720-1726]

Lanhemi [Spanheim (!), Ezechiel], *Orbis romanus* [2nd ed., London 1703]

Bochart, Samuel, *Phaleg et Chanaan* [*Geographicae sacrae* (Geneva 1646)]

Vita Justiniani Magni

Baudouin, Fr[ançois], *Co*[*n*]*stantinus Magnus* [Basel 1556]

La Commedia di Dante, 3 volumes in ottavo (TAS, *Mss. Giannone*: *Giannoniana*, 444; Nicolini, ed. *Vita*, pp. xx-xxiii; *Vita*, ed. Giulio de Martino, 2, p. 152).

None of these books, according to Andrea Merlotti's list, was given to G.[109]

After the trauma of the abjuration, on the very day, 15 June 1738, that G. left Porta del Po on the way to Ceva, the triumphant Charles Emanuel

109 *L'ape ingegnosa*, intro., pp. xcv-c.

and Ormea turned their attention, in fact, to disposing of G.'s library, the hard-won and unique possession of the imprisoned, yet vitally active scholar. In the view of his ambitious persecutors, the books themselves might have been seen as capable of inducing a change of mind in their seemingly beaten victim, and a rejection of their prized abjuration. Ormea wrote to Palazzi: 'You will be sent the books listed in the enclosed note. His Majesty wishes that they be placed and kept (*custoditi*) in the Library of the Royal University'.[110] The fact that they belonged to G. sealed their fate: they were confiscated. Some three months later, on 6 September 1738, G. wrote requesting Ormea's assistance, and that of Prever, in tracing and returning to him the books sent by his faithful friend Angelo Pisani in Venice.

G. had brought his library with him from Naples to Vienna (see Chapter Ten: Appendix [44]). To these must have been added the books given to him to review by the *Acta eruditorum*. This precious library, then, constituted the books which, on the dreadful night of G.'s expulsion from Venice, the desperate Pisani, fearing that G. had been sent to prison, bundled up—not G.'s cash box or his clothes, but all his books, his most precious possessions—on the orders of the impatiently waiting foot soldier, the 'old blockhead', who simply piled them up in heaps in the boat. This personal library has obviously nothing to do with the list of G.'s reading in prison, reconstructed by Merlotti (see Chapter Twelve): they were books lent to him.

G. to Count Picon, 6 August 1737 (copy attached to the above petition):

> I have not received any reply to what I wrote to Your Excellency three months ago, in which I included a letter to Senator Pisani in Venice concerning the retrieval of my books left there. On my reflecting that in the courts of great princes matters of minor importance tend to be forgotten, and especially in my case, since I am a poor foreigner [sic] and have no one to intercede for me with His Majesty, I am moved to have recourse again, with the petition included, to the clemency of the king, begging him at last to be moved to compassion by my wretched and unhappy situation, given that we are approaching another winter, and that I find no provision has been made for my previous petitions.
>
> If His Majesty wishes to prolong this sojourn, I do not know whether

110 TAS, *Mss. Giannone*, mazzo 5, ins. 1, 1-1 bis.

I shall leave here alive, as I fear from the experience of last winter that I shall die in the coming one. May the Divine Will be done and that of the king, and I beg him, if it is my fatal misfortune that he wishes me to continue in pain and anguish, that at least he provide me with my actual needs, which I foresee will be more necessary in the coming winter. For me and my boy, our clothes are falling to pieces. We have no shoes, our shirts are in tatters, and, above all, we have no dressing-gowns to protect us from the rigours of the cold. Because it is not the custom here to use stoves, the simple fire-places which never warm the whole room, are not enough, since the cold is so acute and penetrating. I do not dare to inconvenience His Majesty, and would not wish thus to do so, but only to reveal to him my needs here in a place so unheard of and far away, without help from my friends or relatives. I do not know how to remedy it, except by death, which for me would be salutary medicine. I equally beg His Majesty that, if ever my books could be recovered from Venice, and if it be his wish that I spend another winter here, he at least be moved to pity and have me sent those books which I listed on the note attached to the petition. I can then bear the desperate idleness with less tedium and boredom than I suffer, compensating for it at least with this honest and innocent occupation. May I ask of the great kindness and humanity of Your Excellency that you accompany these my reverent petitions which I present to His Majesty with one of your compassionate and courteous letters, as I have no other interest more effective and gracious than your benignity, which in my experience is accustomed to pity afflicted unfortunates. And so much more when they are removed from all human help and succour do you understand their extreme need and, given your goodness, you do not fail to assist them. The obligations which I profess to you, to the very dignified person of Your Excellency, to be preserved for all the brief time left of my life, are so great that I have no words; God, profuse rewarder of the merciful, will know how to recompense you. I recommend myself to your most esteemed grace. And I will remain...

[46]

The Abjuration, 4 April 1738:

The importance of this episode cannot be overstated in G.'s life: it is virtually the climax of the *Vita*; it was an extension of his torture; it probably did enormous damage to his health, because in Ceva it was disastrous; if misunderstood, it could have totally destroyed his reputation and standing as a historian; and it certainly did not lead to his release as he expected.

Ormea to Albani, 6 November 1737:

> The sole motive for having had Pietro Giannone moved here has been precisely that of having him in a position, where more effective measures can be used for his conversion. Attempts are being made for this purpose, but nothing as yet could be extracted.
>
> If some good hope will result from it, Your Eminence may be sure that it will be my pleasure to send you news of it. In the meantime it will be necessary also to allow time for the workings of the light of the Holy Spirit.[111]

Ricuperati observed that, despite the futility of the Abjuration, G. had hoped for freedom, Savoy had hoped for a favourable Concordat from Clement XII, and Rome had hoped to vanquish a dangerous enemy.[112] Turin's zeal in trying to extort G.'s 'conversion' nevertheless excited suspicion among some elements of Rome's curia, to which Cardinal Neri Corsini, the nephew of Clement XII, gave voice: 'Giannone had been moved to Turin to be employed there to write against the court of Rome'.[113] Corsini's letter prompted the following:

Ormea to Albani, 26 February 1738:

> The sole aim of His Majesty [in moving G. to the prison of the Porta del Po] has been to have him more in a position to employ the most appropriate measures for his conversion. The primary object of his arrest was, after all, the salvation of that soul, something which became much more inconvenient and difficult in a fort like Miolans, far from habitation, where the only ecclesiastic is the fort's single chaplain. After bringing him here, thought was immediately given to the person among these ecclesiastics most suitable for such an undertaking, and after proper reflection, His Majesty decided to give the task to Fr G.B. Prever of this Congregation of the Oratory of St Filippo Neri. He is a priest whose distinguished and singular qualities have made him famous here, and no doubt there also he is not unknown. You will probably have heard something of the religious of that Congregation.... From the letter included here, which the said Fr Prever wrote to me, Your Eminence will note his account of his activities and progress, and what now remains to be done to complete the work and attain the desired end.[114]

111 *Vita*, ed. Pierantoni, p. 484.
112 Ricuperati, *La città terrena di P.G.* (Florence 2001), p. 121.
113 Ricuperati, *Piemonte sabaudo*, p. 496.
114 TAS, *Registro di lettere riguardanti la negoziazione*; Occella, 'Ultimi dodici anni', p. 683.2;

A contemporary writer states that in the Porta del Po G. was permitted to read only the works of the Jesuit Paul Segneri, and that only after special permission had been granted by Ormea.[115] The author of this essay on G. was G.'s erudite friend from Vienna, Bernardo Andrea Lama, who died in 1760. It is understandable that Lama would write such a moving biography. He and G. were both historians. He would also have known the details of G.'s education in Naples. The friends whom G. left in Vienna, to their grief, would have followed his disaster step by step.

There seems to have been little awareness among G.'s contemporaries, however, of his trauma undergoing the enforced Abjuration.

Communications of Marquis Gian Domenico De Mari, Envoy of the House of Este at the Court of Turin, 20 September 1737:

> the famous Giannone, who during the last war was arrested when passing through [Piedmont] and taken to the prisons of Miolans, is now in one of them here called the Porta del Po. Whether it is to hand him over to the Pope, and in that way acquire merit for facilitating the settlement, or to employ him in writing, I would not know.[116]

From Milan, 11 December 1737:

> By a reliable channel I have been assured that until 26 November, after seventeen months in Turin, the famous Pietro Giannone was returned to Geneva, after having worked all this time in the interest of that Ministry, not from the point of view of Savoy, as the Milanese think, but on the claims on Geneva, because of the ancient desire of that sovereignty for those States.[117]

This extraordinary claim was probably based on the knowledge that G. was permitted to read and write.

The Abjuration: Commission and Instruction:

When Albani informed the Holy Office by letter, 5 March 1738 (included in this was a letter from Ormea of 26 February 1738), that G. was ready to abjure, it prepared a *Memoria ricavata della posizione che è in S. Ufficio*

Ricuperati, *Piemonte sabaudo*, p. 496.

115 Giovanni Lami, *Memorabilia Italorum Eruditione Praestantium Quibus Vertens Saeculum Gloriatur* (Florence 1742-1747), 2, pp. 31-32.

116 Modena State Archives, Casa Antica, Cancelleria ducale, dispatches from Turin, b. 20.

117 Dispatches from Milan: *Giannoniana*, p. 551.

intorno alla persona di P.G. (Commission on the position of the Holy Office in relation to the person of Pietro Giannone).[118] Everything which related to G. was now in the files of the Inquisition, not only the *Istoria civile*, but also the *Professione di fede* in particular, and G.'s account of the 'Councils and Ministries of Vienna'. These were all sent to Alfieri in Turin, 'to serve as a basis to organize the confession and repentence'. Included also was reference to the 'Third Manuscript', entitled *Del regno terreno e celeste, libri due*.[119] These and other famous and incriminating writings, notes, and probable sources for the *Papal Kingdom* had been sent to Rome, possibly with the original text of parts of the *Triregno*, which Vernet, their guardian, had surrendered, deliberately put out of order, and Palazzi di Selve had put back into order.[120]

Accompanying the 'Commission' was the 'Instruction' to Giovanni Alfieri, Inquisitor-General in Turin, who was to go to G. in the prisons of the Porta del Po for his retraction. G. was to be shown 'every benevolence to encourage him to declare sincerely and fully all his faults and offences, in order to receive the necessary absolution to make safe his conscience and liberate his soul from the faults committed…'.[121]

The 'Instruction', as Ricuperati observes, served to inform, in strict secrecy, also G.'s confessor, Fr Prever:

> In order that he understand how to advise and enjoin what he will believe necessary for the salvation of the soul of the penitent, it will be incumbent on the confessor to suggest to the penitent his obligation to make amends for the very grave scandal given by him to the whole world, by publishing in print and in writing sentiments so impiously prejudicial to Religion and the Faith. Thus instructed, the confessor will be better able to prepare and encourage the penitent to make a public retraction, also in print, to be sent throughout the world to repair the damage to souls caused by so much scandal, and also the damage caused to his name for having acquired among the most learned and most wise the reputation of being an impious, sacrilegious and irreligious writer. This Sacred Congregation is convinced that the said confessor, encouraged by the "Instruction" of the Father-Vicar of the Holy Office, will be most

118 Archivio della Congregazione per la Dottrina della Fede, Doc. B; BAV, *Rossiano 1180*, cc 151: Ricuperati, *Città terrena di P.G.*, pp. 50-51.

119 'Commission', cc. 152-153; Archivio della Congregazione, Doc. B; BAV, *Rossiano 1180*, cc. 151; Ricuperati, *Città terrena*, p. 152: see above [40].

120 Bertelli, 'L'incartamento originale', p. 23.

121 Archivio della Congregazione, Doc. B; Ricuperati, *Città terrena di P.G.*, p. 54.

> zealous for the salvation of the soul of Pietro Giannone. He is to prepare him properly to repent and impress on the world his genuine repentance. In this the penitent is to imitate those like him, who having erred and gone to excess in matters of publication and writing to the scandal of the faithful, have wanted to redress it by publishing their retraction and making known to everyone that they are of good heart, admonished and penitent.[122]

The 'Instruction' stated also that 'if [G.] declares that he has always kept the Catholic faith, it will be necessary for him to make the *Abiuratio de' vehementi* (utterly sincere abjuration) and receive the customary penances'.[123] This explains also G.'s statement that he had not gone to Geneva in order to change religion.

For perceptive observations on Prever and moving comments on G.'s Abjuration, see Ricuperati, *L'esperienza,* p. 476-480. Andrea del Col[124] also comments on the procedure of an abjuration. In accordance with the practice established by Paul IV Carafa (1555-1559), G. was to appear before the 'inquisitorial vicar' conducting the proceedings (the Dominican Giovanni Alberto Alfieri da Magliano). He was to be treated mercifully because of his voluntary appearance and the admission of his errors; he was to receive a mild sentence, and, apart from the fearful possibility of a second trial resulting in the fearful sentence of death, the Abjuration would be legally complete, and his freedom restored.

The Abjuration: 4 April 1738:

> The letters of the Holy and Supreme Court, dated 15 March, and received from the legal clerk on 21 March, were read, together with the 'Commission' and 'Instruction' conveyed to us concerning the making of the voluntary Statement or Retraction or Abjuration of Doctor Pietro Giannone, Neapolitan, confined in the state prison located at the so-called Porta del Po, as he was requested by the Holy Court in letters. At the same time and with those same letters, a complete rescript of all his crimes was requested, in order to obtain more information about the said voluntary retraction, with orders to inform Fr Prever of the Congregation of the Oratory of St Filippo Neri, who is both confessor and director of the same, as a guide for more efficacious assistance in the exoneration of

122 Archivio della Congregazione, Doc.C; BAV, *Rossiano 1180*; Ricuperati, *Città terrena di P.G.*, pp. 50-51.

123 Doc.C: *Città terrena*, p. 55.

124 *Inquisizione in Italia* (Milan 2006), p. 695.

the conscience of the same Pietro Giannone. Having thus communicated the aforesaid 'Instruction' to the aforesaid Fr Prever, Giovanni Alberto Alfieri, Vicar-General of the Holy Office in Turin, after considering and obeying all this, ordered that he himself be taken to the said prison, to the above-mentioned Pietro Giannone, in accordance with orders, to take the above-mentioned voluntary Statement, Retraction or Abjuration, as was required.

Thus: Fr Giovanni Tomaso Villata, notary of the Holy Office in Turin.

4 April 1738. In execution of the above-mentioned decree, the above-mentioned Giovanni Alberto Alfieri, Vicar-general of the Holy Office in Turin, went to the prison situated at the so-called Porta del Po, and to the above-mentioned Doctor Pietro Giannone, Neapolitan, imprisoned in said prison, for the reason mentioned above. In the presence of me, the below-signed notary, there immediately and willingly appeared in person in the same place as above, together with the same priest, Giovanni Battista Prever of the Congregation of the Oratory of St Filippo Neri, his confessor and director, Pietro, aged sixty-six, son of the late Scipione, Neapolitan, who had requested a hearing for the exoneration of his conscience. And when he was granted leave, and had taken an oath to tell the truth while touching the Holy Gospels, he made the following statement:

'I have had Your Excellency summoned through recourse to the Holy Congregation to be heard, in order voluntarily to unburden my conscience and benefit from the mercy of the Sacred Tribunal of the Inquisition, by laying all my offences at its feet to obtain, if it so pleases, absolution. I intend therefore to abjure, as will be judged by the Holy Office, and I detest and retract all that I have done, whether in print or manuscript or deed or in what I failed to say, by submitting in everything and for everything to Holy Church and the Sacred Tribunal of the Holy Office.

In execution, therefore, of my voluntary submission, and in order to make it more sincere and true, and render myself more deserving of the mercy of this Tribunal, I have written in these pages with my own hand all that may be my offence and deserving of censure. These pages I keep here ready to present for judgement to Your Excellency at your command.'

After these words had been heard, when the above-mentioned Doctor Pietro Giannone said that he had with him, written in his own hand, pages in which were found all his crimes worthy of serious blame, whether in print or manuscript, I indicated that they be offered to the Holy Office, and he placed the pages on the judge's bench.

And in, fact, he placed on the judge's bench six sheets, one palm and

two fingers in length, and about one palm in width, written in columns on three pages on each side, and the first began: 'Concerning the *Civil History* etc.' and finished 'to condemn my mistakes and human weakness.' These pages were marked with the capital letter A and included in the proceedings by means of his voluntary submission:

'And I state:

1. Concerning the *Civil History of the Kingdom of Naples*, I had no other aim than to clarify the political system and laws of that Kingdom. And because they could not be clearly formulated without giving an idea of the ecclesiastical order which occupies the greater part of it, it was necessary to treat the religious Orders, and in that context the abuses. If I have been excessive in relating them, as I now realize was so, I intend to retract them, and if I could, would wish that such publications were made void, so that they did not cause scandal to others and damage to the Church, and I hereby condemn and retract them.

2. Concerning the reply made to Fr Sanfelice who, in two volumes in quarto published in Rome, wrote not so much against the said *History* as against its author, burdening him with much insult, so that the Collateral Council of Naples declared them a defamatory libel, I did not intend to offend the Church of Rome. It was directed solely at deriding Fr Sanfelice, who was accusing me of being a heretic for having fabricated excessive maxims on pontifical power, by letting him see that they could be read in many Roman authors. I knew full well that grave and serious authors abhorred such maxims, and especially the miracles related by other writers, of whom the grave and serious do not approve. And I did not ever intend that this work be published or indeed ever consent that it be printed. On the contrary, I endeavoured never to have it printed, as it had been done purely as a joke and to deride Fr Sanfelice among my friends. I then learnt with regret that the manuscript was circulating and, since it had never been my wish to publish it, I now express my disapproval and desire that all memory of it be expunged, and I revoke, resent and retract it, as though it had never been written and never composed by me.

3. As for the book *De Conciliis ac Dicasteriis urbis Vindobonae* (The Councils and Ministries of Vienna), I do not acknowledge this booklet to be mine. It was, however, reproduced from one of my essays which I sent to Naples to a regent in the Collateral Council, who asked me to send him a systematic account of all the Councils and Ministries of Vienna, which I wrote in Italian and sent him for his instruction and use, not to be issued in print. I then learnt that it had fallen into the hands of some Germans who had it translated into Latin and printed, much altered, however, from the original manuscript in Italian. I do not, therefore, have to acknowledge it as my own. All the propositions, therefore, which from my pen were found in it to be scandalous, rash, false, contumelious,

erroneous and verging on heresy I condemn, reprove and retract, abjure and detest.

4. Concerning the other manuscripts sent to Rome by His Majesty the King of Sardinia, the first, *Trattato de' remedi contra le communiche invalide* (Remedies against invalid excommunications), was directed against the censure of the Vicariate of Naples, which believed that this bolt could be fulminated because I had not obtained the Vicariate's permission to print the *Istoria civile del Regno di Napoli*. It was written in my own defence, in order to have the excommunication revoked as null and invalid. And the other parts which comprise it, on the ways whereby Princes may have excommunication revoked, were directed at a situation in which the Vicariate did not wish by itself to revoke it. None of those writings, however, was intended for publication, and they were then no longer relevant. Cardinal Pignatelli, at that time Archbishop of Naples, had learnt of the motive for the censure and of my appeal to His Eminence to have it removed while I was in Vienna, and sent me the absolution, and the excommunication was revoked and annulled by that Archbishop. It was no longer necessary, therefore, to publish those writings, and they remained in profound oblivion because no longer needed. I did not ever intend to publish them, and wherever the manuscripts now are, I annul, resent, abjure and detest them. The other manuscript on the banning of books was also not written to be published, but solely to convince the weak minds of some and to demonstrate, as well as I could, my defence in reference to those propositions on which the ban was based. This, however, was not necessary, and it was always kept hidden by never having been published. If, then, this was excessive, as I understand that it was, if it did not conform to the sound belief of the Church of Rome, I revoke, retract, abjure and detest it.

5. Concerning the other manuscripts and notes which I had with me and have been refound, they are only notes and odd reminders which I made when reading certain authors, and although they relate to each other and form in themselves a group of various errors, they were not accepted by me, but were solely to note down others' sentiments. And in this I confess to having erred, because I should neither have read such books nor copied such errors from them. I therefore desire that all the said notes be cancelled and suppressed, and that no trace of them remain, and I detest, retract and abjure them.

6. Concerning *Dell'antico concubinato de' Romani* (Treatise on ancient Roman concubinage), I had no intention to publish it, but wrote it as history in defence of two chapters in the *Civil History*, where I referred to the ancient concubinage of the Romans, and I have never believed that it should be permitted today. I am nevertheless sorry to have put in writing such a subject, which perhaps could have caused scandal. Since,

therefore, I had never intended to publish it, I desire that all memory of it now be lost, and it remain as though not written, and I nevertheless detest, resent, cancel and abjure it.

7. With all the philosophic writings, it is very obvious that they are not my sentiments, but rather those of other philosophers with which I do not conform, and, in fact, in other notes their errors were indicated by me and I knew well their blasphemous, heretical propositions. I wrote them down to note them, not embrace them, and I detest and abjure those propositions.

8. Finally, whatever is found of mine in such notes and manuscripts, and every record to be recovered of mine which does not conform to the sound doctrine of the Church and could cause scandal and error to others, I refute, retract and abjure. And I beg Divine Mercy that, having given me the light to recognize my errors, thus enabling me fully to sorrow and repent, he will also grant me his forgiveness, which I ask also of Holy Mother Catholic Church and all her faithful, for the scandal given and the damage caused. In fine, I ask all to condemn my errors and human weaknesses, and in future to think of me as a different man from the one whom perhaps I gave them occasion, in my books, to believe and consider me, by my professing to live and die a true and obedient son to Holy Mother Church.

And when, to reinforce my retraction and make it known to all, Holy Church will judge best to have it printed and presented to the public as an example to others, it will be a great glory and consolation to me thus even more greatly to assure Holy Church and the Sacred Tribunal of all that I have detested and detest here in these pages.

[Pietro Giannone]

'I add to this, my voluntary submission, that I petition V.P.M.R. also to set down how from the end of November 1735 I had neither a means of support nor anywhere to live in Italy, perhaps by reason of my evil writings, so that I decided to take refuge in Geneva not, thanks be to God, with the intention of changing religion, but for a livelihood and because of my above-mentioned *Civil History of Naples,* which they wanted to translate and publish in French. They were eager, therefore, for my assistance in Geneva. I went there also because I did not have any other avenue open to support myself. It was then not published, although it may well be translated, since I know that it was partly translated in French. It was, however, never published, which is clear from the fact that three years have passed since my arrest and I do not have it.

I must properly state, further to relieve my conscience, that if my stay in Geneva had continued and I had had no means of support, I would probably have been reduced and induced to taking on the labour of writing the Fifth Volume of the said *History*, and if ever, therefore, I were

to have incurred some censure, I similarly detest everything and call on God's mercy and absolution for it. And I state that in those three and a half months of my stay in Geneva, I always lived as a Catholic, both by hearing mass and observing every other dogma concerning the Catholic, Apostolic and Roman Church. I was in fact arrested on Palm Sunday by having gone to a village outside Geneva in the State of His Majesty the King of Savoy, to fulfil my Easter Dues. All this I must state and represent to Your Excellency to relieve my conscience, and I ask everyone who may have the said books and manuscripts to consign them to Holy Church as being iniquitous, wicked and scandalous, and I detest them all.

In these pages judicially consigned to the Holy Office, his intention and belief are clear, so that his absolution and sentence may proceed more clearly and surely.

Q. Whether he believes or believed that it is or was lawful for a Catholic to print the above-mentioned History containing rash, false, scandalous and seditious propositions, injurious by their absolute calumny to all Orders of the Church and the whole ecclesiastical hierarchy, and especially to the Holy Apostolic See, erroneous, schismatic and redolent at least of heresy.

A. He answered as a Catholic (*Catholice*).

Q. Whether he believes or believed that it is or was allowed for a Catholic to write or publish any manuscript against the said Fr Sanfelice, entitled *Professione di fede* written by Pietro Giannone, as stated in writing and in confession.

A. As a Catholic.

Q. Whether he believes or believed that it is or was allowed for a Catholic to print or to allow to be printed the work entitled 'Ianni Peruntini', as stated in writing.

A. As a Catholic.

Q. Whether he believes or believed that it is or was allowed for a Catholic to write or consign to others manuscripts concerning the validity or invalidity of excommunications, as in writings and in his voluntary submission; and similarly, in reference to false imputations, as in his submission, *and the validity and force of the banning of books done in Rome*, as in his voluntary submission, *concluding that such prohibiting decrees, banning of books, should not have any effect*, as in his voluntary submission, *and that the purging of books ought to be done by princes*, as in his voluntary submission, *by indexes which list banned books*.

A. I have said in my retraction why I did it, but I did wrong, and I did not ever even think it was right.

Q. Whether he believes or believed that it was allowed for a Catholic to maintain *that the bans issued in Rome be preceded by the censure of persons as qualifiers etc*, as in his voluntary submission.

A. As a Catholic.

Q. Whether he believes etc. that it is allowed etc. to say or write *that the casuists have created morality in their own way*, as in his voluntary submission.

A. As a Catholic.

Q. Whether he believes or believed that it is allowed etc. to keep a manuscript entitled *On the Heavenly and Earthly Kingdoms* [sic], in two books, containing many heretical propositions, as well as many other manuscripts, perhaps twenty volumes, and other small manuscripts or pages contradicting the Catholic Church.

A. I repeat that I have always lived as a true son of the Holy Catholic Church, and in all matters on which I have been hitherto interrogated, knowing full well, as I knew then, that one could not do what I have done without a most guilty conscience and contravening the Catholic, Apostolic and Roman laws. Because one abyss invokes another (*abissus abissum invocat*), my mind is cast back to all that I have said, done or written, for which I implore the mercy of the Tribunal, and that I may be reconciled with Holy Mother Church. I render first thanks to God for the light which he has given me to recognize my errors, to His Royal Majesty of Sardinia and his ministers who had me arrested, because in my wretched state I could have fallen into other errors; for this, I shall pray always for their preservation.

After this was said and recorded, when he had replied in a Catholic manner on his credulity, he was dismissed in the middle of the sentence of a vehement abjuration and salutary penance, and as a pledge in confirmation of all the above he finally signed

Pietro Giannone.'

These proceedings were recorded by me, Giovanni Battista Prever, of the Congregation of St Filippo Neri, notary.

Sentence and Absolution:

We, Fr Giovanni Alberto Alfieri, Master of the Sacred Tribunal, Vicar-General of the Holy Office of Turin, because thou [addressed by the intimate second person singular pronoun] Pietro Giannone, lawyer of Naples, son of the late Scipione, hast made a voluntary submission at the Holy Office and testified against thyself before the Tribunal to having published books and written many other works all deserving of grave censure; for example, the *Istoria civile del Regno di Napoli*, with doctrines and propositions which are false, rash, scandalous, seditious, calumnious and injurious to the Holy See and religion; for having published a manuscript against Fr S. Felice, Jesuit, impugner of the said *History*, entitled *Professione di fede*, as in thy voluntary submission, and against ecclesiastical power and authority; for having circulated in

Venice the work entitled 'Ianni Peruntini' with scandalous, false and rash propositions against ecclesiastical jurisdiction, as in thy voluntary submission; for having been in Geneva with the intention (for a livelihood) of continuing the said *History* with the Fifth Volume; for having kept various manuscripts in reference to excommunication both valid and invalid on the banning of books, as in thy voluntary submission; for having written a treatise on the concubinage permitted in ancient times; and for having written against the banning of books, and kept various manuscripts all concerning propositions against Holy Church, as in thy voluntary submission. Thou wast, therefore, interrogated by us on thy beliefs and hast replied as would a Catholic.

Through our having both seen and maturely considered this thy voluntary submission and all the reasons which must be seen and considered, we are come to pronounce on thee the definitive sentence below:

We have invoked, therefore, the Most Holy Name of Our Lord Jesus Christ and his most glorious Mother Mary ever Virgin, and St Peter, martyr and our protector, having before us the most sacrosanct Gospels, in order that our judgement proceed from the face of God and our eyes see with impartiality. For this our definitive sentence, which in our capacity as a court we manifest in these writings in this place and now by us elect, we state, pronounce, sentence, declare, and order that thou, Pietro Giannone, for the above matters which thou hast confessed above, that is:

--for having had books published and composed many other writings, all deserving of grave censure, such as the *Istoria civile del regno di Napoli* with false, rash, scandalous and calumnious doctrines and propositions injurious to the Holy See and religion;

--for having published a manuscript against Fr San Felice Jesuit, impugner of the said *History*, entitled *Professione di fede*, as in thy voluntary submission, against ecclesiastical jurisdiction and authority;

--for having circulated in Venice a work entitled *Ianni Peruntini* with scandalous, false and rash propositions against ecclesiastical jurisdiction, as in thy voluntary submission;

--for having been in Geneva with the intention (for a livelihood) of pursuing the Fifth Volume of the said *History*;

--for having possessed various manuscripts relating to excommunication both valid and invalid, and the banning of books, as in thy voluntary submission;

--for having written a treatise on the concubinage permitted in ancient times, and having written against the banning of books;

--and for having retained various manuscripts concerning propositions contrary to the Church, as in thy voluntary submission:

thou art rendered vehemently suspect of heresy, and therefore hast incurred all the punishments and censures which are imposed and promulgated by the Sacred Canons and other general and particular constitutions against similar delinquents. Because, however, thou hast voluntarily appeared before this Holy Office and freely confessed thy errors, asking for mercy and forgiveness for them, we shall be content to absolve thee from the excommunication which, because of the said matters, thou couldst have incurred, provided that first, with a sincere heart and unfeigned faith, thou shalt abjure, curse and detest the said errors and in general every and any other error, sorcery and heresy which contradicts the Holy, Catholic and Apostolic Roman Church. As for this our definitive sentence, we command thee to do in mode and form what thou shalt be given by us.

And in order that for these thy errors there not remain any impunity, and that thou obtainest more easily mercy and forgiveness from Our Lord God, for salutary penance we impose on thee:

(1) first of all thou shalt confess thy sins to a priest from the approved Ordinary and that he in his capacity give thee communion;

(2) for a year thou shalt recite once a week the third part of the most Holy Rosary for the souls in Purgatory;

(3) for the next three years thou shalt confess and take part in the four main solemnities: the Nativity, and Resurrection of Our Lord Jesus Christ, the sacred Pentacost, and All Saints Day.

We forbid any authority to increase, punish, commute, remit or condone the said penance, either wholly or in part.

And thus we state, pronounce, sentence, declare, order, chastise and reserve in this and in every other better way and form what we rightly can and must.

I, Fr Giovanni Alberto Alfieri, Master Vicar-General of the Holy Office, have thus pronounced.

On the 4th day of April, 1738.

The above-mentioned sentence was given and promulgated as a sentence in writing by the above-named Fr Vicar-General of the Holy Office, sitting in tribunal, and read out by me, the under-signed notary in a loud voice.

So be it: Fr Giovanni Battista Prever, notary of the Oratory of St Filippo.

For G.'s 'definitive sentence', on the strength also of his 'voluntary retraction', he received in theory the requisite mild and easily performed penance, in spite of what he had been called upon to retract. In the *Civil History* he had, after all, distinguished between ecclesiastical and secular authority, had challenged the divine right of the Church to hold sway

over the temporal power of princes, had attacked the corruption of the Church, and, in a logical sense, had impugned the very livelihood of its priests. In the 'Third Manuscript', the *Triregno*, *Regno terreno e celeste*, he described the belief in the immortality of the soul as

> a grave and pernicious error which not least leads human brains to twist their discourse, and blinds the eyes of the mind to prevent its seeing in those sacred books [i.e. the Bible] what could be clearly seen, if not for this prejudice. It moreover throws [the brain] into a frenzy and delirium so obscene that it arouses universal compassion. What is more, it causes those who know the truth brutishly to pretend and dissemble, and with fraud and foul cunning to write against their own conscience and feelings...[125]

G. thus, in fact, disputed the incorporeality or immortality of the soul, and therefore Hell and Purgatory. Such reflections struck at the doctrinal foundation of the Church. He was not called to account specifically on this, his greatest and most compromising work, the *Triregno*. He was allowed simply to disown it, and to retract it as merely a manuscript which he had in his possession, 'as well as other manuscripts, perhaps twenty volumes'.

Abiuratio de' vehementi:

> I Pietro Giannone, son of the late Scipione of Naples, aged about sixty-six, present in person in court and on my knees before V.P.M.R., Vicar-General of the Holy Office of Turin, having before me the sacrosanct Gospels, which I touch with my own hands, swear that I have always believed, believe now with God's help, and shall always believe in the future all that which the holy, Catholic and Apostolic Roman Church holds, believes, preaches and teaches. Because, however, I have been judged by the Holy Office to be vehemently suspect of heresy for having had books printed, and having composed many other writings all deserving of grave censure; that is, the *Istoria civile del regno di Napoli*, with doctrines and propositions which are false, rash, scandalous, calumnious and injurious to the Holy See and the religious Orders; for having published manuscripts against Fr San Felice, Jesuit, impugner of that History, under the title of *Professione di ede*, as in my voluntary submission, and against ecclesiastical jurisdiction and authority; for having circulated in Venice a

125 *Triregno, Regno terreno*,p. 56.

work entitled *Ianni Peruntini* with scandalous, false and rash propositions against ecclesiastical jurisdiction, as in my voluntary submission; for having been in Geneva with the intention (for a livelihood) of pursuing the Fifth Volume of the said *History*; for having possessed various manuscripts relating to excommunications both valid and invalid, and the banning of books, as in my voluntary submission; for having written a treatise on the concubinage permitted in ancient times, and written against the banning of books; and for having kept various manuscripts concerning propositions contrary to the Church, as above in my voluntary submission.

As I wish, therefore, to remove from the minds of Christ's faithful this vehement suspicion against me conceived for such just reasons, I abjure, curse and detest the said errors and in general every and any other error, sorcery and heresy which contradicts the said Holy, Catholic and Apostolic Roman Church. And I swear that in the future I shall never again do or say anything else for which I may be thus suspected. And I shall have no dealings or meetings with heretics or anyone suspected of heresy. If, however, I know any such one, I shall denounce him to the Holy Office or to the Ordinary of the place where I am.

I swear also and promise to carry out all the penance which has been and will be imposed on me by this Holy Office, and if I contravene any of these my promises and oaths (may Heaven forbid), I now submit myself, for that time, to all the punishments and castigations which are imposed and promulgated by the Sacred Canons and other general and particular constitutions against similar delinquents.

May God thus help me and these his sacrosanct Gospels, which I touch with my own hands. I, the said Pietro Giannone, have promised, sworn and abjured this day, 4 April 1738, and have on my honour signed below the present document of my Abjuration, expounded word by word in the said prison of the Porta di Po.

The said Pietro Giannone

The above-mentioned Pietro Giannone repeatedly and unrestrainedly genuflected in the presence of the same Fr Vicar-General of the Holy Office as above, and was absolved from the excommunication which he had incurred because of the above reasons and any other, and was restored to the communion of the faithful and participation in ecclesiastical Sacraments, and to the truth and bosom of Holy Mother Church, and after the usual precautions had been issued, he was dismissed.

So be it: Fr Giovanni Battista Prever of the Congregation of the Oratory of St Filippo Neri, notary.

The present copy was faithfully made from the original, and having

been checked against it, agrees word for word.

So be it: Giovanni Tomaso Villata of the Order of preachers of the Holy Office of Turin, notary etc.[126]

The account of G's Abjuration was confirmed by the extraordinary discovery on the antiquities market of a dossier from the archives of the Inquisition.[127] These had been plundered by Bonaparte, then maliciously destroyed by the retreating Germans during the Second World War. The dossier was rediscovered by the illustrious scholar and archivist Lino Marini, who gave it to Sergio Bertelli to publish under the title 'L'incartamento originale del Sant'Ufficio relativo a Pietro Giannone' (Original documents of the Holy Office relating to Pietro Giannone). For an account of *Rossiano 1180* see also 'The *Triregno* and its Fate' (below).

The Abjuration consists of five parts, of which the first three preliminary states were completed on 24 March 1738. The actual Abjuration, the interrogation and 'Abiuratio de' vehementi', both written by G., differ in the first published versions. The final part, Prever's report, was in fact written twelve years later.[128]

In G.'s Abjuration, Paragraph Five, he replied, therefore, not to the accusation that he had written the manuscript entitled *On the Heavenly and Earthly Kingdom*, but to the charge of having had such material in his possession! G. refers to it as 'only notes and odd reminders which I made when reading certain authors [even though] they relate to each other and form in themselves a group of various errors'.

In Paragraph Seven, G. again states: 'With all the philosophic writings, it is very obvious that they are not my sentiments but those of other philosophers... On the contrary, in other notes their errors were indicated by me...'

This stratagem on G.'s part is surely the most striking and extraordinary feature of his Abjuration. Andrea del Col describes it as 'an able move' by G., even though it was totally circumvented by the

126 Turin 24 March 1738; completed 4 April 1738, in the presence of the notary of Turin's Inquisition, Giovanni Tomaso Villata, and G.'s confessor, Fr Prever: TAS, *Atti dell'abiura*; *Mss. Giannone*; Pierantoni, ed. *Vita*, pp. 531-545; Nicolini, ed. *Vita*, pp. 462-463; Scritti, pp. 48-49; Ricuperati, *Carte torinesi*, p. 86; Occella, 'Ultimi dodici anni', pp. 696-706.

127 BAV, *Rossiano 1180.*

128 Nicolini, *Scritti*, p. 48.

cardinals of the Holy Office. He observes:

> At this point G. had achieved his objective of being legally absolved from excommunication, in a sacramental sense, by being able to make his confession. It was no longer possible to consider him a heretic from any point of view. The reason no longer existed, therefore, to keep him in prison. According to normal legal practice, he should have regained his freedom.[129]

With the discovery of the dossier BAV, *Rossiano 1180* it now appears, thanks to Bertelli's reconstruction, that there were two original texts of G.'s Abjuration. To the eight paragraphs of the legal proceedings of G.'s appearance at the tribunal of Turin's Inquisition (the text reproduced in this Appendix) were added, 'at the request of my spiritual father Prever', another three paragraphs based on texts from which G. had merely taken notes. Between the seventh and last paragraph appear:

> 8. I abjure and detest the manuscript beginning 'Strabonis *Rerum Geographicarum'* [16.2.35-39], and I detest and abjure everything in the manuscript and how I wrote it at length, and I state the same of the manuscript entitled 'Parere intorno alla censura del Padre Massimiliano Galler, gesuito' (On the censure of the Jesuit Fr Massimiliano Galler) of the book of [the Austrian physician] Johannes Paulus Ganser [*Hygieine sive Tutrix corporis humani* (Leipzig 1731)], which claims that books relating to venereal matters should not be banned or censured when the author uses and considers them as a source for teaching.
>
> 9. I retract also the manuscript 'Mortuo Leone III' (On the death of Leo III), and also the page which begins: 'De politia ecclesiastica', and the page which begins 'Residentia', maxims where it is stated 'consensus principum necessarius his, qui vita religiosa profitebantur' (the agreement of princes is necessary for those who profit by religious life) and the manuscript relating to 'de libertate philosophandi' (the freedom to philosophize).
>
> 10. I retract also some quinternions [which contain] maxims where it is written and taught that the mind of man is the same as the mind of God, in such a way that what man thinks is the thought of God; and I retract what I might have written on censures, maxims and the banning of books.[130]

129 *L'Inquisizione in Italia* (Milan 2006), p. 697.
130 Bertelli, 'L'incartamento originale', p. 35.

An analysis of Paragraphs Eight to Ten:

In Ricuperati's illuminating account of the Abjuration,[131] he observes that G.'s notes made from Strabo contain a reference which describes Moses' leading the Israelites out of Egypt as a political act rather than one carried out by special providence and God's command, and that the 'Opinion relating to the Censure of Massimo Galler' in fact contained a fragment on the soul from the *Triregno*.[132] Both Bertelli and Ricuperati dispute G.'s authorship of such notes.[133] Ricuperati suggests that G. may have read Ganser and taken notes, perhaps to assist Garelli or one of his colleagues under attack from the Jesuits.[134] The censor, however, objected to the excessively forthright nature of the text.[135]

In Paragraph Nine, 'politia ecclesiastica' refers to the work of Marcantonio De Dominis, *de Republica ecclesiastica* (Frankfurt 1617-1658), unknown to the censor (on De Dominis, see Ricuperati, *L'esperienza*, p. 428). When confronted with the notes, albeit only from the preface of Spinoza's *Tractatus theologico-politicus*, the censors, although realizing that it was not written by G., suspected that it may have been 'recopied, expounded or adopted by Giannone, and would be as prejudicial as the title indicates'.[136]

In Paragraph Ten, confronted then by the quinternions of notes on philosophical works, the censor condemned them outright as 'damned and heretical doctrines... and similar blasphemies from the school of Spinoza and other such dregs of humanity' (the notes on Spinoza are present in the TAS, *Mss. Giannone*, mazzo 1, ins.16, where they are a copy, since the original was sent to Rome by the Savoyard government).[137]

Given that the above three paragraphs of the Abjuration were omitted from the text later published by Zaccaria, Bertelli deduced that G.'s original Abjuration was revised by the cardinals of the Inquisition, who realized that the above notes could be removed from the retraction, since the books were not written by G. The copy then made by the Dominican

131 *Triregno. Città terrena*, pp. 50-60.
132 Ricuperati, in *P.G. e il suo tempo*, pp. 367-414.
133 'L'incartamento originale', p. 36; *P.G. e il suo tempo*, p. 385.
134 *P.G. e il suo tempo*, p. 387.
135 Archivio della Congregazione, Doc. B; Ricuperati, *Città terrena di P.G.*, p. 53.
136 Archivio della Congregazione, Doc. B: Ricuperati, *Città terrena*, p. 53.
137 *Giannoniana*, pp. 144-46; Ricuperati, *L'esperienza*, pp. 378-380 on G. and Spinoza, *Città terrena di P.G.*, p. 54.

Giovanni Domenico Agnani, from which Zaccaria's definitive text was derived, is therefore the revised text. The existence of the original text with its eleven paragraphs of indictment was revealed only with the discovery of the manuscript *Rossiano 1180*.[138]

The publication of the Abjuration.

On the question of G.'s public retraction, the cardinals had stated some two years earlier, in the session of the Inquisition of 18 April 1736: 'it is the primary task of His Holiness to punish one guilty of divine *lèse majesté*... Giannone must realize his great crime and that reparation must be made to the whole of scandalized Christianity, by retracting in writing all that he has stated in print'.[139]

Rome's insistence on the Abjuration and, logically, also its publication was designed to discredit G. and all that he had written in the eyes of Europe's men of letters, Del Col draws the obvious conclusion that neither Alfieri nor Prever realized how important the cardinals considered G.'s public retraction, although it was made explicit in the 'Instruction' sent from Rome to help prepare G. for his ordeal.[140]

G., in fact, recanted very little, and his own submission was an eloquent self-defence rather than an act of reparation to 'scandalized Christianity'. The Congregation could have feared that men of letters might have considered G.'s Abjuration a fake, or that it had been extorted by force (BAV, *Rossiano 1180*: Bertelli, 'L'incartamento originale', p. 31). The cardinals probably feared also its possible contrary effect on the faithful, that it would not rectify the scandal given by G.'s writings, but spark a resurgence of interest in them, and, moreover, alert the Republic of Letters to a new unpublished work by the author of the great *Civil History;* that is, the profoundly dangerous *Triregno.*

A copy of G.'s Abjuration was made from the archives of the Inquisition by the librarian of S. Maria sopra Minerva, the Dominican Giovanni Domenico Agnani. It was sent to Abate Placido Troyli, the author of an undistinguished history of Naples. This, then, was the copy which circulated between 1738 and 1749. From it could have originated

138 Bertelli, 'L'incartamento originale', pp. 35-36; see also Bertelli's exhaustive analysis in *Giannoniana*, p. 146.
139 BAV, *Rossiano 1180*: Bertelli, 'L'incartamento originale', p. 22.
140 *L'Inquisizione in Italia*, p. 696.

the rumour that G. had been sentenced to ten years' imprisonment.[141]

A year after G.'s death, a petition to publish the Abjuration was made to the Bourbon government. The watchful Marquis Nicolo Fraggianni, however, brought his influence to bear to prevent it with his 'Consulta':

Submission by Nicolo Fraggianni against publishing the text of G.'s Abjuration, 8 October 1749:

> Since Your Majesty has been asked for your Royal permission to publish the attached two pages containing the retraction which Pietro Giannone made of the errors contained in his works, you have graciously ordered me, with the brevity and secrecy due to such a task, to inform you of my opinion. I devote myself, therefore, to the honour of humbly representing to Your Majesty how the enclosed pages have for many years now circulated in copious manuscripts in this city and kingdom through the work of the enemies of the said Neapolitan lawyer Pietro Giannone. When in 1723 he published the four volumes of the *Civil History* of this Kingdom, he encountered the aversion of the Roman Court for having judiciously stressed in his work the independent sovereignty of the Principate in temporal matters, with other legitimate rights annexed to it and exercised in this Kingdom. He encountered also the aversion of almost all the regular [religious] orders because of some abuses introduced with the passage of time, and especially that of the Fathers of the Society of Jesus, whose institution he described at more length... It thus happened that, although the same *History* did not contain any proposition repugnant to our holy Catholic faith and it was generally received with applause, the author was declared excommunicated by this archiepiscopal court, not for any error in matters of religion, but only because he had published his work without the permission of the said Curia...
>
> This was the hard fate which Giannone's *Civil History* encountered with the ecclesiastics, because of whose fierce and continuous persecutions the author in 1736 was treacherously drawn from the dominion of the Prince [sic], where he was, to that of the King of Sardinia. There, after two years in prison (in which he was to be detained for the rest of his life), with the preceding licence of the Inquisition of the Holy Office of Rome and according to the instructions sent by it to Turin, he voluntarily made his retraction in April 1738. It was followed by the sentence and Abjuration contained in the attached pages in manuscript, which now after eleven years Your Majesty is requested to publish in this Kingdom.
>
> Such a request, however, identifies the one making it as probably

141 See letter of Carlo, 18 May 1745: Nicolini, *Scritti*, p. 48.

some secret adherent of the Court of Rome and the Fathers of the Society of Jesus. Publication would not only make public in this city the triumphs finally of one and the other over the author of the *Civil History*, to discredit the work for those of weak understanding, but also to render the Abjuration more grandiose by the prior Royal approval. If such were not the original plan and aim of the applicant, he could have easily published it as desired within or outside Italy. I therefore consider it impossible to accede in any way to the following request, for the two following principal reasons among many others, which I feel obliged reverently to submit to the superior intelligence of Your Majesty.

The first is this, that the enclosed pages contain a trial so strange, iniquitous and outrageous, even according to the extraordinary practice of the Holy Office, that reading it would cause horror in many of the very places where the Inquisition is by public authority accepted. To publish it here with Royal permission, therefore, would increase the universal, innate aversion of all the citizens of the Kingdom for the Inquisition of the Holy Office, not without grave fear of seeing the public peace disturbed and the disputes of other times revived between supporters of Giannone and Sanfelice. At the present time they would be so much more serious and harsh since, on the one hand, the banning of the *Civil History* has already been shown to be merely political, solely to defend the untrue maxims of that Court. On the other hand, it would be alleged that Giannone had been forced to abjure and retract, since he had published and written against both those Roman maxims and Fr Sanfelice.

And the second reason is that the intervention of Royal power here in publishing the attached pages would imply tacit approval for both the unjust maxims of the Roman Court and those of the same stamp contained in those pages. In them is notoriously inferred very grave insult to both the independent, absolute sovereignty of the Principate and to the indispensable defence of subjects against the infamous abuses of spiritual power, to the despotic will of which, therefore, the sovereign and the vassals would remain subject...

Your Majesty may well imagine, if your supreme Royal authority permits these pages to be printed, the ostentation with which the ecclesiastics would use them against us. You can imagine the gratification with which the pontifical magistrate would welcome it, seeing openly confirmed, with positive royal permission, the claimed new, despotic, universal, spiritual and also temporal monarchy of that Court, to the completely intolerable prejudice of the absolute, independent sovereignty of Your Majesty and of the just and necessary defence of your vassals.

Because of all the already proposed considerations stemming from the requested publication of the enclosed pages in manuscript, the many detestable consequences exceedingly prejudicial to the absolute

> sovereignty of the Royal Crown and to the public peace of the State relating to the necessary indemnity of your citizens, I would consider that Your Majesty would seem to have no choice but to refuse outright the required Royal permission for publication. I would suggest at the same time that the pages presented to Your Majesty be kept with the Secretariat of State...; and that you might seriously warn whoever produced them to refrain in every way also indirectly from making any use of those pages, even simply in manuscript form. Your Majesty would then not be obliged, in the contrary case, to take other serious economic measures against him, for the necessary, proper preservation of your sovereign rights, and the general quiet of your vassals.[142]

After Fraggianni's successful submission to Charles Bourbon not to allow its publication, the Abjuration could only circulate in manuscript. In 1752 it was then partly published under the false place of publication of Cologne by the archbishop of Tiro, Giovanni Andrea Tria, as the *Abiuratio de' vehementi*, in Tria's *Osservazioni critiche intorno alla polizia della Chiesa, che si legge de' suoi primi tempi fino al presente nei quattro tomi della Storia civile... dedicate alla Santità di N.S. Benedetto P.P. XIV* (Critical Observations... on the Political System of the Church, Which Can Be Read from its Early Times Down to the Present in the Four Volumes of the *Civil History*... Dedicated to Our Lord Benedict XIV).[143] Panzini[144] states that Tria published it under the pseudonym of 'Pietro di Paolo, priest' and then reprinted it under his own name in 1752.

Tria, in fact, published the definitive text, although solely of the 'Abiuratio de vehementi', in which were reproduced the eight paragraphs of G.'s retraction. To it he added, however, the three extra paragraphs to show the extent of G.'s retraction, even though, as Bertelli observes, he obviously did not know whether or not G. had been the author of them.[145] Nicolini could not, however, find any copies of this reprinting.[146]

The Abjuration was later reviewed by Giovanni Lami in February 1753 in the *Novelle Letterarie* of Venice, which gave Giannone's name, and Rome as the place of publication. Lami then published the whole of the 'Abiuratio de' vehementi' and reviewed it in the same journal on

142 Biblioteca della Società napoletana di Storia patria, *Fondo Cuomo*: *Giannoniana*, pp. 100-102.
143 *Giannoniana*, p. 142.
144 *Vita*, p. 162.
145 *Giannoniana*, p. 146.
146 *Scritti*, p. 108.

9 November 1753:

> I myself am of the view that Giannone's bold propositions can be refuted with very brief reasoning, provided that one separate those which are false and erroneous from those which are not manifestly so. They can be refuted by not taking in a bad sense the propositions which can be interpreted equally in a good sense; and by putting them all in their right context without altering them; and finally, by not trying to contradict Giannone in everything, but by maintaining in every way the pure, simple truth. I have had occasion, when reading those who refute Giannone, every so often to be scandalized at the little justice or to pity the passion. There is no time to give specific examples here, and I shall state only that I knew Giannone. He was not a man of malice, but was, on the contrary, naïve and high-minded, who thought himself empowered to deliver oracles. And he expressed his disgust and regret to me at having irritated and vexed the ecclesiastics. Even where he states what is true, which ought not displease anyone, he has an antagonistic style and an acrimonious mode of expression, which his religiosity should not have allowed.

It was Lami's view that the Abjuration proved, in fact, that G. was not an unbeliever and that he remained true to his faith.[147] Lami's motives in publishing the Abjuration were obviously not those denounced by Fraggianni in 1749.

Fraggianni presented another submission against publishing the Abjuration. It was undated but probably written in 1753, in response to Tria:

> ... Before anything else, one cannot remain silent about the author's [Tria's] artifice in contriving to gain recognition and advantage for his work, and bring censure and discredit on the *Civil History*. He thus undertakes to attack the work which expounds and defends the Royal Rights of Your Majesty. He reports extensively and exaggerates... Giannone's reformation and retraction, which, he affirms, happened at the time when that unhappy man had met with his imprisonment, from which he was liberated only by death. And he refers here to the fact that Giannone cursed and detested his errors disseminated in other writings, and in particular in the *Civil History of the Kingdom of Naples*. In the said retraction its author terms it full of tenets and propositions which are false, scandalous, rash, seditious, calumnious and injurious to the Holy See and Religion. Your Majesty can clearly see what prejudice

147 *Giannoniana*, p. 143.

> and offence Tria has tried, with such an account, to bring against the royal rights advocated in the aforesaid *History*, by discrediting it and the tenets contained in it, at least among the simple-minded and the general populace.[148]

In 1753 Johann Le Bret, who translated the third and fourth volumes of the *Civil History* into German,[149] also published an edition of the Abjuration in thirty-six pages, translated into Latin: *Abiuratio D. Petri Iannonii neapoletani historici celeberrimi ab eo sponte facta Taurini in carcere sito ad Portam Padanam d[ie] iv apr., mdccxxxviii* (Erlangen 1755).[150] Copies of this very rare document exist in Milan's Ambrosiana Library and the British Library. In it, Le Bret expresses serious doubts of the voluntary nature of G.'s Abjuration.[151]

The text of the Abjuration was then published in 1755, in a review by the Franciscan Antonio Zaccaria, Muratori's successor in the library of Este, of Gosse's reprint of the *Storia civile*. He was initially a Jesuit, and battled against Muratori, whose works, although examined in Rome, were not banned.[152] His aim was to refute Gosse's preliminary remarks. The Abjuration was published in Zaccaria's *Storia letteraria d'Italia*.[153]

To the text a copyist added the note:

> Giannone did not voluntarily betake himself out of the jurisdiction of Geneva, but was seduced by one who cultivated his friendship on the pretext of allaying his fear to leave the area. The man had been sent expressly from Turin, and held in readiness police and executors in the village under the dominion of His Majesty the King of Sardinia. And he pretended that he was taking him to dinner.[154]

Together with G.'s original draft at the end of his *Vita*, and Tria's text, there thus appear to be three different versions of the Abjuration. The variation concerns the paragraph added to the Abjuration which begins:

148 Biblioteca della Società napoletana di Storia patria, *Consulta Fraggianni*: *Giannoniana*, pp. 143-144.
149 *Bürgerliche Geschichte des Königsreichs Neapel* (Leipzig 1758-1770).
150 *Giannoniana*, p. 144.
151 Nicolini, *Scritti*, p. 49.
152 Patrizia Delpiano, *Il governo della lettura* (Bologna 2007), p. 249.
153 8 (July to December 1755), pp. 141-155; *Giannoniana*, p. 144; Delpiano, p. 250.
154 Società Napoletana di Storia patria, 25.B.6: Abjuration of Pietro Giannone, Author of the Civil History of the Kingdom of Naples, 24 March 1738: *Giannoniana*, p. 107.

'I add to this my spontaneous abjuration...'.[155] In his article based on the manuscript BAV, *Rossiano 1180,* Bertelli, however, solved the question of which was the authentic text (see above).

Zaccaria's text was, therefore, the source of the Abjuration referred to by the priest Antonio Soria in his *Memorie storico-critiche degli scrittori napoletani* (Naples 1781), 1, p. 289.[156]

The Abjuration was also included in a miscellany dedicated ironically to Cardinal Alessandro Albani. Its original title was *De clarorum virorum retractationibus* (On the Retractions of Famous Men). It included Marcantonio De Dominis, Pierre de Marca, Fénelon (François de Salignac de la Motte), Louis-Antoine Noailles, and Charles Secondat de Montesquieu. Permission to publish it was not granted until 1791, when it appeared under a different title: *Theothimi Eupistini de doctis Catholicis viris, qui Cl. Iustino Febronio in scriptis suis Retractadis ab anno MDLXXX, laudabili exemplo praeiverunt, liber singularis* (Rome 1791) (The Book of Theothimus Eupistinus on the Learned Catholics Who Followed the Praiseworthy Example of Claudius Justinus Febronius in the Retraction of his Writings from the Year 1580).

In the immediate review of it, it was stated that

> Chapter Seven contains a long and reasoned deduction of the facts in the retraction of the celebrated Pietro Giannone, author of the *Civil History of the Kingdom of Naples*, and of other works equally infected and dangerous. The Abjuration and palinode, which bear the date of 4 April 1738, have been included complete by the Author, and must be read for the information of those who, deceived by the irreligious maxims snaking throughout, believe innocently that they receive instruction from the work of this writer, often reprinted, whereas they drink nothing but poison.[157]

The Abjuration was published also by Panzini in the first edition of the second volume of G.'s *Opere postume*. Occella in his 'Ultimi dodici anni' then published the text translated in the Appendix. Pierantoni had also published a text in the *Vita* edited by him (pp. 531-545).

G. made no reference to his Abjuration in his later writings, but most certainly implied that it gave him the right to be granted freedom: this

155 *Giannoniana*, pp. 144-145.
156 *Giannoniana*, p. 146.
157 *Notizie letterarie*, No. 18, 5 May 1791, pp. 137-139; *Giannoniana*, p. 147.

was at the very core of his assumptions in his petitions to his captors.

[49]

Reactions to the Abjuration:

Giuseppe Firrao, secretary of state, to Charles Emanuel, 15 March 1738:

> Cardinal Firrao shares the joy of His Holiness and congratulates the King on all that he has done for the conversion. And as for Giannone, no matter what may be his frame of mind, His Holiness believes that it will never be such as to let one consider restoring him to freedom. A pernicious man is always to be feared, one who has attempted to subvert the Catholic religion with maxims and principles which in fact destroy it.[158]

This message from the secretary of state was included in Albani's letter, to be passed on to the king.

Clement XII to Charles Emanuel, 15 March 1738 on the Concordat:

> A great consolation and pleasure have been given us by the very kind folio of Your Majesty in which, by reminding us of your remarkable zeal and respect for us and the Holy See, you have shown us that you maintain the same desire to put an end once and for all to those controversies which can only become unpleasant and tormenting to our true paternal love for Your Majesty and your remarkable religious mind.
>
> Your Majesty will, therefore, have learned with pleasure from Cardinal Alessandro Albani, our beloved son, of our similar desire. And although he has heard much about it from the cardinals Firrao, secretary of state, and Corsini, our nephew, both our beloved sons, and he [Albani] has referred everything exactly to Your Majesty, they have not been able to express the greatness of our desire and how often we long for discussions to implement it to the satisfaction of Your Majesty. And in truth we shall give every facility not to injure prematurely the hitherto unimpaired rights of the Holy See, the decorum of our Pontificate, and the inviolable laws of the Sacred Canons, which are to be exactly observed on oath to the Eternal Judge. These, however, we hope to be able to reconcile with the decorum and Royal Rights of Your Majesty, provided that everyone calmly considers together not what one party wishes to obtain from the other, but what is lawful to grant without offending one's conscience and dignity. We promise on our part such equity and moderation, and

158 AAV, *Lettere ministri*; Occella, 'Ultimi dodici anni', p. 685.

trust to find it also in Your Majesty, being well aware of Your notable religiosity and generous character. In view of this, we have in truth been much delighted that Your Majesty has offered to send the said Cardinal Alessandro Albani plenipotentiary powers to end this negotiation [for a Concordat between Rome and Savoy], and the sooner you will be pleased to do so, the greater will be the pleasure which we shall derive from it. Although through the grace of God we enjoy perfect health, our already advanced age persuades us to accelerate this so desired work, to be able to enjoy it longer when it is happily accomplished.

When a much firmer union has been established between the Priesthood and the Empire--and nothing could be more useful for the salvation of souls-- it will be easier both for our Apostolic Providence and the Royal Patronage of Your Majesty to hasten to its defence. We recognize also that this must therefore be singularly in keeping with the piety and religion of Your Majesty, because of your gladness in being able to give us the good news, advising us of the decision taken by Giannoni [sic], disturber of the Church and the Republic, to abjure his pestiferous published theories. Please God it has been determined not by the hope of being restored to freedom, but by conversion, although he will easily realize the impossibility of deceiving Your Majesty in any way. As he is so truly intelligent, he should have thoroughly recognized his error. And it is a great pleasure to us that he confesses and renounces it, since we remember the Divine Shepherd, in whose stead without merit we stand, who did not want the death of the sinner, but rather that he be converted and live. And to Your Majesty, our dearest son in Christ, we give most lovingly the Apostolic Blessing.[159]

Albani to Ormea, 10 May 1738:

They [the cardinals] have spoken to me about the Abjuration made by Giannone, and were to write me a note... in which they signified to me their satisfaction with the Abjuration, but not with his spontaneity in making it, as they doubted the entire sincerity of his repentance. They requested me, therefore, again to ask of the great religious piety of His Majesty to have him guarded, as they are sure that he will be, with the greatest possible attention, in order that he never regain his freedom. And they told me that they have no objection to making his Abjuration public, but desire that it be kept secret for the above-mentioned reason of his not having made it spontaneously.[160]

159 Dispatches of Court of Rome to Turin; Pierantoni, ed., *Vita,* pp. 488-490.
160 AAV, *Lettere ministri*: Occella, 'Ultimi dodici anni', p. 688.

Ormea to Albani and Clement XII, 21 May 1738:

> In the Abjuration made by Giannone and in everything related to it, the widest and broadest freedom to act has been given to this Father-Vicar of the Inquisition, without this Minister or any other acting on behalf of His Majesty, either having interfered in the slightest way, or caused any obstruction to the Father-Vicar. Your Eminence may be certain of that. On the custody of Giannone personally, the pope and that Court may rest assured that while His Majesty is here, he will never consent to his freedom, as he understands too well the consequences. And in reference to the work left in Geneva to be printed there, that is, none other than the Fifth Volume which he wanted to add to his *History of Naples*, it has been retrieved from that city with his other writings. Your Eminence will recall that I sent it to you at the very beginning. And I have verification that there is no recollection left in Geneva not only of that text but also of any other writings of Giannone, because by now all the most just and certain measures have been taken to retrieve them all, which I believe have succeeded.[161]

After examining G.'s Abjuration on 28 April 1738, the cardinals of the Sacred Congregation met to express their dissatisfaction.[162] On 5 May they voted unanimously to advise Fr Prever that G.'s Abjuration was not sufficient to rectify the scandal given in his writings. The omission of any real attention given to the 'Third Manuscript', the 'Regno terreno e celeste', must have fundamentally influenced their decision. As Albani wrote on 10 May 1738 (above), the cardinals suspected the entire sincerity of G.'s repentance.

The cardinals also ordered that G.'s confessor, Fr Prever, keep completely secret in his possession the 'Commission' and 'Instruction' sent to Turin to guide Alfieri for G.'s trial.[163]

In a letter of 4 June 1739 from the Congregation, Alfieri was asked, nevertheless, to verify the report that G. was writing another history, an *Anti-Giannone*, in which he was refuting from the beginning his own errors. Alfieri replied on 17 June that G. seemed willing to do so (see the last paragraph of his Abjuration), and Ormea had approved, but as far as Alfieri knew, G. had not been asked. Alfieri had no permission to

161 Pierantoni, ed., *Vita*, p. 487.
162 BAV, *Rossiano 1180*, cc. 173-174.
163 Archivio della Congregazione, Doc.D; Ricuperati, *Città terrena di P.G.* (Florence 2001), pp. 57-58.

return to the Porta del Po, and could communicate with G. only through Prever, who was directly under Ormea's orders. As Alfieri was writing the letter, he learned that two days before, on 15 June, G. had been transferred to Ceva.[164]

Celestino Orlandi, in his letter from Rome to Celestino Galiani of 23 May 1738, reveals that Rome was not appeased.[165]

The perplexity of contemporaries is reflected in the observation of one who was always hostile to G., Scipione Maffei: 'You would do me a favour to have copied for me the Abjuration of Giannone, and to inform me whether it was public or a document or in some publication. It is very curious'.[166]

The assumed promise, and the legal possibility, of G.'s obtaining liberty in exchange for his Abjuration could not have been considered politic on the part of Charles Emanuel. G.'s release would have risked the scandal of publicly exposing Turin's inhuman opportunism with Rome to obtain the Concordat, even though it was Rome which G. always blamed for his tragedy.

Charles Emanuel's promise to Rome of G.'s perpetual imprisonment was kept. In a letter to Charles Emanuel of 25 November 1738, Piedmont's new legate to Rome, Count Giambattista Balbis de Rivera, wrote that he had assured Clement XII of G.'s close custody; that the whole enterprise of G.'s Abjuration illustrated

> the vigilance which His Majesty in his rectitude exercised to give priority to the preservation of the Faith in his states, in which, although surrounded in various parts by heresy, not so much in the Valle de Lucerne as in Protestant Switzerland and Geneva, that heresy had not gained an inch. This is due to the conversions, in fact, in the Valle, and the new churches always being built through the piety of His Majesty.[167]

It rendered inexorably unjust, bitter and futile the humiliation of the Abjuration inflicted on G. He, moreover, was never to know that he had won that battle, that his Abjuration, his self-defence, must have appeared too much an accusation of his persecutors to allow them the triumph and vindication of publishing it.

164 *Ibid*., pp. 58, 70.
165 Biblioteca della Società napoletana di Storia patria: *Giannoniana*, p. 141.
166 Letter to Bernardo de Rubeis, Verona, 11 June 1738: Maffei, *Epistolario*, p. 833.
167 Ricuperati, *Piemonte sabaudo*, pp. 496-497.

On the brutal futility of G.'s Abjuration and the insistence of the Roman court on his perpetual imprisonment, it may be observed that G. also could not have expected justice from a State which, in the 1740s, allowed its secular authorities to carry out arrests in some forty cases on behalf of the Holy Office.[168]

Romano Canosa observes that G., after his Abjuration, was in fact the 'voluntary author' of the Inquisition's somewhat more advantageous position in Piedmont.[169] Non-nationals were no longer excluded as inquisitors and the powerful Palazzi di Selve, as bursar-general ('economo generale'), wrote to Piedmont's secretary of state for internal affairs, Count St-Laurent, that it was not necessary to enact the 'royal exequatur' on the delegations of the Inquisition, once the new Inquisitor had informed him of his appointment and asked for royal protection. In 1739 the inquisitors were, in fact, appointed in the sees of Tortona and Novara without prior agreement with Rome. The Inquisition, moreover, continued to promulgate sentences equivalent to death, such as those of from five to seven years at the oars of the galleys. The secular magistrates of Piedmont even attempted to prosecute those accused of simple witchcraft, thus encountering the opposition of the vicars of the Inquisition.[170]

Piedmont had long been an unhealthy society. From 1713 to 1723, there were 'numerous proceedings against Jews, used by the Senate to extend its own sphere of competence in the jurisdiction of the trials'. In the 1720s the policy changed, and Jews were subjected to segregationist legislation and obliged to enter the ghetto.[171] Although Piedmont remained indecisive in reference to the Holy Office, and constantly sought to secularize its power and abolish its tribunal, throughout the whole of the eighteenth century and beyond, 'almost all academics in the field of canon law and some theologians had to defend their own teachings and writings from accusations of heterodoxy'.[172] The Torinese martyr, and anti-Fascist journalist, Piero Gobetti (1901-1926) wrote:

> The ambiguity of the Piedmontese political system, the ecclesiastical influence tenaciously opposed but still dominant, and the philistinism

168 Del Col, *L'Inquisizione in Italia*, p. 709.
169 *Storia dell'Inquisizione in Italia* (Rome 1986-1990), 3, pp. 105-113.
170 Del Col, *L'Inquisizione in Italia*, p. 709.
171 Maria Teresa Silvestrini, *La politica della religione* (Florence 1997), p. 238.
172 *Ibid*., p. 152.

> of the official culture elucidate unequivocally for us the persecution inflicted by the Piedmontese government on the Neapolitan lawyer Pietro Giannone.[173]

Both Victor Amadeus and his son Charles Emanuel 'regarded as subversive anyone who could write, and banished them'.[174] Adriano Prosperi writes that 'to dissent from the religion of the prince was a form of sedition'.[175] In the judgement of Maria Teresa Silvestrini, by arresting Giannone and imprisoning him for life, the Savoyard government simply demonstrated to Clement XII its 'religious orthodoxy'.[176]

The Index was still brought to bear in Savoy, although, towards the end of the 1700s, the more prestigious bookshops listed banned titles in their catalogues. When in 1772, however, on the death of Ormea's son, Alessandro Ferrero d'Ormea, his library of nearly seven hundred books, of which twenty-one were on the Index, was being sold, those which were on the Index could not be sold. They included works by Bayle, Giannone's *Istoria civile*, Melchior Goldast, Claude Adrien Helvetius, Thomas Hobbes (*Elementa philosophica de cive*), Niccolo Machiavelli, Michel Eyquem de Montaigne (his *Essais*), Charles de Secondat Montesquieu (*L'Esprit des Lois*), and Paolo Sarpi (*Historia del Consiglio tridentino*).[177]

As Bertelli observed, G., in fact, in his own submission recanted very little, and that in all his works from prison, moreover, he was to remain faithful to the ideas of the *Triregno*.[178] Piero Gobetti summed up G's Abjuration thus: 'It is the dogmatic, spiritual submission of a Christian, accompanied by the layman's hope for freedom, with the mental reserve of the jurist who understands the invalidity of what he does under orders'.[179]

As the great scholar Lino Marini wrote:

> It was a sovereign who imprisoned unto death the defender of sovereigns... The Savoyard government decided on the arrest and had

173 *Scritti storici, letterari e filosofici* (Turin 1969), p. 60.
174 *Ibid*., p. 64.
175 *Tribunali della coscienza* (Turin 2009), p. xli.
176 'Religione stabile e politica ecclesiastica', in *Storia di Torino*, 5, p. 391.
177 Ludovica Braida and Silvia Tatti, *Il libro. Editoria e pratiche di lettura nel Settecento* (Rome 2016), p. 350.
178 'L'incartamento originale', p. 31.
179 *Scritti storici, letterati e filosofici* (Turin 1969), p. 63.

> the strength to do it, also the strength to move other men suitable for the undertaking outside the State. It would be too facile a paradox to observe that fundamentally the arrest on the part of Savoy confirmed that pre-eminence of the power of the prince, for which G. precisely had fought, over the power of the papacy. And there is little point in noting the irony of a fate which not only imprisoned the most noted advocate of princes, but led him to that end a few short months after his expressing the wish to serve Charles Emanuel himself.[180]

Ricuperati's observations are, as usual, incisive:

> G. would have been a hard bone to crack for anyone who confronted him on controversial matters, but the poor obtuse canon, with his instinctive goodness, could have established an understanding with him which was not theological, but of basic sentiment. Prever aimed completely at restoring a religiosity which in G. was still very much alive.[181]

He also detected the link between the *Vita* and the Abjuration:

> Between sovereign, minister, vicario, and the tribunal of the Inquisition, the one most affected by the falsification which he had been compelled to commit was the old prisoner. For him, the time in which he wrote his *Vita* had been fundamental, and it had a precise, dialectic link with the Abjuration, which he feared as a future imposition.[182]

The context of G.'s Abjuration:

Given his sense of security as a devout Catholic, in Geneva G. had not attempted to make himself safe by apostasy, even after so many extraordinary escapes. He might have followed the example of one of the scholars whom he had studied, whose work he requested futilely in prison on 8 August 1737: François Baudouin (1520-1573), whose changes of religion had allowed him to survive in dangerous circumstances. Even Henri de Navarre, Henry IV of France (1558-1610) had famously declared: 'Paris is worth a mass!' Since G.'s notes from Geneva, however, on both the *Triregno* and the Fifth Volume of the *Civil History* were sent to the archives of the Inquisition, we do not know the extent to which he had been influenced by his Protestant friends. He was certainly familiar

180 *Mezzogiorno*, p. 261; for G.'s petition to Charles Emanuel of 18 November 1735, see above.

181 Quoted by Van Heck, *Discorsi*, 2, p. 713.

182 *Apologia de' teologi scolastici*, ed. Liliana Cecchetto (Turin 2011), intro, p. xxviii.

with such pragmatism, because in better times he had used the satire by the Huguenot Theodor Agrippa d'Aubigné (1550-1630) as a model for the *Professione di fede*, his reply to the Jesuit Sanfelice.

He had, moreover, always striven to educate his readers about the machinations of the Inquisition. In Vienna he had tried to have published Giuseppe Valletta's *Storia dell'Inquisizione*, and he had enlisted help from his friends in Naples for the persecuted Zeger van Espen (1646-1728).

During those six near fatal months in the prisons of the Porta del Po under the benign but non-comprehending eye of Fr Prever, the terrible possibility of death at the stake if G. had been surrendered to Rome must, in part, explain his sincere respect for Charles Emanuel and Ormea. G. must have called to mind the fates of three famous victims of the Inquisition: Giordano Bruno (1548-1600), Galileo Galilei (1564-1642, and the predecessor of G.'s venerated Fr Torres, Miguel de Molinos (1646-1697).

Giordano Bruno was born not far from G. in Nola. He entered the Dominican order in Naples at the age of fifteen, but inevitably antagonised his prior and left. Like G., he also became a brilliant scholar and philosopher. Having been a Dominican, he also was familiar with the sinister ways of the Inquisition, and he attacked the corruption of the clergy, ecclesiastical ritual, miracles and implicit faith in the Bible. He was Europe's first martyr of science, and suffered, and was without doubt tortured, in a tiny, dark cell in Rome's evil prisons of the Inquisition for more than six years. His later writings express the idea of the universe as being the realization of the divine mind:

> I hold the universe to be infinite as a result of the infinite divine power, for I think it unworthy of divine goodness and power to have produced merely one finite world when it was able to bring into being any number of worlds...[183]

Giordano Bruno was stripped of the habit symbolic of his ecclesiastical status, rendered mute, and led naked to the stake on the icy morning of 17 February 1600. Rome remains haunted by him. A life-size bronze statue of him broods over the place of his holocaust in the Campo de' Fiori.

183 AAV, doc. 9; quoted by Michael White in *The Pope and the Heretic* (London 2002), pp. 108-109.

Galileo Galilei had also been forced to confront his 'heresy', when examined in 1633 under the threat of torture. He and Giordano Bruno were condemned by the same inexorable Inquisitor, Cardinal Roberto Bellarmino (1542-1621), canonized as a saint in 1930 by Pius XI. Galileo also stated in his abjuration:

> As a further confirmation of my not having believed or believed as true the damned opinion of the movement of the earth and the stationary nature of the sun, if I am granted, as I desire, the ability and time to produce clearer proofs of it, I am ready to do so.[184]

Galileo was condemned to perpetual imprisonment on 22 June 1633.

Miguel de Molinos was a Spanish priest who settled in Rome around 1670. He espoused Quietism, which placed emphasis on disinterested love of God and private devotions, in preference to the Church's ceremonialism and ritual and good works. He fell victim to the Jesuits of the Counter-Reformation, and on 3 September 1687 made his abjuration and was condemned to imprisonment for life. He died in prison some nine years later.

Giordano Bruno and Miguel de Molinos were abandoned by their popes, the former by the initially sympathetic Clement VIII (1592-1605), who rejected Bruno's self-defence and signed his death-warrant. Miguel de Molinos was condemned by his erstwhile friend Innocent XI (1676-1689). Giordano Bruno's powerful patron, Giovanni Mocenigo, denounced him to the Inquisition, and after some seven years of brutal imprisonment Bruno had lost all other patronage. It had once included that of Henry III of France and Elizabeth I of England. Miguel de Molino's followers, among whom were many powerful figures, were also arrested and interrogated by the Inquisition.

Galileo, however, retained his influential patrons. On his arrest, he stayed for two months in the apartment of Nicolini, the Tuscan ambassador to the Holy See, and then lived for three weeks in a luxurious apartment in the palace of the Holy Office. After his abjuration, he ended his life under the prescribed house-arrest at home with his family, from where he had published, nevertheless, his *Dialoghi delle nuove scienze* (Leiden 1636), which earned him universal and immortal fame.

184 *I documenti del processo di Galileo Galilei*, ed. Sergio M. Pagano with Antonio G. Luciani (Vatican 1984), p. 132; Del Col, *L'inquisizione in Italia*, p. 560.

Antonio Conti, G.'s friend from Venice, observed that without Galileo there would have been no Descartes and no Gassendi.

G. may also have remembered the abjuration of one of his most admired predecessors, Louis Ellies Dupin, who abjured after two years of harsh imprisonment.

The positive intolerance displayed towards, G. reflects also his having remained a commoner throughout his life, despite his distant but unclaimed kinship with the aristocratic Giannone-Alito.[185] G.'s oppressors were not only popes, but also aristocrats of the highest degree. Innocent XIII (1721-1724) was from the ducal family of the Conti. Both parents of the Orsini pope Benedict XIII (1724-1730) were of ducal rank. Clement XII (1730-1740) was Lorenzo Corsini of very wealthy and distinguished nobility. Benedict XIV (1740-1758), Prospero Lambertini, although of the lesser aristocracy, was educated as a prince at the Collegio Clementino, and his father's wealth was sufficient to raise him to the cardinalate, paying 100,000 *scudi*.[186]

G.'s own reactions:

We have two statements by G. himself. Haunting in its incongruity is the ring of sincerity and even optimism in G.'s sorrowful observation to Carlo some three weeks after his Abjuration, which must also reflect G.'s gratitude not to be abandoned to the fate of a heretic in Rome:

G. to Carlo from Turin, 26 April 1738:

> Dearest Brother,
>
> Now that I am permitted, I must not neglect to give you some news of me, for which perhaps, until now, you will have been wanting and waiting. As to how I am, I render infinite thanks to Divine Beneficence which, amid so much misfortune and anguish, has given me the strength to suffer them with patience. He has also inspired the heart of His Majesty with a sense of pity and compassion, so that I may truly say he had plucked me from the fury of fortune and, by drawing me away from such long and dangerous errors, has led me into port. He has, above all, with a single page besought for me from the clemency of His Holiness that pardon of which for my many offences I considered myself undeserving. Now from experience I have learned that our Holy Mother

185 See Antonio Alito's effusive letter to G., 7 August 1728: *Vita*, ed. Nicolini, p. 453.
186 Charles Duclos, *Voyage en Italie* (Paris 1791), p. 301.

> Church has such pitying arms that she willingly welcomes and pardons those who turn to her. For the future, therefore, I shall have strong reasons to commend the pity, clemency and mildness of the Holy See much more than any other Prince on earth. What will become of us I do not know. All of those few years of life which God will give me, whether few or many, I must rightly consecrate to the will of his Divine Majesty. Whatever manner, therefore, in which he will dispose of my person will be welcomed and accepted by me, so that the rest of the few years left to me I may end in peace and thinking truly on the last departure. I remain warmly embracing you, Your very loving brother...[187]

The date of this letter is discussed by Giulia di Rienzi: the year must be 1738.[188]

G. to Ormea, Ceva, 6 July 1738:

> As in my sojourn in Turin, when I did not neglect, through Fr Prever and in any way that I could, to profess to Your Excellency my infinite obligations, now also I must not fail, being so far away, to remind you of my poor self, so that you deign to continue your beneficent protection with His Majesty the king, to whose compassionate hand I owe my rescue from the furore of Fortune. He bestowed rest and tranquillity on my fighting conscience and obtained that pardon from the clemency of His Holiness, of which, for my grave faults, I considered myself undeserving. And it made me understand by experience that our Holy Mother Church has such compassionate arms which willingly embrace and pardon those who turn to her.
>
> On the day before leaving for this fort, the said Fr Prever told me that, on behalf of the cardinals of the Congregation of the Holy Office of Rome, a letter had been sent to the Vicar-Fr Alfiero [sic] of that Inquisition in Turin, to whom was committed my absolution, that, although all was done in conformity with "Instruction" sent, it had come to their notice that, to make more completely manifest my sincerity in reference to the retraction sought from me and carried out, I could have given even greater confirmation and testimony of my loyalty and constancy. He was therefore to try to ascertain this, and if it were so, that he was to arrange for me to put it into effect. As nothing could be more agreeable and acceptable, no less to the Sacred Congregation than to His Holiness, I replied to Fr Prever that I was always ready to carry out all that I had promised. I had drawn up that retraction in great haste and according to

187 26 April 1739 (but 1738): Rome, Vallicelliana Library: *Giannoniana*, pp. 322-323.

188 Review of *Lettere autografe*, ed. Pantaleo Minervini, in *Bollettino istorico bibliografico subalpino* (1993), p. 318.

the "Instruction" sent, and it was to be filed in the Proceedings. Since the Sacred Congregation, however, considered that it was to be made public by publication, in that case, by retaining the substance of it and not deviating from it in any way, I should draw up another more eloquent one, set out in better order, to make it more appropriate to be read in print. Before sending it to Rome, however, Your Excellency was to see whether it met with your approval, and I asked

Fr Prever that, before taking any steps, he inform Your Excellency, because, in this as in everything else exacted from me by the Sacred Congregation, I did not intend to do anything without the permission of His Majesty. I am sure that Fr Prever will have fully informed your Excellency and revealed to you my sentiments. In the enclosed letter, which I ask you to send to him, I make the same reply, so that everything might proceed with your knowledge and according to the orders which His Majesty will consider opportune.

I left with Fr Prever some of my petitions to send to you, in order that you might deign to request His Majesty about the arrangements considered by him most effective to recover my small library which I left in Venice, and the wretched remainder of my belongings left in Chambery in the possession of Guastaldi, who was then Adjutant-de-camp of General Count Picon. I ask your most gracious favour in this, especially for my books, as I know how they would comfort me in this solitude. I must, however, render infinite thanks to Divine Providence and to the clemency of His Majesty, that he deigned to have me transferred from the prisons of Porta del Po, where I would certainly have lost my life, to this fort, in which I experience great courtesy from the commander, Cav.de Magistris. He does not fail in the mornings to let me enjoy his company walking in the garden, and he treats me with all the civility and favour which derive from his innate kindness and are most appropriate for my needs and elderliness.

The chaplain of the fort is a very kind priest and of great probity. He is my confessor, and following what I write to Fr Prever, has the direction of my conscience, and I am well content. I ask endlessly with all my heart for your graciousness in keeping me in your very precious protection. And I ask you to recommend me to the clemency of His Majesty, in order that I am not left in oblivion, and that those few years of life which the Divine Majesty is pleased to grant me, he will let me end in freedom, so that I may think on the last farewell with a restful, tranquil mind.

And recommending myself always to your most gracious favour, I remain...[189]

189 TAS *Mss. Giannone*: Ricuperati, *Carte torinesi*, p. 87.

G. ends his petition with the customary request for liberation after an abjuration.

G. made no later reference to his Abjuration in his writings and letters, but most certainly implied that it gave him the right to be granted freedom, as was at the very heart of his assumption in the petitions to his captors.

Although abandoned by his patrons, G. must have felt that he had some cause for optimism. Unlike others, he was not consigned to Rome's notoriously cruel prisons, tortured, humiliated and murdered with horrifying cruelty, as was Giordano Bruno. He was kept as a prisoner of State by Charles Emanuel, and, moreover, permitted to read and write. He probably believed that his friend Vernet had saved the copy made by Giovanni of the complete *Triregno,* and would perhaps eventually have had it published. The major part of the Fifth Volume of the *Civil History* had been either circulated or published. He was therefore sufficiently confident to retract virtually nothing, believing that he had outwitted Rome. Despite his misery, G. had, moreover, revealed his gifts as a lawyer in converting his retraction into a powerful self-defence, and thus brilliantly sidestepping the 'Third Manuscript': the *Triregno*.

Exhaustion and the resultant depression, nevertheless, must have induced G. to retract his vast labours in the previous years, not only in Geneva but also in Miolans. And the trauma of his expulsion from Venice and Milan, his brutal arrest and subsequent bewilderment must have left him defenceless, in spite of his heroic resistance for six months. He had already written a direct, moving and precise justification of his life. Although he realized that it was impossible to retract the *Civil History*, by then celebrated throughout Europe, his disillusion at being imprisoned by a king, whose rights he had devoted his life to championing, must have been great. He was powerless to contact his Viennese patrons and may have heard of the death of Prince Eugene (21 April 1736). Perhaps most painful, moreover, was the loss of his Giovannino, and his anxiety about his fate and the sorrowful family in Naples, not to mention his second homes in Vienna and Venice. G. would thus have been very vulnerable to the pious, orthodox, but no doubt gentle preachings of Prever. As G. was in solitary confinement, imprisoned probably without exercise for six months, and, it would appear, with only the book of the Jesuit and no writing materials, he would have depended entirely on Prever's visits.

And at the last moment after those months of resistance, it seems very probable that Prever had broken G.'s spirit with the promise of freedom. Sheer survival must have dictated his final collapse. As he observed to Prever and Ormea, if he had stayed any longer in the prisons of the Porta del Po, he would certainly have lost his life.

From G.'s vast reading, whence he drew inspiration to conceive and write the *Triregno,* he drew also indomitable self-confidence. He did not ever seek to defend himself. He may well have based his thought on the wisdom of one of the writers acclaimed by him in his adulthood in Naples. Pierre Gassendi observed:

> It is rash to define those things which involve or imply contradiction... [I]t is better to seem stupid rather than rash, especially in an argument in which neither too much nor too little can be attributed to God.[190]

[58]

Clement XII:

Charles de Brosses, writing on Clement XII, referred to an old proverb: 'that one should kiss the feet of the Holy Father, but bind his hands'.[191] De Brosses described him thus:

> The pope today is a weak prince, but how could he be otherwise at his age of eighty-six or eighty-seven, blind since the first years of his reign, and today moribund and incapable of getting out of bed... Passionei once gave him a displeasing note from one of his nephews, and Clement shouted: 'Oh let them have their way! They are really the masters here'.[192]

Clement's two nephews were Prince Bartolomeo Corsini (1683-1752) and Cardinal Neri Corsini (1685-1770).

Clement's persecution of G. could not have been moderated, however, by Passionei, the cardinal almost always at his side in his later years, who was of evil significance for G. Passionei became secretary of briefs (papal secretary) in 1738. He told de Brosses how he went in that capacity to Clement several times a week with requests and business. 'When he has made his decision, one marks in the margin: *Annuit*

190 Gassendi, *Physica*, section 1, book 14: *de principi et efficaci rerum.*
191 *Lettres familières*, ed. Bézard, 2, p. 147.
192 *Ibid*., pp. 142-143.

Sanctisssimus (the pope agreed) and puts his hand on the place where he has to sign'.[193]

Further responses to the *Civil History*:

In 1738 two anti-Giannone submissions were presented to Clement. Such attacks on G. could centre only on the *Civil History*, and during the pontificates of Clement XII and Benedict XIV they reflect the awareness of how dangerous G. was. Fr Giuseppe Giusti of the collegiate church of Bitritto presented two submissions against G. In the first, *Riflessioni ortodossse contro la Storia Civile del regno di Napoli* (Orthodox Reflections against the Civil History of the Kingdom of Naples), G. was accused of heresy, by reference to the works of Luther and Calvin. In Giusti's second submission, *Riflessioni sulla Storia Civile* (Reflections on the Civil History), he examined chapters Fifteen to Twenty-One, defended the Church of Innocent III, and condemned Frederick II as a fearful enemy of the Church. Among other matters he defended excommunication and that of G., as well as the Tribunal of the Inquisition, and condemned G.'s denunciation of the wealth of monks and their acquisition of property.[194]

A longer submission from Naples was presented to Benedict XIV in 1740, also with the hope of publication: 'Confutazione delle maldicenze del dott.P.G. nella sua opera della Storia Civile di Napoli. Contro la sacrosanta religione cattolica, i sommi pontifici e il sacredozio, e contro i principi e le altre persone, in assieme con la storia suddetta, divisa in quaranta libri e contenuta in quattro tomi: composta dal dottore Don Domenico Cervellini, sacerdoto napolitano' (Refutation Written by Dr Don Domenico Cervellini, Neapolitan Priest, of the Slander of Dr Pietro Giannone in his Work the *Istoria civile di Napoli*, against the Sacrosanct Catholic Religion, the Popes and the Priesthood, and against the Princes and Other Persons, Like the Said History Divided into Forty Books in Four Volumes).

Cervellini, who had known G. in Naples, marvels at how the brilliant protégé of Argento, one who was modest, melancholy and reserved, could devote himself to the slander of persons and matters sacred which should be universally venerated. The refutation was written in 1740, the

193 *Ibid*., p. 143.

194 Archivio della Congregazione: BAV *Rossiano1180*: Ricuperati, *Città terrena di P.G*, pp. 60-64.

year of Benedict's accession, who had wanted to evoke a less severe tone in his reign than that of Clement XII. Cervellini's submission reveals how the *Civil History* was read and interpreted by contemporaries, in this case by 'one who knew Giannone, and was not lacking a certain historical and theological culture' (Ricuperati). It is based more on the history of G.'s work than is Giusti's 'Riflessioni', but in the last part it accuses G. of impiety for having mocked the miracle of St Januarius. Ricuperati observes that it is not 'a great critical or polemical study'.[195] Cervellini's submission was, in fact, relegated to the archives of the Congregation after the letter of its secretary, Giuseppe Agostino Orsi, of 18 September 1743, in which he stated that it lacked the solid erudition which merited publication.[196]

It is also to Benedict that the friar Giuseppe Francesco Novara in 1740 directed his attack on the *Civil History*. Bertelli can find no biographical details on Novara, except those in the title of his submission. His proposal was to reprint the history with marginal notes(!), but no one, not even G.'s friend in the Curia, Monsignor Giovanni Gentilotti, would ever have considered reprinting it. Bertelli remarks on Novara's erudition and culture, and 'his familiarity with heretical writers, not very common in a friar at that time'.[197] As can be seen from the text, it seems very dense and ponderous in style, but to quote Bertelli: 'A better lawyer could not be found in the Curia!'.[198] A part of it has been quoted in Chapter Seven: Appendix [62]..

The refutations of Giusti, Cervellini and Novara were overtaken by that of Giovanni Bianchi, who had, in fact, judged those of the first two as unworthy of publication. Bianchi's vast work, moreover, was already being considered.[199]

The account of the ultimately unanimous acceptance of Bianchi's refutation can be found in Ricuperati's richly illuminating volume, *La città terrena di PG.* Bianchi's work, *Della potestà e politia della Chiesa, trattati due contro le nuove opinioni di P.G* (On the Power and Policy of the Church, Two Treatises against the New Opinions of P.G.) was in six(!) volumes

195 *Città terrena di P.G.,* pp. 65-73.
196 Archivio della Congregazione, St.St.N5, a-d; BAV *Rossiano 1180*, c.190.
197 *Giannoniana*, pp. 502-503.
198 *Ibid*., p. 503.
199 BAV *Rossiano 1180*, c.193; Ricuperati, *Città terrena di P.G.*, p. 75; *L'esperienza*, p. 474.

(Rome 1745-1751). It was subjected, moreover, to very close checks, and one of the reviewers before publication was the redoubtable Cardinal Alessandro Albani. Bianchi refuted not only G.'s jurisdictionalism, but also Gallicanism, in particular the writings of Bossuet. Although it had been unanimously approved for publication, the Augustinian bishop Silvestro Merani, who was Benedict's sacristan, observed that Bianchi's work was unbalanced, in that too much emphasis had been given to Gallicanism and not enough to G.:

> Because [the *Civil History*] was written in Italian, Giannone was worse and more pernicious than Paolo Soave [Sarpi], Marcantonio de Dominis, Mainbourg [Louis Maimbourg], Launoio [Jean de Launoy], Dupino [Louis Ellies Dupin] and others, who, with the most insolent motives, have paraded the infamous glory of distinguishing themselves by hatred of the Roman Church.[200]

On the hostility of the Congregation of the Holy Office to G., Ricuperati writes:

> The victim had to continue to pay, not only because he had supported the rights of the State, but because of his profoundly sincere belief that such a choice should modify fundamentally one's sense of religious identity. And not even the cultured Church open to dialogue... of Benedict XIV was able to accept that.[201]

The Church of Clement XII punished G. not so much as the author of the *Triregno*, but rather as a jurisdictionalist who challenged the secular power of the Church. The Church of Benedict XIV continued its revenge because of the danger of G.'s 'irrepressible radicalism' and 'profound sincerity' in espousing, as a practising Catholic, 'the rights and prerogatives of the secular ruler'.[202] Girolamo Amati singled out the importance of the Jesuits here:

> The Company of Jesus in the previous struggle [against the Protestants] had always led the combatants and surpassed all in intemperance and doctrinal inflexibility., given their peculiar vow that at all cost they had to defend the power of the Roman Pontifex. They thus turned against the

200 BAV *Rossiano 1180*: Ricuperati, *Città terrena di P.G.*, p. 77.
201 *Ibid.*, pp. 59-61.
202 *Ibid.*

Catholics the same weapons and fury adapted to ruin the Protestants.[203]

The scholarship of Lino Marini, moreover, remains a fundamental guide in the revelation of the Curia's relentless intransigeance to G.'s ideas.[204]

In the disturbing letter by the nuncio in Turin, Ludovico Merlini, who was chosen by Benedict himself, one of the tasks given to him by the pope was to ensure that G. remained in prison, should not read or write, or have any contact with anyone.[205] The governor, Marquis Cortanze, however, ignored these instructions, as had the commanders of Miolans and Ceva. G. certainly continued to read and take notes, but there are no more letters to or from Naples in the Turin State Archives after June 1746. This could be the jailer Carmelli's revenge for having been reported for cruelty and neglect (see G.'s petition to Cortanze, 14 May 1746: see Chapter Twelve). It may also indicate the absence of Cortanze, with whom G. had a friendship. He retired in 1746 and died the next year, aged eighty-six. More likely, however, mail would have been disrupted by the War of the Austrian Succession.

It should be noted that Benedict restored to Coscia all the honours stripped from him by Clement XII, with the exception of his archdiocese of Benevento.[206] In 1750 Benedict confirmed the papal bull *Unigenitus*. He condemned Freemasonry, placed the works of the English Enlightenment on the Index, and worsened the position of Jewish Italians.[207]

[60] Employment for G. in Turin?

G.'s statement at the end of a letter from Ceva to Ormea, 27 March 1741,[208] 'should you ever not consider useless these last years of my life in your service' has been interpreted to suggest that Charles Emanuel might have employed G. to write for him. The manuscript in question is the defence of the royal house of Savoy against the court of Rome. The archivist 'Filippi', alias Pietro Luigi Datta[209] identified the author as G. It

203 Girolamo Amati (ed.), *Di alcune lettere dell'Abate Antonio Niccolini a Mons. Giovanni Bottari sulla Corte di Roma* (Bologna 1867), pp. iv-vi.
204 *Mezzogiorno,* p. 235.
205 Benedict, 10 August 1746: BAV *Rossiano 1180*: Ricuperati, *Città terrena di P.G.*, p. 58.
206 *DBI* 30, p. 12: F. Petrucci.
207 Del Col, *L'Inquisizione in Italia*, pp. 684, 700.
208 TAS *Mss. Giannone:* Ricuperati, *Carte torinesi*, p. 58.
209 Merlotti, 'Negli archivi del re. La lettura negata delle opere di G. nel Piemonte sabaudo, 1748-1848', *RSI*, 107 (1995), 332-386, p. 357.

is a passionate work, 'rich in references and erudite quotations', written in a style reminiscent of the *Papal Kingdom* or the *Profession of Faith*, but in fact written by *another* Pietro Giannone, an ecclesiastic (*Giannoniana*, pp. 395-404)! Giovanni, moreover, makes no mention of G.'s having been employed in any way by Savoy (his *Memoirs*, below).

Bertelli roundly rejects the possibility of the king's ever employing a heretic. He suggested that the claim illustrates the general perplexity, curiosity and suspicions of contemporaries. 'If G., in fact, was not handed over to the Roman Curia, why ever did Savoy want him in its power? And why was he later permitted to have books and to write, ...not only to have books from a private person [later in the Citadel, from Arthur de Villettes], but even from the Royal Library'.[210] Merlotti also rejects any possibility of G.'s writing for Savoy: see his illuminating article, 'Negli archivi del re'.

An affirmation of G.'s fame and influence in Naples during his last years (although based solely on the *Civil History*) is the wry observations of Bernardo Tanucci (1698-1783), minister of Justice and Foreign Affairs in the Bourbon government, writing to Prince Bartolomeo Corsini, nephew of Clement XII, 8 December 1741:

> ...after the third year at Pisa five months had to be sacrificed to reading Giannone's *Civil History*, to fortify in the minds of the young the history of the Church of Spain and Italy... The reading of ecclesiastical history by the young will have produced some suspicion of ecclesiastic abuse of their power...[211]

In his much quoted letter to Monsignor Michelangelo Giacomelli in Rome three years later, 14 August 1745, Tanucci wrote:

> You are sick of jurisdictional disputes. I am equally so, because I see nothing more than Lucian's wolf and shepherd around the flock, each looking to devour it. In theory I have always believed in secular governments. Practice has convinced me of the use of Guelphism for anyone not in the flagellating class for repressing rebellion authorized by divinity... Although Giannone is not in the calendar of the Court, he is the evangelist of the magistrates. Anyone who does not swear by that History or does not revere it, anyone who does not persecute the opponents of Giannone as infidels and heretics is considered an enemy

210 *Giannoniana*, p. 394.
211 Tanucci, *Epist.* (Rome 1980-), 1, p. 812.

of this country.[212]

A little later Tanucci wrote to Francesco Nefetti (c.1698-778), his pupil from Florence and close friend, reporting the death of Nicola Carpasso, G.'s dearest friend, on 1 June 1745, and wrote that in a gallery of the portraits of illustrious men, under those of Paolo Sarpi and Giannone would be Latin inscriptions meaning that the two were placed opposite each other, being equal in intelligence and learning.[213]

Tanucci, the arch-politician, nevertheless, probably also gave voice to the indifferent attitude of G.'s contemporaries, when writing again to the ecclesiastic Monsignor Michelangelo Giacomelli:

> Nor would you be surprised at Giannone. He contributed little legal matter to his celebrated work, apart from impudence. The rest is Carpasso, Cirillo, Alosis [Aulisio!], academics who, as you know, are agitated all over the world.[214]

212 *Ibid*., p. 819.
213 *Ibid*., p. 824.
214 Naples, 14 January 1747, quoted by Antonio Cocco, *Bernardo Tanucci, la corte, il paese 1730-1780* (Catania 1988), pp. 33-34.

Chapter Twelve: Postscript: 1741-1748: Ceva and Turin

G.'s Imprisonment in Ceva and the Citadel

G. was imprisoned in the fort of Ceva from 1738 to 1744:

Ormea to De Magistris, 18 April 1738:

> ...Can you tell me if you have in the fort [Ceva] a good room which is comfortable and well aired. My question is based on the possible plan to send to you a person of some rank, already elderly, to whom one would plan to give the comforts compatible with the security of his imprisonment.[1]

On G.'s admission to Ceva and his strict custody, the commander, Giuseppe De Magistris, was reminded by Ormea in a letter on 27 June 1738:

> ...on the arrival of the lawyer Giannone... I cannot add anything except to recommend to you over and over again the security of the person of the said Giannone; and that no one speak to him except those referred to by the King in his letter to you; to make really sure that none of these letters, if he writes any, nor the smallest thing of his writings leaves the prison without passing through your hands, in order to send it to me; and that no one speak to him except those referred to by the King in his letter to you. As the matter could not be more delicate, I do not think it needless to remind you of the intentions expressed by His Majesty in his letter'.[2]

On 17 July after the escape of a prisoner, there is a new injunction from

1 De Magistris was commander at Ceva 1726-1739. Pierantoni, ed. *Vita*, pp. 499-500.
2 *Ibid*., p. 500.

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Ormea to double security for G.: 'so that he not escape, because it would be a matter of very great consequence'.[3]

Charles Emanuel to Alessandro Albani, 19 May 1739:

> In reply to your letter... we inform you that, after Pietro Giannone was moved to his new prison in the fort of Ceva, on his explaining to the commander his wish to have the freedom of occupying himself by writing, we gave orders that he was to be left to do so, and therefore he was given paper, pen and ink, with orders, however, that nothing leave without being sent to our secretary of state, and the commander was thus expressly instructed on our part. It has since been reduced solely to the letter written by Giannone to Father Prever of the Congregation of the Oratory, who contributed so much and so morally to his repentance. This was sent open to Marquis d'Ormea who, after reading it, judged it fit to be delivered. We have now recovered it from the priest and send the original to you. This is what has given rise there to the view that Giannone wishes to publish a new work, and from the letter you will observe among other things that his intention is to send it to us to be examined before publication. We, however, took the opportunity to repeat all the more strongly to the said commander, to reinforce his attention and diligence, that nothing written by Giannone leave there without being sent precisely and solely to us. Our intention in this was to obstruct any new work of Giannone without first communicating it to His Holiness [Clement XII]. As the wishes of His Holiness have thus been anticipated, Your Eminence may certainly assure him on our part of the care in sending His Beatitude the perverse writings of this man. We shall not omit giving him the satisfaction of seeing and considering anything well before permitting it to be put to any other use.[4]

Very little was known among contemporaries, however, of G.'s imprisonment. The physician Ignazio Somis wrote to an unknown correspondent, from Turin, 18 January 1744, describing what is believed of G.'s conditions in the fort of Ceva:

> Your Excellency,
>
> In reference to the celebrated Giannone.... in the fortress of Ceva, where he has a room for his prison, which he leaves very often going to the home of the Governor, with whom alone he may speak. He is fully provided for, as the King pays five *paoli* a day for him. He is given the

3 *Ibid.*

4 *Ibid.*, pp. 510-511.

> books which he desires, and may study and write as much as he pleases. In sum, he lacks only freedom, which some believe it is better that he does not have, since in that way he is safe from falling into the hands of those who perhaps would not treat him with such pleasantness and courtesy. That is all I can tell you about the matter. Adieu.[5]

The fort of Ceva was built in 1560 to plans by Emanuele Filiberto as a defence on the borders of Savoy. It faced Genovesato, and it became a state prison under Victor Amadeus II. Its cells, keep, towers and dungeons were termed respectively Wisdom, Hope, Constancy and Penitence. The fort of Ceva was described thus in 1765:

> [T]here were thirteen rooms for the shelter of prisoners, all able to accommodate two beds, and some three beds, to a room. Six of the rooms are situated on the ground floor to the left of the entrance to the fort, with the windows facing south, sheltered from the north by the dominating rock Cavaglie. All the rooms are sound and well aired, and each one is about three *trabucchi* long [a Piedmont measure: 1 *trabucco* = 1.26-1.32 m.]. On the right of the said entrance are two rooms, each with an antechamber. These rooms are about three *trabucchi* long like the previous rooms. One can accommodate four beds in one of them but only two in the other room, as it is a little narrower. Their windows face east and west, and they are equally sound with wooden floors. Their inside walls are also lined with boards to the height of a *trabucco*, and they served at other times for prisoners of State.[6]

Merlotti states that G.'s cell was in the section named *Speranza* (Hope), 'which consisted of two rooms and an antechamber all with wood-panelling and closed with a door of stone'.[7] Here G. passed the six least arduous years of the twelve years of his imprisonment.[8]

The enlightened commander, Giuseppe Amedeo De Magistris,must have been a source of courage, comfort and companionship, especially in his tending G. in his debilitating illnesses. They must have been attacks of G.'s recurrent malaria, which were particularly severe and frequent in Ceva. De Magistris and G. became friends. His kindness is recorded in some of G.'s letters from prison. He was moved, no doubt, by G.'s cruel

5 Venice, Bibl. Civica Correr, *Correr 1311*: *Giannoniana*, pp. 376-377.
6 TAS, *Materie economiche, carceri,* b.7, Carceri del Forte di Ceva, quoted by Bertelli (B., p. xiii).
7 Merlotti, *DBI* 54, p. 517.
8 Raul Rossini, *La prigionia e la morte d'un grande storico* (Turin 1959), p. 14.

lot. It was he who obtained permission for G. to act as a lawyer (below). And extraordinary to relate, De Magistris himself arranged to have a fair copy made of the *Discorsi sopra gli Annali di Tito Livio*, to be sent to Turin. In the first two years at least, he would often have accompanied G. on his walks each day. He was later to visit G. in the Citadel. Merlotti alludes also to the prison's chaplain, Don Camillo, who provided G. with various books, including, it is believed, G.'s precious Pliny the Elder, *Historia naturalis*.

G. was to describe his life in the prison of Ceva thus:

> After long travails and persecutions I am a prisoner here in this fort where the air is in no way calm and serene, but agitated by continual winds. Under a harsh and stern sky, the months of winter often cannot be distinguished from those of spring, and summer may amount to only one month: July. I do not remember (and I have lived here already six years) there having been one serene day, even in summer, not shrouded in clouds. It is quite the reverse of what Pliny wrote about Kroton,[9] where there was not a day, even in stern winter, when the clear face of the sun was not to be seen. Although I am remote from all human intercourse, deprived of every comfort of friends and relatives, and afflicted by constant mental anguish; nevertheless, because pains and illnesses frighten me more than death, I endeavour, as best I can and my unfortunate situation permits, to cope with old age with as little inconvenience and trouble as possible. I do not neglect, therefore, when I can and weather permits, my physical exercise in the mornings and evenings, walking through this very small garden, with a soldier guarding me. And necessity forces me not to be anxious, since without help of a man- or maid-servant, I prepare and clear the table myself, dress and undress, put on and take off shoes, make and unmake the bed, exercise my arms and the broom to clear the room, and grate my own tobacco. And often these hands take up needle and thread to sew and re-sew old and worn-out things. I thus drive away need and exercise my body by drawing strength from my weakness. Necessity also renders me sober, steady and abstinent from the pleasures of the senses. The wretched place and the parsimony of others makes me content with little, which, in fact, Our Lord considered enough for the prophet Elijah to sustain his life; that is, bread, meat and water. I am content with a single dish of meat, boiled in order better to digest it, which serves me as broth, either as a drink or a bread-soup in the evening. And when I want to have a feast, I add a little Ceva cheese, recommended by Pliny from

9 The reference cannot be traced. Pliny mentions Kroton three times (2.211; 3.72; 3.97), but nothing fits G.'s meaning here.

> the cheeses of the Apennines [*NH* 11.97], or a cooked apple. I quench my thirst with clear water, and am certain, from my own experience, that it is a popular error to believe that wine is the milk of the elderly. It is as damaging for them as it is for children. And it is untrue that water for the old weakens the stomach and renders them gradually weaker and without strength. On the contrary, it facilitates their digestion and refreshes the bowels, and is the most effective panacea, so that one can assert with Galen that 'it obstructs and inhibits as far as possible the substance of the heart becoming so beset that it finally ceases to function' [Galen, *On languor*, V]. This is how I render necessity salutary, and avail myself of misery itself, not to live out more wretchedly and unhappily those few years of life left to me, but to keep them as far as possible free of worse pains and illness. Who can deny that this is a wretched state and old age a plague? By regulating it in such a way, however, with prudence, we shall come to die, since death is inevitable, a calm and peaceful death, and shall pass away solely through lack of nutriment, no different from the light going out in the lamp because of lack of oil. And I believe that it was this kind of ill, the forerunner of death, which Pliny wished to denote, when he wrote: *Morbus est aliquis per sapientiam mori* (*NH* 7.169: The death of the intellect is to some extent a disease).[10]

Our knowledge of G.'s life in Ceva has been extended beyond Bertelli's great *Giannoniana* by the scholarship of Andrea Merlotti. The latter has deduced that, thanks to De Magistris, on more than one occasion citizens had asked G. for his legal opinion on cases to be heard in the state courts. G. gave at least two legal opinions, one on the will of the lawyer Bombini, and the other on feudal estates in the possession of the Marquis of Ceva.[11] G. also requested the legal text of Antonio Bernardi, known as 'Mirandula', on duels, which reflects G.'s limited but real legal activity in Ceva; see in particular the note on the case at Ceva against Scarampi.[12] The plaintiff, Marquis Francesco Ceva di Lesegno, may then have paid G. in some books, in particular, Isaac Newton's *Philosophiae naturalis principia mathematica*.[13] Newton's work may also have been given to G. by De Magistris. It does not, however, appear in Merlotti's list of his books.

G. found, however, to his profound solace, that he was not relegated

10 *L'ape ingegnosa*, ed. Merlotti, pp. 545-547.
11 Nicolini, ed. *Vita*, p. 415; Ricuperati, *Carte torinesi* (Turin 1962), p. 67.
12 TAS Sez. Cam. Piedmonte, *Declaratorie in copie*; TAS, *Mss. Giannone*: Merlotti, *L'ape ingegnosa*, p. lxv.
13 *Ibid*., p. lxxvii.

to oblivion in the following years, from 1741 to 1746. Giovanni began the correspondence by a direct appeal to Ormea in a letter of 11 July 1741 to be allowed to correspond with his father in Ceva, and the letters continued until 1746 in the Citadel. Through G.'s two friends, Onofrio Scassa, but especially the noble Francesco Mela, who alone remained steadfast, G. then endeavoured to assist his sorrowful family, afflicted by the chilling deprivations of G.'s brother Carlo.

On 1 September 1744, G. was moved from Ceva to the Citadel of Turin (see Fig. 27).

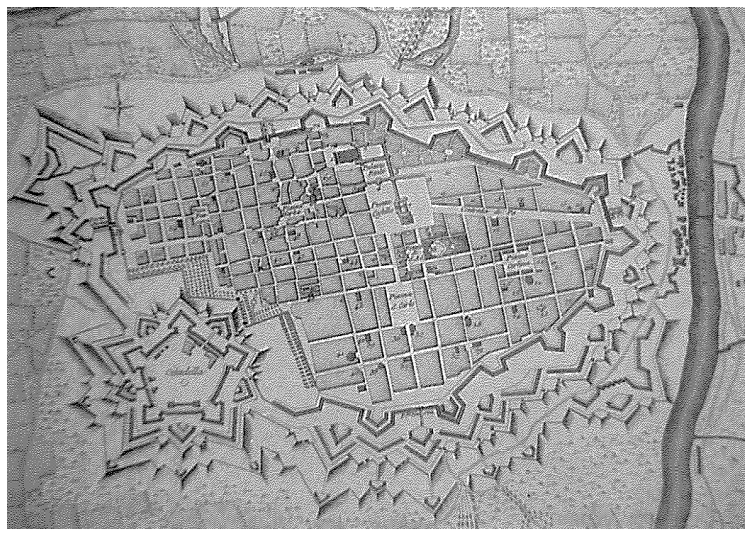

Fig. 27 Turin and its citadel (1734), by Matthias Seutter, *Grosser Atlas* (Augsburg 1734).

Attempts by G. to Retrieve his Stolen Property

It was while in the Citadel that G. wrote various appeals to Marquis Cortanze and Marquis Breglio attempting to have restored to him property stolen from him by the thief and liar Felice Guastaldi, at various times following his arrest restored to him.

G. to Marquis Cortanze, 9 January 1745:

> The kindness of heart of Your Excellency, which I have always experienced, combined with your benevolence, embolden me in my

oppression to turn to your graciousness for comfort. Sig. Caramelli will have informed you how, at the time of my arrest, my belongings were left in the possession of Sig. Guastaldi. He was in charge as adjutant at the time of Count Picon as Governor of Chambery and Deputy of Savoy. When I explained to him that he could have them sent to me in the fort of Miolans, he replied to me that, as he considered them unnecessary for me there, they were left at my disposal in his possession. Relying on his constancy, I left them with him, but to be restored to me at my request. After my being moved to Turin to the prison of Porta del Po, however, and thence to the fort of Ceva, I had no opportunity to request them. At present, now that I am here and have learnt that Guastaldi is in Turin in the service of His Royal Highness, the duke of Savoy, I asked Sig. Caramelli to send him a note of the said belongings and to ask for them, as I expected that he would have no hesitation in returning them. Contrary to all my expectations, however, Sig. Caramelli's efforts were in no way successful. Although Guastaldi confessed that they had been left in his possession, he became completely confused and muddled in order to evade restitution, to the extent of not being ashamed to say that he sold my set of silver cutlery, buckles and some ancient coins, and with the money he had had many masses said for the salvation of my soul. From the enclosed note, where you can read my answer to his vain replies,[14] you will observe how moderate are my demands. I therefore ask Your Excellency to interpose your authority, in order that I receive clear and obvious justice. And as he is in the service of His Majesty, I would consider the authority of His Excellency Marquis Breglio, mentor of the Royal Prince, an effective means to induce him to return them. I hope that, if the said marquis were to send him the enclosed note accompanied by your efficacious recommendations, it might oblige him to return them without any subterfuges, vain excuses, or delays. I am, in fact, well known to the marquis, having been long in attendance on him in Vienna, where he was the envoy of his Majesty, and I received many favours and kindnesses from him. If you would consider it appropriate that I send him a petition from here, requesting his favour in this, I shall send it with your approval through Your Excellency, so that it will reach him. I readily have recourse to your benign favour, having experienced that your mercy and benevolence are such that you are glad to comfort the afflicted, not only out of pity for their unhappy situation, which is something so worthy in great and generous minds.

To amuse you in less busy hours, I include, as promised, the gracious interpretation of Fert[15] by Father Hardouin SJ, the great man of letters and

14 The note is missing, but see the note sent to Charles Emanuel.

15 The motto of Piedmont: *Foedere et religione tenemur* (we are bound by treaty and

celebrated antiquary of Paris, which I found among my papers. You who know the true interpretation will take pleasure in reading the ingenious fantasies and the great ability of this author in making conjectures, even though incongruous, since he is known for his other ideal and fantastic interpretations. And ever more recommending myself to your worthy favour, I remain on my knees at your feet.[16]

G. to Roberto Solaro, Marquis Breglio, 20 January 1745:

Most excellent Sir and most honourable patron,

Since His Excellency Marquis Cortanze, Governor of this citadel, has benignly permitted me to have recourse to your very gracious favour, so that justice may be done to me in what I shall briefly explain, I gladly take the opportunity to remind you of the old dependence which I was fortunate to have on you in Vienna. There you thought me deserving of your very worthy favour and courtesy beyond any merit on my part, which stemmed solely from your noble and kind heart.

After my arrest, having been taken to the prisons of Chambery and thence to the fort of Miolans, His Majesty in his clemency deigned at that time to order Count Picon to have my few belongings left in Geneva put together and sent to me in that fort where I was. The count gave the responsability for this to Sig. Guastaldi, at that time his adjutant, who had a large part of them sent to me, but retained those listed in the enclosed note...[17] I commend myself, therefore, with all my being to your most precious favour. And always protesting my inalterable and devoted respect, I remain...[18]

Following these appeals to Marquis Cortanze on 9 January 1745, and Marquis Breglio on 20 January, G. wrote a petition to Charles Emanuel:

G. to Charles Emanuel from the Citadel, 12 May 1745:

The lawyer Pietro Giannone, prostrate at the feet of You Majesty, humbly sets forth how in 1736, at the time of his arrest, you deigned to order Count Picon, at that time governor of Chambery and Savoy, to arrange for the recovery of his belongings left in Geneva, and that they be sent to the suppliant, detained at that time in the fort of Miolans. Count

religion).

16 TAS *Mss. Giannone,* transcribed by Giulia di Rienzo, unpublished.

17 Unfortunately lost. The middle part of the letter repeats word for word the appeal to Costanze (above).

18 TAS, *Mss. Giannone*. This petition was repeated by G. to Breglio on 16 February 1745 (TAS *Mss. Giannone*: transcribed by Giulia di Rienzo, the text followed here).

Picon gave this task to his adjutant Guastaldi. After doing so, he sent a good part of them to the suppliant, retaining, however, some which are described in the enclosed list.[19] Guastaldi wrote to the suppliant that he had not sent them for the time being because he did not consider them necessary in that place, and that they remained in his possession for whenever the suppliant might request them, since Your Majesty had ordered that everything be sent to the suppliant. After he had been moved from Miolans to the prisons of porta del Po in Turin and thence to the Fort of Ceva, he had no opportunity to request them. Your Majesty, however, has recently deigned to have Giannone moved to the Citadel of Turin, and as the suppliant has learnt that the said Guastaldi was in the service of His Royal Highness, the Duke of Savoy, with the permission of His Excellency the Governor, he had Guastaldi requested by Adjutant Caramellli to make restitution, trusting in his word that he would have no reluctance in returning them. These kind offices of the adjutant-major, however, were of no avail, because, although Guastaldi admitted having had them in his possession, to avoid their restitution, he replied that he had sold the silver—that is, the buckles, the set of cutlery, and some coins also of silver—and with the amount received he had had many Masses celebrated for the salvation of the suppliant's soul, knowing full well that the suppliant was still alive and not dead; he stated also that other belongings in his possession were of very little value. Finding himself repudiated, the suppliant appealed to Marquis Breglio as governor of His Royal Highness, in whose service Guastaldi was commissioned, but despite the Marquis' solicitous offices to induce him to return them, it has not been possible to obtain them. There remains no other resort than to the justice of Your Majesty to have them finally returned; and much more so, because from the attached note [lost] and answers to Guastaldi's replies, Your majesty will see how moderate the suppliant's demands were. He does not intend to initiate legal proceedings against Guastaldi, but asks that he return what is found actually in his possession, and that from what has been sold he return the amount received, remitting it to the suppliant according to his conscience. The renowned goodness and justice of Your Majesty assure the suppliant that, after the suppliant's many different calamities, you will not wish to permit that others profit from the wretched spoils of an unfortunate who, after such long imprisonment of already nine years, is deserving of major favours most befitting the renowned magnanimity and clemency of Your Majesty…[20]

19 Now lost.

20 TAS, *Mss. Giannone*: original copy accompanying the letter to St-Laurent, transcribed by Giulia di Rienzo.

G. to Marquis di Breglio from the Citadel, 18 May 1745:

> ...Sig. Guastaldi, apart from two boxes delivered, must return the small desk in the list with enamelled designs about four palms high, in width a little less, with three rows of small drawers all trimmed with brass. The silver coins must number more than the seven sent, and of the bronze there were more than nineteen. If among the bronze are to be found the three described in the list, concerning the price of the others which were sold, it is nevertheless left to his conscience to return the sum received for them. As well as the knife with the silver handle, he must return the fork and spoon, with a pair of buckles for shoes, also of silver. And if they are found to have been sold, that he return the price received, as it is totally inconceivable that he used it to have Masses celebrated...

Through the intervention of Marquis Cortanze and Marquis Breglio, some of his belongings were eventually returned to G., but all that was of commercial value was totally lost, a crime perpetrated by the thieving adjutant Felice Guastaldi, who had been made responsible for them after G.'s arrest. Much of the furniture was probably returned, but there is no evidence for the restitution of the silver, or of most of the coins, especially the rare ones. There is also no reference to any remittance to G. of the money which Guastaldi received for selling them, and much less of the money in G.'s cashbox, on which G. and Giovanni had been living before their arrest.

As well as other property, even more vital for G. as an imprisoned intellectual was the recovery of so many of his books, lost in his expulsion from Venice, his arrest in Geneva, and the move from Ceva (see below).

Appeals against a Gaoler

Count St-Laurent to Marquis Cortanze, 24 December 1744:

> I had the honour to inform His Majesty of your kind letter of the 23rd of last month, and of the representation included in it of the lawyer Sig. Pietro Giannone, detained in that citadel, in reference to his walks. And His Majesty has benignly accepted his petition, guaranteed by your intervention, and orders me to let you know that, if compatible with the safe custody of the prisoners, he gives you the authority [to allow him] to walk in the open air through the citadel every day for one or two hours, provided that, at the same time, you appoint for him an official or person in your confidence on whom you can rely, to keep him

company and to keep him in sight, so that he cannot escape; that you forbid him to enter into conversation with him on particular subjects, and most especially religion; and that he not allow anyone to approach him or have any discourse with him, except the director of his conscience for matters relating to it. And consequently you can permit the prisoner to hear Mass and make his devotions whenever he wants, and to confer with his director.

His Majesty wishes also that he be given liberty to read and write, but with particular attention that none of his writings leaves his hand without going immediately to Your Excellency, and in such a case, whether letters or other writings, you will kindly let me have them, and send me also the letters addressed to him before he sees them. And His Majesty is sure that Your Excellency will pay good heed to all this, and see that this is done, to ensure that no prejudicial abuse results from it.[21]

This letter, however, did not prevent G.'s suffering for two years the worst period of his imprisonment under the brutal gaoler Caramelli, a narcissistic sadist, about whom he was driven finally to protest in a detailed petition of 14 May 1746:

Account of the lawyer Giannone to His Excellency Marquis Cortanze, Governor of the Citadel of Turin, in reference to the reception and treatment which he has hitherto suffered from Adjutant Caramelli.

The delay which perhaps Your Excellency will observe in this humble appeal must be attributed only to the infinite patience and reluctance which I have always felt to disturb Your Excellency, and to the hope with which I deceived myself that Sig. Caramelli might finally reform, and that my having until now remained silent to everyone about my oppression might move him to pity and to change his ways. Contrary to all expectations, however, I observed the opposite, and that his scorn for the precise commands of His Majesty the king and the pressing orders of Your Excellency meant an increase in the harshness and discomfort which were capable of causing me grave and irremediable illness, contrary to the intentions of His Majesty and Your Excellency. Hard necessity has finally reduced me to reveal them to you in this grievous account.

1. On my arrival in the citadel on the night of 6 September 1744, I was led by Caramelli to a dark cell. As soon as I arrived, he saw that I was carrying a cane with a silver pommel as a support in my advanced age, and took it from me, telling me with a cruel look that it was inappropriate to have it in prison. And when I protested that

21 Ministero degli Interni, *Registro di Providenze… 1742-1759*: *Giannoniana*, pp. 487-488.

he would be taking away the support of an old man, more for the compassion which those present felt at such a cruel act than his spontaneous wish, after my many entreaties, he finally gave it back to me. Although I had with me a portmanteau and my trunk, he did not have them brought to the room where I was, but they remained outside, and he sought the keys from me to inspect them. I replied that this was unnecessary, because at the fort of Ceva, in the presence of the commander there and myself they were seen to contain nothing but my clothes, linen and some books. And if he still wished to inspect them, he was to come to wherever I was and inspect them in my presence. This, however, he refused, and it was necessary to hand him the keys, and when he had them, he went away leaving me without a light in the dark, so that I had to grope about the room to find the bed to rest. As I found it very hard, that night I suffered a sleepless night as best I could. When day came I found myself on a soldier's munition-bed, and in the room there was only a rough table, high and old, and a small low chair, so that if ever it was to be used for eating, I had either to stand up or kneel on the chair. When Sig. Caramelli returned to see me on the morning of 7 September and I complained of that wretched situation, all I could have was a higher wooden chair. I looked for my belongings and only my portmanteau was returned to me, but not the trunk. It was my good fortune that Sig. Caramelli's house was far away, and it was left in the house of the provost, where in my absence it was opened and examined. And since I was told that it had been examined in the presence of the provost, after repeated requests to have it, I finally recovered it. I did not worry about looking to see if anything was missing, especially the many tiny things which it contained; I relied on their word.

2. Sig. Caramelli wished to have my instructions on how he should arrange for my eating and drinking. I told him that for food I desired only what was plainest and least adulterated by culinary art, and that my drink was only clear water, as I did not drink wine. Although in the mornings at the fort of Ceva that commander had served me chocolate, I had observed that it was not good for me, and had exchanged it for a cup of broth. I therefore did not request anything else from him. I said that in the evening I did not dine and was content with a bowl of broth in which had been boiled small pieces of pasta, to offset a drink of water. He was very glad to learn of my moderation and that I was abstemious, and replied that it would be done. My food in the morning, therefore, was reduced to a soup of onion, leek or cabbage or similar vegetables, and to a little boiled meat, and as a third dish, a little brains or internal organs (*laccetti*) or something similar, and a little cheese. And when I felt unwell, I asked him not

to send me the third dish and the cheese, and instead a chicken or a small boiled pigeon. That rarely happened, because I noted that he did it with bad grace and sent me the worst that could be found in the markets. As for fruit, if it had not been for the shame which he felt on seeing the great goodness of Your Excellency in sometimes favouring me by sending from his table some apple cooked in sugar and some fresh figs, I would not have had any. He often therefore sent me figs, but immediately the season for them was over, he would tell me that there were no more to be had in the markets. And the apples, which I only asked for cooked without sugar, also soon finished for the same reason. I did not even object on his seeing in my trunk some of my table linen, that he wanted me to use it, since he did not send me any of his. And I did so willingly, but when I noticed that my few, delicate things were wearing out, I asked him to send me his, which he then did. I did not in any way protest that not enough crockery was provided, that I ate from clay plates, and sometimes drank the broth from bowls without handles. I did not complain, when I was sent a brass candlestick, that he took it back and I saw it exchanged immediately for a wooden one, and that my scissors were to serve as a snuffer, and that it was necessary to wash myself in a rough, broken clay basin. All these and similar things gave me more cause for laughter than irritation, because only what is necessary suffices for a philosopher. It is true that my philosophy was not that of the Cynic, to which he wanted to reduce me. He had given me a wine glass for drinking, and then, when his servant at his house had broken a similar one, to make good the serious loss he decided to take mine, and ran immediately to take it back, telling me that when I drank water I could easily take it from the jug which I used to wash my hands. To this I objected, and begged him to leave me the glass, which served me as a measure to regulate what I drank in proportion to what I ate. It was fortunate for me that he was persuaded, and did me the favour of leaving it.

3. By my managing as much as possible to reduce my food to these meagre limits, and by asking for only what was strictly necessary, I believed that I would make him more kind-hearted about other things necessary to sustain life. To have reduced the cost of board to around twenty *soldi* a day, and perhaps less, when through the kindness of His Majesty I had been assigned fifty, meant that he would have no difficulty with the thirty a day left over to supply my other needs, but I remained deceived for a long while, until, however, by a thousand proofs, I discovered that he wanted to embezzle it all for himself. The commander of Ceva used promptly and with pleasure to supply me with tobacco, and I was content with sticks of coarse snuff, as I had

also been supplied with a grater. When what I had brought from Ceva was finished, I asked him to provide me with a stick of coarse snuff, but at the outset he refused, saying that he was not obliged to do so. And when I assured him that experience would show that one stick of it would suffice me for three months, at last after so many of my entreaties and humiliations he bestirred himself and brought me one full of veins, the worst that could possibly be found in a shop, but I did not much worry about it. He continued thus for the following months, as he had witnessed in this parsimony of mine that for the whole year I needed only four sticks.

4. The commander of Ceva had the responsibility of having me shaved. Your Excellency had ordered him to do the same, but what good did that serve, since at the time I was closely imprisoned, and not being able to have recourse to Your Excellency, no barber was found. Because of my long beard I finally had to yield and tell him that I would engage a barber myself and pay him five *soldi* for a shave. A barber was then immediately found, a soldier who knew his work. And not only did Caramelli discharge himself from that responsibility, but he made his own profit on it of more than half of what I paid, because to the barber he gave only one or two *soldi*, and the rest he appropriated for himself. I realized this, but did not say a word, so as not to confront him, since I was trying in every way to render him kind and more humane. My silence, however, was of no benefit to me, and in fact I made things worse, because instead of the soldier he later began to send me a couple of slaves in chains to shave me. I suffered it for the first time, but when I saw that he was sending them a second time, I protested and told him that I had little pleasure being shaved by slaves to the rattle of their chains. He henceforth desisted and went back to sending me the soldier as before, and at present I pay him five *soldi* for a shave, without worrying that Caramelli makes a profit of more than a half, and maybe two-thirds. I have always been reluctant to reveal this meanness to Your Excellency, in the belief that the sight of such moderation and suffering on my part would perhaps have made him kinder, but it was all in vain and completely wasted.

5. Many times I have asked him to have pity for an unfortunate old man by asking Your Excellency on my behalf to let me change bed and sheets, and not sleep on a munition-bed. He neither intervened for me, nor was I ever heeded, because it was known that he was acting in league with the managers, and avoiding a report to Your Excellency, in order not to have to change the bed and give me better sheets. To my good fortune, I found in my trunk a pair of my own sheets, and thus I provided for my needs as best I could by using them and letting the sheets of the munition bed serve as a cover. And

at present I continue to do so, and again did not want to mention it to Your Excellency, in the hope of being able to soften him and not let you hear any complaint about him from me, and because by now I am long used to sleeping on a hard bed, and have made myself forget any softness. My moderation in this also, however, has been entirely wasted.

6. In those four months, moreover, when I did not have the good fortune to see the most gracious face of Your Excellency, I suffered such oppression that you could not have learnt of it without horror. As winter approached, I began to tell him that, although I was provided with winter clothes, a poor old man of seventy could not drive away the cold simply with clothes, but needed a little fire. This had not been denied in any of the places where I had been prisoner, and I said that he could provide it for me with little expense, since the room was small and vaulted and had no chimney, and that with a few hot coals in the morning and evening one could warm it. He totally rejected such a request and bluntly refused. The ingenious manner whereby he decided not to give me fire, but to drive away the cold by another means was this. The actual clothes which I had for the winter and my dressing gown were enough, with fire, when I was in Miolans and Ceva, to defend me from the cold, but without fire they would certainly not have been sufficient. I therefore claimed no more than a few embers and a pair of slippers lined with fur, because those I had were all broken and falling apart. I demonstrated to him my real need of them by letting him see with his own eyes that the slippers were broken, so that I was walking barefoot on the floor of the room. He refused, but continued to insist that I make him a note of all that was necessary to combat the cold, and I replied that I needed nothing but the slippers. I did not at the time understand the aim of his hypocritical charity in providing me with new clothes for winter when I already had them, although old, with which and a little fire I could have provided for the severity of the season. He finally told me that the clothes I had were too light, and that it was necessary to provide me with others which were heavier, and he made a note of an overcoat of a thick cloth and a suitably heavy suit and trousers. He demanded that I hide my clothes for winter under the planks of the bed, so that if an inspection were made, it would be seen that I had no clothes for winter. I was repelled at the thought of ever doing such a thing, but my revulsion was of no avail, because a couple of slaves came to me with a sack and took my clothes and wanted to put them all in the sack and take them away, but I shouted at them to leave me at least one, because on the journey from Ceva to this citadel, everyone had seen me in. the carriage dressed in a frock-coat

(*schiamberga*),[22] a *sciamberghino*, and trousers. And that stopped them putting all the old clothes which I still had into the sack.

7. The clothes taken away in the sack were two frock coats and one *sciamberghino* of fine cloth, one grey the other black, and a black frock-coat for summer, and he told me that he would sell them and bring me whatever price he could get for them. The inspection which he feared was, however, not made, and then straightaway came the slippers which I so wanted. And a second-hand dealer brought me an old overcoat with a hood of very thick cloth, which was too heavy for me, and an old suit also of thick cloth, badly made, long and not my size. And it is that suit of winter clothes which I presently have, and the overcoat, although heavy and very weighty for an old man, nevertheless, without doubt protects me more from the cold than my dressing gown. All this took place in mid-November 1744, when the cold was beginning to make itself felt, and, in order not to give me fire, he decided to remedy it in this way, and much to his own advantage. Those clothes taken away in the sack and sold by him brought me only two *zecchini*. He told me that he could not obtain more, so that it was necessary to thank him very much, because as I had no more money I did not know how in the future to pay him for my shave. In the long run, therefore, what he had brought me returned to him. How much he had extracted from the treasury for the price of the overcoat and that old suit bought from the second-hand dealer I do not know, nor do I claim to go into such matters. He believed that in these ways he was not obliged to give me fire, and he did not send it to me, even though we had entered the month of December. I suffered the rigours of the season until the last days of the month, but when it was no longer possible for an old man of seventy to manage, divine providence inspired Your Excellency to do me the favour of ordering that I be brought into your presence. And then a new era began for me. I began to breathe more easily, seeing a way open to allow me direct recourse to you.

8. From that time I began to receive so many most gracious favours from Your Excellency, since you had sent one of my petitions to His Majesty the King. Through this intercession, I obtained from His Majesty the right to be treated as I had been in the fort of Ceva, and was granted a walk of one or two hours through the Citadel every day. The first day on which I availed myself of that was Holy Christmas in 1744, and Your Excellency with such kindness let me read the letter which Count St Laurent, secretary of state to His Majesty, wrote to you,

22 *Schiamberga* is now found in more extensive Italian dictionaries (such as Battaglia) spelled *giamberga*, from the Spanish *chamberga*. A s*chiambergina* is obviously a jacket.

making provision for me to do so, and to go to church, to hear Mass, and take part in the blessings of the Holy Sacrament. All that I owe to the kindness of heart and intercession of Your Excellency. I received, however, a greater blessing, in that Sig. Caramelli could no longer bring to bear on me that cruelty and oppression which I first suffered, and he began to send a little live charcoal, but a carbon that soon went out, and I had no fan with which to rekindle it. God knows, therefore, the cold which I suffered that winter, and when we came to March 25 of the new year 1745, he took it away, telling me that on that day wood was longer given to soldiers, disregarding the fact that they were given wood from the beginning of November, and that I began to have fire from him only in December. This hardly mattered to me, because with the advance of spring, I no longer needed to drive away the cold with fire. Your Excellency then began to do me the honour of calling me to your palace to see me. With such charity you saw that I needed a suit for summer, a wig and a hat, and had me provided with them, and had a new suit cut to fit me. And since you did not provide me, as he had, with old clothes, from that time I found that Sig. Caramelli became more humane and kind to me. And in order to oblige him even more to treat me in the future with kindness, I was silent to Your Excellency about all that had happened to me in those four unhappy months. When he noticed my moderation, however, he took courage even more to ill-use me when he could in other ways.

9. His Majesty the King had commanded that on my walk through the Citadel, I was to be accompanied by an officer, and it pleased Your Excellency to designate the same Caramelli, who, according to royal orders and those of Your Excellency, was to call for me every day and take me. I thus fell into new bondage with him, since, whenever he pleased, he contrived to render useless the orders of His Majesty and Your Excellency by excusing himself on one pretext or another because of various impediments. And for me, in a matter so crucial for my health, to do away with my walks was the same as doing away with my life. Many times I begged him, and told him that I would rather train myself to eat nothing except bread than be deprived of a remedy so tested and certain to maintain my health, but all my pleadings were thrown to the wind. Hard necessity, therefore, forced me to have recourse to the most gracious favours of Your Excellency, to protest that Sig. Caramelli was trying to render ineffective the orders of His Majesty and Your Excellency, and that my walk depended on his will, and I asked you to remedy it. Your Excellency dealt with this by appointing for me two other officers, and ordered him in my presence that, when prevented, he was to advise either Sig. Servetto or another adjutant, whose name I do not remember,

by one of whom I was to be accompanied every day, so as not to discontinue my exercise. He promised Your Excellency to do so, but it was not ever possible to induce him to do it, as he was jealous of my being accompanied by others. For me, certainly, provided that I did not miss going, it mattered little whether it was one or the other. The fact was, however, that he neither came himself nor sent others. I protested strongly about it to him, but could obtain nothing more than that he sometimes sent me in his place a disabled sergeant in this Citadel. I was content also with that, as it mattered little, as long as my daily exercise was not taken away. I could not, however, always obtain these favours, because often he neither came nor did he send the sergeant, and lately, notwithstanding the second letter of Count St Laurent of 8 April of that year [1745] written to Your Excellency on behalf of His Majesty, he disputes with me the two hours every day prescribed by His Majesty and Your Excellency, which previously had not been in question, since the soldier who is my sentry had been allowed two extra hours. Caramelli wants everything to depend on his will, so that I often have to remain shut in and depend on his will to be taken out when he pleases him, for the time which he wishes. He thus lets everyone know that it depends on him, and when coming to take me out, on meeting anyone who asks him where he is going, his usual reply is to perform an act of charity for a poor prisoner to take him out and let him have a breath of air.

10. What deserves even greater attention, however, happened to me when Your Excellency left for Asti. At that time I asked you to leave specific instructions in reference to me personally, so that the commander and the major knew how they were to treat me.

11. I must not omit to represent to Your Excellency an incident which befell me in the summer of last year, because of which I was in danger of falling ill. As the walls of my room were quite black, so that they made it dark for me, I asked Your Excellency to have them whitewashed. In the meantime, therefore, I would go to an adjoining cell which was empty at the time and stay there for nine or ten days until mine was properly dry, and did not disturb me with the smell of lime. Your Excellency graciously deigned to permit it, and gave orders to Sig. Caramelli for it to be done. That served as sufficient pretext for him to draw some profit from the whitewashing while prejudicing my health. Instead of having mine whitewashed, he had the empty cell done first where I was to move, and instead of simply whitewashing it, he had the wooden floor of both cells taken up, which was not at all necessary, because the boards were good. And, in fact, it was made worse, because the good boards were removed and replaced with bad ones, as was realized after it was done. As I

did not know that the room to which I was to move had been freshly whitewashed, he quickly had the bed and my belongings moved there from where I was. When he took me there, I found in that room a stench so cruel that it was insupportable; I sought to return immediately to mine, not worrying that it was not whitewashed. I was not, however, in time, because in the meantime work had begun on dismantling the floorboards. Hard necessity, therefore, demanded that I remain in the other room, and thus suffer the stench for eight days until the first room was dry, and wait the same number of days until the second dried, as I could not move back straight away because of the stench of lime, which made me feel faint in the head for more than a month. And after finishing the two rooms, the masons then went on to whitewash the rooms of his house.

12. As it was mid-autumn and winter was imminent, and I foresaw that I could be dead of cold with such a small amount of coal fire, which went out immediately, I began to ask him to provide me with charcoal, as Adjutant Angresti used to do during that winter when I was in the prisons of the Porta del Po in a room without a fireplace. He replied, however, that, despite all his efforts, he could not find any in Turin, because owing to the mortality of animals, no beasts able to transport it could be found. I replied that to transport charcoal to Turin one did not need the big animals which suffered that death-toll, and that those who sold it used small donkeys, which were loaded with sacks and led everywhere. At that time I appealed to the kindness of Your Excellency, and asked you to have me provided with it, because otherwise I would have had to face a horrible winter with obvious danger to my health. And Your Excellency kindly deigned to reply to me that you would see to its being provided to me.

13. We had entered the month of December and there was no mention of sending me fire. I was obliged to tell him that Your Excellency would have me provided with charcoal and would have arranged to obtain it, so that I could have the pleasure of telling Your Excellency that I had it. He was greatly displeased to learn that I had had recourse to Your Excellency for it, and decided to have his revenge. By good fortune, when I was going back to prison with him, at the inside gate of the Citadel we met a man leading a donkey laden with small sacks of charcoal. As soon as I saw it, I said to him, here is the charcoal. You must ask him to whom he was taking it, whose it was. He went shamefacedly over the man and asked him to whom it belonged. The man replied that, as he did each year, he was taking it to the provost, who used it every winter for the hospital of the poor sick slaves. Caramelli well understood that for this hospital the provost knew how to see to providing it, but for an old man of seventy like

me there was no charcoal. I bemoaned my wretchedness and begged him, as I could no longer bear the cold in mid-December, to borrow a couple of sacks from the provost until he could supply some for me. After many prayers both to him and the provost, I managed to have him lend me two, and thus I began to have a little charcoal. This turned out to be excellent for me, because it lit easily and one clay grate lasted the whole day. His way of taking revenge on me for my recourse to Your Excellency was that, once the charcoal borrowed from the provost was finished, he bought more which was the worst quality that could be found. It would not light, and the moment it did, it went out. A couple of slaves who had the task of lighting the grate in his house did not have any instrument to light it, and had to do it with their breath. When I saw such misery, I asked him to buy a fan to light it and not make them so wretchedly out of breath. I offered to pay for the fan, but it was impossible to persuade him. Because the grate in the cell had become so hard to light, it was I who had to labour with a fan, which he provided, not to let it go out, and I constantly tired my arms, because if I ceased for fifteen or thirty minutes, it went out. It often happened that when I returned to relighting it and found it quite dead, I had to remain that day without a fire., All that occurred to save money, by not paying as much as the provost did for his, and to avenge himself on me for having had recourse to Your Excellency. And when we reached 25 March of this year, I no longer saw any more charcoal, even though in the present spring the harshness of winter continues.

14. So much misery I have patiently suffered until now. And I would still be suffering from his opposition to my two hours' walk each day, because of his wanting it to be left to his discretion, if I had not understood that to deprive me of it or making it difficult would be the same as taking my life.

15. I may not, moreover, refrain from representing to Your Excellency another oppression relating to the health not of the body but of my soul. Your Excellency from the time I arrived here granted me the favour of availing myself of my confessor, Fr Prever of the Oratory of St Filippo Neri, whose penitent I have been since I was detained at the Porta del Po. He used to come to hear my confession in the prison, but then, through the intercession of Your Excellency, His Majesty granted me the favour of performing my devotions in church, without causing him the inconvenience of climbing the many stairs. When I needed to see him, I had Sig. Caramelli let him know, and I used to meet him in the portico, whence we would withdraw so that he could hear my confession in church. That arrangement lasted for several months, then Sig. Caramelli changed it, and had Fr Prever go to his

home to hear the confession of his wife, and that holy priest used to wait for me there to hear mine, and I had no reluctance in making my confession in Caramelli's home, whether before or after his wife. In the course of time I realized that, from being the main person, I had become the extra one, because without my knowing anything about it, he used to send to tell Fr Prever to come, and then let me know later that he was waiting for me at his home. I, thank God, did not need much time to prepare myself, so that the brief moment which he allowed me was enough, and the priest used to hear my confession and that of his wife. If the matter had stopped there, it would have been bearable, but it went further. With the approach of Holy Week of this year, I told him that it was necessary to advise Fr Prever on which day of Holy Week or Easter it was suitable to come, because between these two weeks I intended to fulfil my Easter Dues. He then told me that he had sent to tell the priest to come on Holy Wednesday in order that on Thursday, the day of candles, I could fulfil the dues. I replied that Fr Prever had to set the day, not him, as I knew very well that, in Holy Week, the priest had so much to do that one had to wait for him to set the day, and it mattered little to me whether it was in Holy Week or over Easter. I did not know that he had arranged that day beforehand, because his wife wanted to fulfil them on Holy Thursday. When it happened, as I had foreseen, that Fr Prever could not come on Holy Wednesday because of his activities, it was enough to make Sig. Caramelli fly into a rage, and since his wife availed herself of another confessor, he arranged that she should fulfil her Dues on Holy Thursday. He demanded that I do the same, to change confessors and avail myself of the almoner of the regiment. I objected and told him that I would never change my own confessor because of his rage. Divine Providence arranged that Fr Prever came on Holy Saturday, so that I could make my confession to him and fulfil my Easter Dues on the morning of Holy Easter. Your Excellency may see from this that Sig. Caramelli wants always. and in all things, to take advantage for himself and his household of the poor prisoners, whose misfortune it is to be subjected to his custody.

16. Many times I protested to him that the cell where I was detained was too wretched, dark and cramped. To enter it, one had to go through the slaves in chains, from whom, especially in summer, there was such an inescapable and unpleasant odour, that I felt as though I were on board one of their galleys. I said that it seemed impossible that another room could not be found in the entire Citadel, when in the fort of Ceva, even though restricted, I had my room with a fireplace to light a fire in winter. He, however, remained constant in telling me that, despite all his efforts, he could not find any, and

I said nothing, assuming that what he said were true. I discovered later that both to me and to Your Excellency he claimed that it was impossible, because if I had a room with a fireplace, he would have been obliged to give me wood for five months of the year to light the fire, which he avoided with all his might. And I have been assured by everyone that, if your Excellency were to ask Sig. Maggiore to see to it, in the Citadel there would easily be found not one but several rooms, which with little expense could be restored as required, where I could move and escape the present misery. I beg Your Excellency, finally, that in order to establish the truth, you send your secretary to make me an unexpected visit in my cell, and he will see that all I have humbly explained to you is true. He will see the wretchedness of the furnishings provided by Sig. Caramelli; he will see the munitions-bed where I still sleep, and he will verify in large part this my sincere report, which hard necessity forces me humbly to place in the hands of Your Excellency. With the advance of old age, my need grows all the greater for things necessary to make it less troublesome, and I find myself, contrary to the wishes of His Majesty and Your Excellency, opposed even on the two hours' walk each day, which is the sole support of my life. I greatly fear, since my health is now wavering from my many aggravations, that in the long run it will fail completely, and I shall lose my life here. And, moreover, since lately His Majesty has deigned with such clemency to make manifest to Your Excellency his royal wish that, for the duration of my detention in this Citadel, I always be given every convenience, so that I lack nothing which may render it less painful for me, some grievous accident may befall me through my remaining silent any longer about such oppression. This I am sure would greatly displease no less Your Excellency than His Majesty, and my taciturnity and such patience could be attributed, perhaps rightly, more to indolence and stupidity than to modesty and moderation. Sig. Caramelli boasts that on his shoulders rests the burden of the care of this Citadel, and that therefore he cannot look after me personally because he has so much to do. For this very reason he should cease interfering with me, and not contradict the order of Your Excellency by jealously not wanting anyone but himself to accompany me on walks. As he is unable to manage it, I am frequently deprived of the sole remedy for preserving my health. Because of my moderation in eating and my abstemiousness, my board costs no more than twenty *soldi* per day, but I have never worried about that. I am sure that from anyone else to whom Your Excellency will deign to give the care of my person, I shall receive better treatment. It could be enough for him to have enjoyed for almost two years such earnings, with which Your

> Excellency could gratify another well-deserving person. He might then have some spark of charity and compassion for the miserable prisoner, and not add to his afflictions even greater ones. The great goodness and clemency which Your Excellency has always shown to my poor person assures me that you will grant this favour of saving me from such oppression.[23]

After G.'s anguished petition, the conditions of his imprisonment seemed to have improved. Caramelli, nevertheless, probably continued to block G.'s privilege of taking daily walks, and G.'s letters from Naples stopped. Merlotti, however, attributes their ceasing very plausibly to the turmoil of the War of the Austrian Succession.[24] From the furniture recorded as having been left in G.'s cell at the time of his death, and the new wooden floor, it would seem that eventually his cell had been comfortably furnished, even with a bed. G.'s last letter,18 October 1747, expressed his gratitude for having had the floor of his cell replaced with wood. This is addressed to the governor. Marquis Cortanze, who had resigned in 1746 and died the next year. It illustrates very poignantly G.'s status as a prisoner that he had not been informed.

Michele dell'Aquila observes with customary insight how, as time passes, G.'s attitude reflects simply gratitude for courtesy, as he comes into closer contact with officials of a higher social standing administering his imprisonment. He may have hoped that Charles Emanuel would accept his services, despite no doubt having guessed the play made of himself as a pawn to obtain a favourable Concordat with Rome. The sole service, then, which he could offer the king was to remain passively his 'prisoner hostage' in the complicated game being played out between Turin and Rome.[25]

Reading in Prison

The *Vita* reveals his vast and concentrated reading, when his writing and inspiration depended on his memory. The greatest torment for G. in his imprisonment was his deprivation of books; that is, his main alleviation

23 TAS, *Mss. Giannone*: Pierantoni, ed. *Vita,* pp. 514-531; *Giannoniana,* pp. 459-460.
24 *L'ape ingegnosa*, ed. Merlotti, p. liii.
25 Michele Dell'Aquila, *P.G., il pensatore, il perseguitato, l'esule* (Fasano 2002), pp. 94-95, 98-99.

of boredom and the sources of his incredible literary productivity. The following list serves, therefore, more than idle curiosity. In the Citadel in Turin he was no longer deprived of books, his source initially being the Royal Library, but it was only in 1746 that his laments ceased, thanks to Villette's library.

G. greatly admired the writings of Jean Mabillon (1632-1707), who in his famous work *Museum Italicum*, 2 vols (Paris 1685-1687), Chapter Two, Part Two, apologized for citing Protestant writers more than Catholic. G.'s notes reveal that he made no distinction between Catholic and Protestant writers. He owed his great knowledge and appreciation of the latter also to the *Acta eruditorum lipsiensium*, and to the generosity of its editors, the Mencke, father and son, in allowing him, a Catholic scholar, to participate as a reviewer. Although G. did not know English, he was mostly able to find French translations of both Catholic and Protestant writers, and references to English works in Italian and French journals; for example, the *Journal des sçavants*. Ajello remarks on G.'s exhaustive efforts to keep abreast of his reading. Ricuperati gives a fine summary in his Introduction to the *Triregno*.[26]

A list of books possessed or read by G. during the years of his imprisonment, 1736-1748, has been compiled by Andrea Merlotti on the basis of frequency of references to them.[27] Books asterisked are those sent to Ceva by Ormea and Prever, in response to, but totally disregarding, those requested by G. in his petition to Charles Emanuel, 8 August 1737 (Chapter Eleven: Appendix [40]):

*Augustine, *de civitate Dei*, editor unknown, read in Ceva, 1738;

*Augustine, *Opere*, 10 vols (Venice 1570) (G. possessed only five volumes: 4, 6, 7, 8 and 10), read in Ceva November-December 1739 (apart from its age, this was a poor copy);

Abraham-Nicolas Amelot de la Houssay, *Tibère, discours politiques sur Tacite* (Amsterdam 1684), read in Turin 1747 (Villettes: the citing of this name indicates that, thanks to the intervention of the commander in Turin, Marquis Cortanze, G. was given access to the Royal Library and

26 Raffaele Ajello, *Arcana Juris, diritto e politica nel Settecento italiano* (Naples 1976), p. 252. Ricuperati in *Opere di P.G.*, pp. 581-592. Ricuperati's erudite student Merlotti also gives a full and poignant account of his writings and study throughout the years of his imprisonment, in the introduction to his edition of *L'ape ingegnosa*.

27 *L'ape ingegnosa*, ed. Merlotti, pp. xcv-c.

to that of the English Resident in Turin, Arthur de Villettes; see below);

Nigel Argonne, *Mélanges d'histoire et de la littérature de Vigneul-Marville*, 3 vols (Paris 1725), read in Turin, 1746 (Villettes);

Ariosto, *Orlando Furioso*, read in Miolans or Ceva;

Jean Barbéyrac, *Traité de la morale des Pères de l'Eglise* (Amsterdam 1728), read in Turin, 1747 (Villettes);

*Roberto Bellarmino, *Explanatio in Psalmos*, edition unknown, read in Ceva;

Antonio Bernardo ('Il Mirandulano'), *Eversionis singularis certaminis libri XL, in quibus cum omnes iniuriae species declarantur, tum vero offensionum et contentionum, quae ex illis nascuntur, honeste atque ex virtute tollerandarum ratio traditor* (Basel 1562), requested and read in Ceva, November-December 1739;

Giovanni Antonio Bianchi, *Della potestà e politia della Chiesa, trattati due contro le nuove opinioni di Pietro Giannone* (Rome 1745-1751), read in Turin, 1746;

Miguel de Cervantes, *L'ingegnoso Cittadino don Chisciotte della Mancia* (Rome 1677), probably G.'s own copy, read in Chambery and Ceva;

Cicero, *Opera philosophica*, edition unknown, read in Turin, 1747;

Richard Cumberland, *Traité philosophique des loix naturelles*, trans. with notes from Latin by Jean Barbéyrac (Amsterdam 1744), read in Turin, 1747 (Villettes);

Jean Philippe de la Blétterie, *Vie de l'empereur Julien* (Paris 1735), read in Turin, 1747 (Villettes);

*Francesco Agostino della Chiesa, *SRE cardinalium archiepiscoporum episciporum et abbatum pedemontanae regionis chronologica historia* (Turin 1645), read in Ceva;

*Pietro della Valle, *Viaggi di P.A.V. il Pellegrino, descritti da lui medesimo in cinquanta-quattro lettere familiari*, 4 vols (Rome 1650-1688), read in Ceva;

Antonio de Solis y Rivadeneira, *Histoire de la conquête de Mexique ou de la Nouvelle Espagne par F.Cortez*, trans. into French by S.de Broe de la Guette (La Haye 1692), read in Turin, 1745 (Royal Library);

Dionysios of Halikarnassos, *Antiquitatum Romanorum libri XI*, edition unknown; read in Turin, 1745 (Royal Library);

Jacques Joseph Duguet, *Institution d'un prince, où son traités des qualitez, des virtus et des devoirs d'un souverain*, 4 vols (Leiden 1739), read in Turin, 1745 (Royal Library);

*Gregorio Magno, *Opera*, 2 vols (Paris 1605), read in Ceva November-December 1739;

Hugo Grotius, *de veritate religionis christianae* (The Hague 1718), read in Turin, 1747 (Villettes);

Thomas Hobbes, *de cive* (Amsterdam 1647), read in Turin, 1747 (Villettes);

--*Le corps politique, ou les éléments de la loy morale et civile* (Rouen 1652), read in Turin, 1747 (Villettes);

*Lactantius Firmianus, *Opera quae extant ad fidem mss recognita et commentariis illustrata a Thom.Spark* (Oxford 1684), read in Ceva, November-December 1739;

François de la Rochefoucauld, *Les pensées, maxims et réflections morales* (Paris 1741), read in Turin, 1747;

Titus Livius, *Annali*, edition unknown, acquired in Chambery 1738 and studied in Miolans, Ceva and the Citadel;

Jean Mabillon, *Museum italicum seu collection veterum scriptorium ex bibliothecis italicis eruta*, 2 vols (Paris 1685-1687), read in Turin, 1745 (Royal Library);

--*de studiis monasticis* (Venice 1729), read in Turin, 1747 (Villettes);

Giovanni Stefano Menochio, *Le stuore, ovvero trattamenti eruditi del padre G.S.M.* (Rome 1689), read in Ceva;

Scipione Mercurio, *Degli errori populari d'Italia, libri sette divisi in due parti. Nella prima si trattano gli errori che occorono in qualunque modo nel governo degli infermi, e s'insegna il modo di corregerli. Nella seconda si contengono gli errori quali si commettono nelle cause delle malattie* (Venice 1703), read in Ceva;

Conyers Middleton, *Lettre écrite de Rome. Où l'on montre l'exacte conformité qu'il y a entre le Papisme et la religion des Romains d'aujourd'hui, derivé de leurs ancêtres payens* (Amsterdam 1744), read in Turin, 1747 (Villettes);

Isaac Newton, *Philosophiae naturalis principia mathematica*, edition unknown, read in Ceva, 1744;

Pietro Pallavicino, *Arte della perfezione cristiana del cardinale S.P.* (Venice 1666), read in Chambery and Miolans;

Blaise Pascal, *Les provinciales ou lettres écrites par Louis de Montalte à un provincial de ses amis, avec les notes de Guillaume Wendrock* (Amsterdam), read in Turin, 1747 (Villettes);

*Benito Pereira, *Commentariorum et disputationum in Genesim tomi quattuor* (Cologne 1601) (G. possessed only the first volume of the four), read in Ceva, 1741;

*Juan de Pineida, *Commentariorum in Job libri tredecim* (Cologne 1604-1605), read in Ceva, 1740;

Pliny the Elder, *Historiae naturalis libri XXXVII, quos interpretatione et notis illustravit Joannes Hardouinus...edition altera emendatior et auctor*, 3 vols (Paris 1741), read in Ceva, c.1740;

Pliny the Younger, *Epistulae*, edition unknown, acquired in Chambery, and read in Chambery and Ceva, 1737;

Plutarch, *Les vies des hommes illustres*, trad. Anna Dacier, 10 vols (Amsterdam 1734), read in Turin, 1745 (this would seem to have been a gift from Giuseppe Roberto Solaro, marquis di Breglio, an associate and friend from Vienna);

Alexander Pope, *Essai sur l'homme, trad. de l'anglais en français par M.D.S.* [de Silhouette] (publisher unknown, 1736), read in Turin, 1745 (Villettes);

Humphrey Prideaux, *Histoire des juifs et des peuples voisins, depuis la décadence des royaumes d'Israel et de Judée jusqu'à la mort de Jésus-Christ*, 6 vols (Paris 1742), read in Turin, 1747 (Villettes);

Giovanni Ricolvi e Antonio Rivautella, *Il sito dell'antica città d'Industria scoperto ed illustrato* (Turin 1745) (presented by the authors), read in Turin, 1745;

--*Marmora taurinensia dissertationibus et notis illustrata*, 2 vols (Turin 1743-1747) (presented by the authors), read in Turin;

Charles Rollin, *Histoire romaine depuis la foundation de Rome jusqu'à la bataille d'Actium*, 8 vols (Paris 1738-1748), read in Turin, 1745 (Royal Library);

Suetonius, *Opera*, edition unknown, read in Turin 1747 (Villettes);

[Tacitus, *Opera*], edition unknown, read in Miolins or Ceva;

Tasso, *Gerusalemme liberata*, edition unknown, read in Miolans;

Voltaire, *Istoria di Carlo XII, re di Svezia* (Venice 1736), read in Turin, 1745.

As Merlotti reveals,[28] almost the only books available to G. in Ceva were commentaries on the Gospels and some Church Fathers: Lactantius, Augustine and Gregory the Great. They became, nevertheless, G.'s primary sources, especially for the *Apologia de' teologi scolastici*, a masterpiece on the Church Fathers.

Arthur de Villettes came to Turin on 12 August 1732 as secretary to the English ambassador, William Capel, duke of Essex. He became the English Resident in 1741 and remained in Turin until 1749. 'In reality, Villettes was the man charged to represent English policy during the Austrian War of Succession. In this sense, perhaps, his contacts with the prisoner were not casual, but linked more to the vicissitudes of the policy of alliance, which was philo-Imperial and anti-Bourbonic'.[29] Villettes was an admirer of Muratori and owned all his works.[30] His library was rich also in literature relating to the corporeality of the soul, of direct relevance to the theme of the *Triregno*. By his kindness, the noble

28 *L'ape ingegnosa*, intro., p. cxiv.
29 Ricuperati, *L'esperienza*, p. 520.
30 *Ibid*., p. 601.

Villettes, through the intercession, doubtless, of Cortanze, alleviated the source of his greatest suffering for the prisoner: the absence of books. G. was thus able to read contemporary research on history and philosophy from Villette's extensive library.

G. had access to Villettes' library from 1745 to 1748, so that he could devote himself to revising the four vast volumes written in prison, as can be seen from a note entitled 'Books noted in the catalogue of 1742 of Mr Arthur de Villettes, Resident of His British Majesty at the court of Turin with the king of Sardinia'.[31] The books from which G. took notes in these three years can be found in Merlotti's invaluable list (above). G. was able therefore to read Giovanni Antonio Bianchi, *Della podestà e della politia della Chiesa… contro le nuove opinioni di Pietro Giannone*. G. wrote a series of observations on them.[32] The note on the bundle containing those which G. took on Bianchi's volumes bears the date 12 January 1747.[33] Thanks to Villettes, G. also wrote new chapters for the *Apologia de' teologi scolastici*, and began a new fair copy of the *Discorsi sopra gli Annali di Tito Livio*.[34]

The above list of books illustrates G.'s extensive reading over the twelve years of his imprisonment. They were not only the few gathered with G.'s belongings from Geneva, the list of which was prepared by Savoy's lackey De Boisy. Some of the latter books were sent to G. in Miolans, but most remained with Guastaldi.[35] The adjutant then proved to be as indolent as he was dishonest, and G. was not sent the books which remained in his possession.

There were also the books which G. was obliged to leave at Ceva, to be sent to him in the Citadel. G. thus wrote requesting them. They were fundamental sources for the revision of the *Apologia de' teologi scolastici*.

G. to De Magistris, 23 June 1746:

> My most illustrious Sir and always most honoured Patron,
>
> His Excellency Marquis Cortanze, governor of this Citadel, has

31 Biblioteca Reale di Torino, *Varia* 303, cc. 55-56.
32 *Ibid*., cc. 2.
33 Ricuperati, *Carte torinesi* (Turin 1962), pp. 26-27, 89-90.
34 Merlotti, in *DBI* 53, p. 517.
35 See a fragmentary note on the manuscript in G.'s own hand: *Discorsi sopra gli Annali di Tito Livio*, ed. van Heck, 1, p. 5.

> graciously permitted me to write the present letter to Your most Illustrious Excellency, in order that you be kind enough to have forwarded those books sent to me by Marquis Ormea, which, as I was unable to bring them with me, were left there [in Ceva]. I gladly take the opportunity to refresh your memory of the sense of obligation retained by me for the great kindness with which you were pleased to treat me during my sojourn there. I have always prided myself on it with Your Excellency, and cannot sufficiently commend the favours which I received constantly from you. The books which you will see here on the attached note remained in my room when I left there; hence I ask you, if there were no requests to transport them elsewhere, to have a parcel made of them addressed to His Excellency the Governor, and give it to the usual rider to take to the Citadel with orders to deliver it to His Excellency, who will be kind enough to have it delivered into my hands.
>
> The reply by Your Illustrious Excellency to my request, whether you send it direct to His Excellency or even wish to address it to me, may be included open in an envelope addressed to His Excellency. I have no words adequate to express the tiniest part of his benevolence and graciousness to me personally. May you keep me in your favour. I remain devotedly kissing your hand…

A changed attitude to G. is reflected also in the courtesy of Ormea's successor, Count St-Laurent, again in his reply to Marquis di Caraglio, Cortanze's successor, on 25 October, 1747, with the long-awaited books, admittedly sixteen months later. The books left by G. at Geneva had been stored by the absent De Magistris with the Capuchin fathers. St-Laurent directed:

> that they be sent to Your Excellency, and given to the lawyer Sig. Giannone, so that by reading them, he might render his detention less tedious.[36]

When the books finally arrived on 25 October 1747, G. was probably too exhausted to make much effective use of them. De Magistris was later to visit G. as a friend in the Citadel. They died within a month of each other.

36 TAS *Ministero Interni*, Registro provvidenze sovrane... Prigionieri: *Giannoniana*, p. 488.

List of books left in Ceva:

*Two books of the works of St Gregory the Great in folio [vols 1-6 divided into two volumes];

*Two volumes of Pineda on Job [Juan Pineda (1558-1637), a Spanish Jesuit. His main work was *Commentarium in Job, libri tredecim* (Cologne 1604-1605)]

*One volume of Antonio Bernardo Mirandulano [bishop of Caserta]: *De iniuriis honeste atque ex virtute tolerandis* [Basel 1562]

*One volume of Firmianus Lactantius in small folio;

*One volume of Benito Pereira in small folio.

In quarto:

*Five volumes of the works of St Augustine [*Opere* (Venice 1570), vols.4, 6, 7, 8, 10];

*One volume of Roberto Bellarmino on the Psalms of David: *In omnes Psalmos dilucida exposito*.[37]

Works Written in Prison[38]

I. *Discorsi sopra gli Annali di Tito Livio* (Discourses on the *Annals* of Titus Livius)

In Ceva, G.'s health was poor. The intensive six months under the pressure to abjure from the pious Prever must have greatly weakened G. When he recovered somewhat, he began work on the extensive notes taken in Miolans on Livy, which were to become the *Discorsi sopra gli Annali di Tito Livio*.[39] Paul van Heck observes: 'It was Toland by whom G. was guided with the idea of a Livy free of superstition and prejudice,

37 TAS *Mss. Giannone*: Ricuperati, *Carte torinesi*, p. 72; *Lettere autografe,* transcribed by Giulia di Rienzo. There is another letter of G., 6 September, 1746 to De Magistris, and the latter's reply (*Lettere autografe*, pp. 229-231).

38 See Ricuperati's illuminating introduction preceding each of the four vast works written after the *Vita* in Miolans which he wrote in Ceva, especially the *Apologia de' teologi scolastici*, and for the few books which G perforce had on which to base these writings. The great Torinese scholar was, not least, the inspiration for G.'s editors, Andrea Merlotti, Liliana Ceccetto, and Chiara Peyrani, and also no doubt for the editor of the *Discorsi,* Paul van Heck. Without their marvellous patience, erudition and labours over manuscripts, often simply scraps of paper written by G. in a prison cell after long convalescence from serious illness, these works would have remained forever unpublished.

39 *Discorsi*, ed. van Heck.

who lived in a century in which "true and solid philosophy" flourished'.[40]

Toland wrote for example:

> ...and what is evidently repugnant to clear and distinct ideas, or to our common Notions, is contrary to Reason. I go on, therefore, that the Doctrine of the Gospels, if it be the Word of God, cannot be so... This famous and admirable Doctrine is the undoubted Source of all the Absurdities that ever were seriously vented among Christians. Without the Pretence of it, we would never hear of the Transubstantiation and other ridiculous fables of the Church of Rome.[41]

Three versions of the *Discorsi* have come down to us. The basic text was completed on 15 May 1739, and sent from Ceva to Turin on 8 June 1739 by special courier in the fair copy which the magnanimous De Magistris had had made. The other versions grew out of observations from G.'s extensive reading in the Citadel. In the last months of 1747 he decided to make his own fair copy, but was unable to complete it, probably due to failing strength and eyesight. He nevertheless succeeded astoundingly in copying 524 pages (including his dedication to Charles Emanuel), completing the first book and almost half of *Discourse* Ten. The complications of writing in prison and in a state of ill-health, and presenting the *Discorsi* in a legible format, must have been immense. On presenting them to Ormea for the King, G. wrote in a grievous understatement: 'It deserves every consideration, even if not considered worthy of having been dedicated to so great a prince, but the unfortunate circumstances in which it was written make it worthy of every excuse as well as pardon'.[42] The version presented to the king in 1739 was Part One. G. wrote Part Two, and his own vast but incomplete fair copy in the Citadel between 1747 and 1748. There is no record of its acknowledgement by Ormea, even of its arrival at Court, except G.'s reference to it, wishful or ironic, thanking Ormea for glancing through it, in G.'s letter, 12 July 1739.

Van Heck reveals that while G. was transcribing the *Discorsi*, another person transcribed for him, without completing it, the very large geographical Index which G. had made, perhaps to have been attached

40 *Ibid.*, intro., p. 43.
41 Toland, *Christianity not mysterious* (London 1702), pp. 23-25.
42 See also G.'s letter to Ormea 12 July 1739 (above).

to the work as an appendix.[43] It is entitled *Indice geografico delle Città e Provincie memorate in quest'Opera, e da Livio nelle XIV sue Deche, supplite per l'Epitome di L. Floro; e per maggior intelligenza ragguagliato dall'antica alla presente Geografia Europa.*

The *Discorsi* is the only work from prison to be acknowledged by other scholars and critically reviewed. It was the view of Palazzi di Selve that the *Discorsi*

> continued to reflect the ideas expressed in G.'s manuscripts of the *Regno terreno* and *Regno celeste* of the *Triregno*. And certainly in this work alone, the human race is represented as being always fascinated by different illusions and impostures, both because of the political purposes of the princes and the artifice and fraud of the priests.
>
> And on the other hand, they represent only marginally the origin, progress, and establishment of the true religion, and with motives which anyone reading them may easily imagine are suspect and insufficient. For that reason this work alone, I declare, could prepare the minds of the foolish, and in particular the young, to whom it is addressed, to cast off that credulity and faith which are due to the divine oracles and the Church.[44]

Cesare Cantù wrote: 'To encourage the House of Savoy against the pope, he wrote the *Discorsi*, imitating not so much Machiavelli as Toland, who... searched for the cult of nature and the religion of instincts'.[45]

Apart from passages where G. positively attempts to conform to orthodox views, the *Discorsi* reflect the intense study and reading which, as Giovanni Antonio Palazzi observed, inspired the *Civil History*, and were developed in the *Triregno*.[46]

The headings of some of the chapters of the *Discorsi* are as follows:

Book 1, Discourse 1: On the writers whom Livy used in writing his *Annals*; the manner in which he interwove them; the grave loss of the major part of them; and how they could be restored.

Discourse 3: On the frankness with which Livy writes of matters relating to Roman religion; how not only in reference to the cult of the

43 Ceva, 8 June 1739: *Lettere autografe*, p. 99. *Discorsi*, ed. van Heck, intro., p. 97.

44 Turin, Biblioteca Reale, *Varia* 305, 'Osservazioni sulli *Discorsi* dell'avvocato P.G. sopra la *Storia Romana* di Tito Livio dell.abate Palazzi di Selve', cc. 227: *Giannoniana*, p. 492; quoted by Nicolini, *Scritti*, pp. 41-45; Ricuperati, *Carte torinesi*, p. 90.

45 Cantù, *Gli eretici d'Italia*, 3, p. 431.

46 Palazzi, *Opere*, intro., p. 745.

gods and their vaunted miracles, but in all his history Livy maintains the uncorrupted sincerity of the faithful historian and the profound and grave philosopher.[47]

Discourse 7: On augurs and divining and oracles with the Romans; and how only among the Hebrews was there prophecy, as later only in the Christian religion.

Discourse 10: On foreign religion with the Romans.

Discourse 12: On the Romans' concept of our dying, and what other life might remain for man after death; how the Christian religion was more commendable in the matter, and has instructed us to the contrary.

Discourse 13: Of the Romans' gods of the dead and burial.[48]

Book 2, Discourse 2: The ancient Etruscans, their expansion in Italy; their *politia* and decadence; the Samnites.

Discourse 4: On the occasions presented to the Romans to wage wars on these peoples and others more distant in Italy; the reasons considered to be just in mobilizing their armies, adopting the fetials [priests who declared war] and other rites and ceremonies in declaring their wars, in order that they were reputed pious and just by all.

Discourse 7: On the wisdom of the Romans in giving their laws made in Rome to the peoples reduced to their authority.

Discourse 10: How until then the Romans allowed the native kings to rule in Asia and Africa, content with protection and dependence, and with such wisdom and moderation established their peace and borders, gave their laws, and instituted a new form and *politia* for better government in their realms.

Discourse 17: On the reasons why with time the Romans banned Christians, their churches and meetings, considering them illegal colleges, and attempted to abolish them; how later the Christian religion was accepted by Constantine the Great into the empire.[49]

Book 3, Discourse 5: On how feigned miracles took place among the Romans, to which they lent entire faith; and how true miracles happened only among the Hebrews and later among the Christians.

Discourse 9: On games, festivals, feats of the gods and other spectacles pertaining to the ancient religion of the Romans.

47 Included in *Opere di P.G.,* ed. Bertelli and Ricuperati, pp. 747-762.
48 *Ibid*., pp. 762-772.
49 *Ibid*., pp. 772-88.

Discourse 8: On the spirits of the dead (*manes*) and burial of the Romans.

Giovanni in his *Memorie* (below) claimed to have written the *Discorsi sopra gli Annali di Tito Livio*, and that his father polished them. This was refuted by Ricuperati; Paul van Heck in the introduction to his superb, long-awaited text and commentary on the *Discorsi*, has also clarified exhaustively the matter of G.'s authorship.[50]

II. *Apologia de' teologi scolastici* (Apology for the Scholastic Theologians)

G.'s second historical work was the *Apologia de'teologi scolastici*, edited brilliantly by Lilian Cecchetto.[51] Its title in manuscript, highly instructive, was *Apologia de'teologi scolastici, ovvero dell'avvertenza e somma cautela che dee aversi in leggendo gli antichi Padri, e specialmente Lattanzio Firmiano, i libri di S.Agostino e di S.Gregorio Magno; E che a' nostri tempi questi studi saranno meglio e con maggior profitto impiegati sopra le opere de' nuovi saggi ed accurati scrittori, come più esatti, più utili e più sicuri* [what followed has been cancelled] *e quanto fossero utile per l' ístoria e disciplina ecclesiastica di que' tempi i XII libri dell'Epistole di S. Gregorio Magno*[52] (Apology for the Scholastic Theologians, or Warning of the Great Caution Which Must Be Observed in Reading the Church Fathers, especially Lactantius, the Books of Saint Augustine, and of Gregory the Great; and that for our Times These Studies Will Be Better and More Profitably Employed on the Works of the new, Wise and Accurate Writers, They Being More Exact, Useful and Secure [G. cancelled what followed], because He Was to Turn the Epistles of Gregory the Great into his Next Work from Prison: The History of Gregory the Great, and How the Twelve Books of the Epistles of St Gregory the Great Were Useful for the Ecclesiastical History and Discipline of Those Times).

G.'s profound work is a study of the Church Fathers such as Tertullian, Justin, Ambrose, Cyprian, Jerome, and Lactantius, and the movement called Quietism. The headings of some of the chapters will illustrate the content of this monumental work:

50 Ricuperati. in the introduction to his edited excerpts from the *Discorsi*, in *Opere di P.G,* pp. 731-34; *Discorsi*, ed. Van Heck, 1, pp. 9-20.

51 *Apologia de' teologi scolastici*, ed. Lilian Cecchetto (Turin 2011).

52 Nicolini, *Scritti*, p. 57.

Book One, Chapter One: On the origins of the many disorders and errors in the first centuries of the Church;

Chapter Three: Research on man, human origins, immortality, and on the state of man after the death of bodies and their resurrection;[53]

Chapter Nine: The austere morality of the Church Fathers;[54]

Chapter Ten: The abuses of the Church Fathers in their interpretation of the sacred books;

Chapter Eleven: The vain, ridiculous and curious questions with which the writers of the rude and uncultured centuries have filled their volumes, following the traces of the Church Fathers;[55]

Chapter Twelve: Curious and ridiculous questions (raised by the Church Fathers) about the New Testament;[56]

Chapter Thirteen: The ignorance of the early Fathers on history and chronology, corrected by recent writers;[57]

Book Two: The books of Lactantius;

Book Three: The books of St Augustine;[58]

Chapter Six: The strange opinions and paradoxes to be read in the *City of God*.

A large part of this work was written in Ceva between 1739 and 1740, but Chapters Seven to Ten were added after 1746, when, probably through the intercession of the humane governor, Marquis Cortanze, G. was able to borrow books from the rich library of Arthur de Villettes, in particular his copy of Jean Barbéyrac, *Traité de la morale des Pères de l'Eglise* (Amsterdam 1728). Like the *Discorsi*, the *Apologia* was written throughout the entire period of G.'s imprisonment; the text therefore was subject to many changes. It is the most complex of G.'s writings from prison, and highly ironic.

Lilian Cecchetto writes of how the *Apologia* reflects the precarious

53 Included in *Opere di P.G.*, ed. Bertelli and Ricuperati, as well as the intro. epistle to Prever, pp. 797-815.
54 *Ibid*., pp. 815-840.
55 *Ibid*., pp. 840-859.
56 *Ibid.*, pp. 859-881.
57 *Ibid*., pp. 881-887.
58 *Ibid*., pp. 888-911 (Chapters Three and Four).

conditions of imprisonment, and the shortage of paper which results, perforce, in its being written not only in the margins but also between the lines, and even over cancellations. She notes also the 'tormented writing' which reproduces all of G.'s initial modifications and second thoughts. 'The main problem, however, was to single out the various layers of writing which are superimposed and interleaved on the same paper'.[59]

Ricuperati observes how, in the first pages of the *Apologia,*

> all the most important theses of the *Triregno* are confirmed: the Hebrews conceived only of an earthly kingdom, and had no idea of a heavenly one. The concept of Hell originated with the Pharisees (primitive Christianity was a mixture of the thought of the Pharisees and Saducees). Even though, with Purgatory and Limbo, G. tones down the radical position of the *Triregno*, he accepts them more as an act of faith than an inner conviction.[60]

III. *Istoria del pontificato di Gregorio Magno* (History of the Pontificate of Gregory the Great)

The *Istoria*, edited meticulously by Chiara Peyrani,[61] also reflects G.'s writings before and after the *Triregno.* The last page of the manuscript (and therefore its completion) is dated by G. 12 September 1742. He was already familiar with the Middle Ages, given a lifetime's reading on canon law and ecclesiastical erudition. Illustrious scholars of ecclesiastical history had always been his inspiring mentors, among them Jacques Auguste de Thou (1553-1617), Samuel Bochart (1599-1667), Sébastien Le Nain de Tillemont (1637-1698), Claude Fleury (1640-1723), Zeger Bernard van Espen (1646-1728), Louis Ellies Dupin (1657-1719), and Joseph Bingham (1668-1723). All were overshadowed, however, by the great Baruch Spinoza (1632-1677). The inspiration of these renowned historians and philosophers came also from G.'s studies under the incomparable scholar and teacher of his youth in Naples, Domenico Aulisio.

59 *Apologia de teologi scolastici* (Turin 2011), notes of the editor, Lilian Cecchetto, p. cxli.
60 Ricuperati, *L'esperienza,* p. 498
61 *Istoria del pontificato di Gregorio Magno*, ed. Chiara Peyrani (Turin 2011).

Peyrani notes how G. reorganized the *Registrum Gregorii*, the collection of Gregory's Epistles, on a geographical rather than a chronological foundation, and analyzed them in six books. G. based it on the fortuitous acquisition of his precious Pliny, *Natural History*, and the patristic texts sent to him by Ormea and Prever.

> On the basis of the *Civil History* and the *Triregno*, G. documents the transformation of the ecclesiastical hierarchy at the time of Gregory the Great, and the consolidation of the pre-eminence of the Apostolic See. At the same time, he reconstructs the development of the contacts between the Church and secular authorities, above all in the West. He denounces the privileges granted by the princes to the clergy as having initiated their transformation into ecclesiastical power at the consequent expense of secular power. Giannone's analysis of the reconstruction of the *Istoria* returns to the central themes of the *Triregno*, and in particular the *Regno papale* (Papal kingdom).[62]

There are thirty-four chapters in six books. Some of the chapter-headings will, again, give an idea of the contents:

> *Book I*, Chapter 6: Ón the churches of Africa subjected in Gregory's times to the primate of Rome.
>
> Last Chapter: How all the churches of the provinces of Africa were lost, no differently from those in the East, of Asia and Europe; how the Roman popes, in order to preserve their rights and claims, retained the custom of appointing bishops there, although they had no duties.
>
> *Book 5*, last chapter: On the true origins and true titles of the pre-eminences exercised by the kings of Sicily in the tribunal termed 'Of the Monarchy.'
>
> *Book 6*, Chapter 2: On the monks.
>
> Last Chapter: Still today, among necessary matters, attention must be given to resuming an exact, general and complete ecclesiastical history. (1. Pagan. 2. The Judaic religion. 3. The history of the Christian Church. 4. The Mohammedan religion).[63]

62 *Ibid*., pp. clxxv-clxxvi.

63 This single chapter (miscalled of Book 4) was published in *Opere di P.G.*, ed. Bertelli and Ricuperati, pp. 933-986.

IV. *L'ape ingegnosa* (The Ingenious Bee)

G.'s fourth work from prison grew out of the *Discorsi* and the *Apologia de' teologi scolastici*. From these came the idea of a different work, as the title itself suggests. It was written 1743-1744, and almost completed ten days before G. left Ceva for the Citadel of Turin. It is edited by Andrea Merlotti with the masterly precision characteristic of all his contributions to G.'s life and work. Ricuperati has written an extensive introduction, entitled 'The obstinate religious anthropology of a radical of the first half of the eighteenth century'.

G.'s preface conveys even a spirit of optimism. It is arranged in forty-one *Observations*, which range across comments on the nature of the world, mankind, nature, memory, religion, philosophy, libraries, and the division of time, and it ends with his controversial statement in the *Last Observations* that man may aspire to another life after the present one.

The vast bibliography of the *Ape* results in great part from Hardouin's edition of Pliny's *Natural History*. G.'s other source was the most mature work of Stefano Menochio (1575-1655), *Le stuore, ovvero trattamenti eruditi.* It was republished ten times in the eighteenth century, and represented a vast source, which G. had already no doubt used gratefully for the historiography of the *Istoria del pontificato di Gregorio Magno*.

The *Ape* was left unfinished, perhaps as a result of the insoluble troubles oppressing G.'s last years at Ceva. Merlotti observes, moreover, of the author's state of mind: 'It was a Giannone fully aware of the impossibility of liberation, who was about to turn seventy and enter the eighth year of his imprisonment, who in the summer of 1743 thus set about writing *L'ape Ingegnosa*'.

In G.'s last news from Naples, he had, in fact, learned that his son Giovanni had been in prison, accused of trying to kill his uncle, G.'s brother Carlo, who had driven him out of his house after a furious quarrel: 'In no other of G.'s writings as much as in this work, born in the silence of news and the extinction of hope, does Giannone reveal his mind, his intimate sufferings, his fears and anguish'.[64]

Some of the forty-one *Observations* in *L'ape ingegnosa* are:

64 Merlotti, *L'ape ingegnosa* (Rome 1993), intro., pp. liii, lv-lvi.

Observation 1: On the great majesty of this visible world; its uniform order, disposition and harmony convince one that there is an infinite, eternal, wise and omnipotent Mind which does not conceive the world as our own soul and body do, but as its creator, ruler and governor. 1. Errors of the Pythagoreans and Stoics. 2. Errors of Leukippos, Demokritos, Epikouros and their followers;

Observation 2: One renders more admirable and stupendous the wisdom of the Artificer in making the world, given the variety and contrariety of the doublets which compose it, one opposing the other; it attains, nevertheless, not only that harmony which we admire in the vast universe, but also wisdom and virtue in men and true morality;

Observation 6: On man, his origin, conception, birth and end;

Observation 10: How religion, originating solely from men, when not revealed by God, is always subject to various errors and frauds;

Observation 13: In memory, imagination and dreams, although common also to animals, men are superior, and many strange and marvellous effects are produced in them. The memory of man is wonderful and prodigious;

Observation 17: How in the world error has always prevailed over truth, and if it had happened otherwise, every civil society would be dissolved and return to the ancient pastoral and rural life;

Observation 20: Experience must always precede philosophy, and speculation is vain if the circumstances of the fact are not first accurately observed;

Observation 37: On the length of life in man;

Observation 40: On the concept of our dying held by the ancients in times more remote than ours, of which record remains; on the custom of the Egyptians of embalming and burying their dead with much solemnity; how from the magnanimous deeds of great and generous men, occasion was given to consider another, second life succeeding this first life.

V. The *Vita*

On this work, see the Introduction (above).

G.'s works from prison are not so much a continuation of the *Triregno* as an analysis of problems which he would have wished to investigate if he had had his freedom. They depended on the books in his possession.

Ricuperati's illuminating introductions, especially to the *Apologia*, analyze the books on which G. perforce had to base his writings. Thanks to the humane governor of the Citadel, Marquis Cortanza, and the generous English ambassador, Arthur de Villettes, G. was able at least to revise his major works from the prison of Ceva.

G.'s scholarly labours in the Citadel disprove what Panzini[65] stated, basing his claim on the letter to Giovanni from Duke Cannalongo, 12 June 1748, to the effect that G. had been forbidden to write any new works there. In all these prisons, moreover—Miolans, Ceva and the Citadel—G.'s astonishing authorship of four vast and profoundly erudite books, as well as his autobiography, must have depended on the cooperation and even encouragement of his noble governors, with *each of whom* he found friendship: Le Blanc, De Magistris, and Cortanza. Their humanity and obvious devotion to their illustrious prisoner, therefore, allowed him after the *Civil History* to continue his meditations on the great *Triregno.* This monumental work depicted an immense fresco of the evolution of religious belief, taking into account all ancient and modern sources. He had conceived it and written it among learned and loving friends in Vienna, and continued it in Venice, and above all Geneva.

G. the Historian and his Religious Convictions

On the question whether G. retained the religion of his birth, and that of his much venerated Fr. Antonio de Torres, Antonio Corsano makes the obvious comment that the *Triregno* reveals G.'s 'growing loss of faith'.[66] Lia Mannarino observes from her profound studies on G.: 'The question of the relationship between reason and faith, and determining the respective fields of research, is central in all the works of Giannone'.[67]

In his writings, G. nevertheless expresses the ideals of the historian in the search for truth: 'Truth is not subject to any rule of time, to anyone's patronage, or to any nation's privilege'.[68] G.'s statement on truth reflects also the great contemporary debate on the possibility of historical

65 Panzini, *Vita*, p. 166.
66 Antonio Corsano, *Il pensiero religioso italiano* (Bari 1937), p. 146.
67 Lia Mannarino, *Le mille favole degli antichi* (Florence 1999), p. 360.
68 *Triregno, Regno celeste, de virginibus velandis*, p. 265; This statement is noted also by Brunello Vigezzi in his fundamental work, *P.G. riformatore e storico* (Milan 1961), p. 233.

knowledge. Jacob Perizonius in 1702 wrote one of his best-known works, *de fide contra Pyrrhonismum historicum*,[69] and referred to his wry reaction to, among other writers, the work of Nicolaus de Malebranche, *Recherche de la Vérité* (Paris 1712). It was in Vienna that G. immersed himself in the writings of Spinoza, Toland, Spencer, and in the libraries of the Palatine, in that of Prince Eugene, and in particular, in that of Baron Georg Wilhlem Hohendorf. Spinoza questioned the authenticity of the Pentateuch, the story of Creation in the first five books of the *Bible*, with strong arguments never expressed before; and not only the Pentateuch, but also the books of Joshua, Judges, Ruth, Samuel, and Kings.[70]

In his summary of G.'s errors in the *Regno terreno* (Earthly Kingdom) and *Regno celeste* (Heavenly Kingdom), already described as heretical, the Dominican Vincenzo Elefante on 28 October 1737 read out to the Sacred Congregation of the Inquisition G.'s references to the spirit of life:

> that most impetuous wind, that flame, that vivifying, vigorous spirit, which in motion and sense animates everything in the physical universe which moves. This spirit which animates our bodies breaks up at death, flies on high and mixes with the great mass which gives life to inanimate things...[71]

G. thus rejected the doctrine of the immortality of the soul solemnized at the Council of Florence in 1439. Lia Mannarino has detected, nevertheless, 'a cautionary motif' in the *Triregno,* as though 'to save the credibility of his faith'. And despite the inspiration which G. derived from the study of Spinoza, especially in the *Tractatus,*

> to a certain extent, G. does not understand Spinoza. He seems above all to lose sight of divine law as expressed in the *Tractatus*, how it is not bound to any particular sacred histories, to precise times, to descriptions—however anthropomorphic—of 'another life'.[72]

In the last years of his suffering, however, G. headed the last *Observation* of the *L'ape ingegnosa* thus:

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69 R.T. Ridley, *The Historical Observations of Jacob Perizonius* (Rome 1988), especially pp. 269-273.

70 Spinoza, *Tractatus Theologico-Politicus* (Amsterdam 1670), Chapter Eight.

71 *Triregno*. *Regno terreno*, ed. Parente, p. 241.

72 Mannarino, 'P.G. e la letteratura empia', in *Annali dell'Ístituto di Filosofia*, 2 (1980), 195-241, p. 241.

> 'Since man has been raised to a more sublime end in his state of grace, he need not be considered solely earthly and of this world, but may aspire after the present to another life in a kingdom nor earthly or mortal, but heavenly and eternal.[73]

Although G. headed the last *Observation* in the *Ape* thus, it may still reflect the assumption in all his writings from prison that he might eventually be released.

In the introduction to the *Regno celeste*, G. had written:

> All men were raised from an earthly and mortal state to one celestial and immortal, as Plato lamented, and now our Torquato, a theologian no less than a poet, notes:
>
> 'Ne' i bei seggi celesti ha l'uomo chiamato:
> L'uomo vile e di fango in terra nato.'
>
> (God has summoned man to fine celestial thrones, vile man, born on earth in mud).[74]

G. may have espoused a 'rational Christianity' (*Cristianità ragionevole*), as depicted in the classic work of the Jesuit Sforza Pietro Pallavicino (1607-1667), *Considerazioni sopra l'arte dello stile e del dialogo* (Rome 1646), which G. always admired, its being so akin to the teachings of Fr Torres.

On this matter, one must remember the relative sense of security and self-confidence of the writer of the *Triregno* among his friends in Vienna and Venice. The later misery of solitary confinement, however, would have made him responsive to any kindness, not least that of the religious. It must have been especially grievous when De Magistris was moved to Chivasso. G. fell prey to illnesses which extended into months of convalescence. Waiting for some reaction from Turin for the *Discorsi,* sent on 8 June 1739, resulted two months later, in September in two months of illness and three of convalescence. The chaplain and the priests of the Capuchin monastery at Ceva must have tended him, even perhaps with the gift of the treasured Pliny, but also with their piety. G. probably depended on them at least as much as in the last years of his life he depended on meetings with the pious and simple Prever. Whether, in fact, his frailty, recurrent illness, the loss of his friend Marquis Cortanze

73 *L'ape ingegnosa*, ed. Merlotti, p. 578.

74 *Triregno*. *Regno celeste*, ed. Parente, intro., p. 652. Tasso, *Gerusalemme liberata*, 4.11=*Jerusalem Delivered*, ed. and trans., Anthony Esolen (Baltimore 2000).

in 1746, and his loneliness confirmed his piety or led him to abandon his faith, it is impossible to know his state of mind.

Sergio Bertelli wrote of G.'s last days in the prison in the Citadel:

> In the struggle for survival also intellectually, even though he will write no more (except to revise, correct and add notes to his previous works in prison in Ceva), he will be always immersed in reading books from the Royal Library, or the library of the English ambassador in Turin, Arthur de Villettes. In short, also in the Citadel in Turin, and despite that aggravation of one of its gaolers, he is an illustrious prisoner, a true victim of reasons of State, of that absolutism of which he had become defender and advocate... Thus ended tragically the career of an erudite libertine.[75]

Georges Bonnant summarized G.'s imprisonments thus:

> G. is arrested in the night of Saturday, 24 March 1736, and taken to St Julien and then to Chambery, where he arrives at night on 26 March. Ten days later he is imprisoned in the fort of Miolans, where he remains until 1737, and writes his autobiography. On 29 September 1737, he is in Turin in the prison of Porta del Po, where his Abjuration is extorted from him. On 15 June 1738 he leaves Turin for the fort of Ceva. He is imprisoned there until 1744. It is during this period that he writes another four historical works. He is finally transferred to the Citadel of Turin, where he dies on 17 March 1748 at the age of seventy-two. Of these, forty-seven years were spent in the kingdom of Naples, eleven years in Vienna, one in Venice, four months in Geneva, and twelve years in prison.[76]

The Death of G.

G. died on 17 March 1748. Raul Rossini states, without documentation, that G. fell ill with pneumonia on 9 March.[77] Leonardo Panzini referred to a letter, now lost, to Giovanni from Duke Cannalonga, of 12 June 1748, and to one, also lost, of 2 September 1748 from the ubiquitous Caramelli. He attributed G.'s fatal illness to his 'constant' walks in the cold air, necessitated, in particular, by G.'s chronic malady of constipation.[78] In the *Libro de'Morti* (register of deaths) is the entry:

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75 B., pp. xiv-xvi.
76 Bonnant, 'P.G. à Genève', p. 121.
77 Raul Rossini, *La prigonia e la morte di un grande storico* (Turin 1959), p. 17.
78 Panzini, *Vita*, pp. 166, 170; see also Merlotti, *DBI* 54, p. 517.

> The lawyer Don Pietro Giannone of the City of Naples, detained in this Citadel, died on 17 March 1748, strengthened by the Blessed Sacraments. And on 18 March he was buried in the Chiesa Vecchia of this parish.

According to Panzini, G. was buried the next day in the old parish church of St Barbara within the Citadel of Turin 'with the honours customarily paid to persons of his rank'.[79] Merlotti writes, however, that he was buried in the common grave for prisoners, within the Citadel; in any case, the church of St Barbara was destroyed around 1860.[80]

In a letter of 25 September 1741, G. had written to Francesco Mela, his most steadfast and 'very close friend', of his final wishes: he distributed his estate 'between his son Giovanni, his daughter Fortunata, and his lady Elizabetta Angela Castelli'. His clothes were shared among those who had helped him in his sickness. His books and some coins were bought by the University of Turin for some 369 lire, which were sent to Naples to Giovanni, whom finally the Sagro Consiglio had declared G.'s son and heir.

His wish, expressed to Ormea on 27 March 1741, that his tomb bear the inscription which he had composed for it, was not, however, fulfilled:

G.'s inscription for his tombstone:

CONDITORIUM

CORPORIS

PETRI JANNONI I(iuris) C(onsulto) ET ADVOCATI NEAPOLITANI

QUI

DETECTIS PATRIIS LEGUM, MAGISTRATUUM, ORDINUMQUE

FONTIBUS

TOTIUSQUE CIVILIS HISTORIAE STATUS VARIOS PERSCRUTATUS

INTEGRA REGNI IURA SUO PRINCIPI AC PATRIAE

ASSERUIT.

VARIIS INDE IACTATUS PROCELLIS SI ALIQUID HUMANI PASSUS

79 Panzini, *Vita,* Intro.
80 Merlotti, in *DBI* 54, p. 517.

SINCERE POENITENS PECCATA LACRYMIS, ERRORES
RECTRACTATIONE

DELEVIT.

OBIIT TAMEN CAPTIVUS MISERIS LANGARUM LOCIS

CASTRO CEVAE

HIC SEPULTUS A. MDCCXLI....EXPECTAT

RESURRECTIONEM MORTUORUM

VITAM AETERNAM.

AMEN

(This is the tomb of the body of Pietro Giannone, Neapolitan Jurist and Lawyer, who revealed the Sources of the Laws, of the Magistracies, and of the Civil Orders of his Country/

And after investigating the Different Periods of its entire Civil History, laid claim to the Complete Laws of the Kingdom for his Prince and his Country/

He was then tossed by Various Storms and Endured All Human Suffering/

After Sincerely repenting, he Expunged his Sins with Tears and his Errors by Retraction./

He died, nevertheless, a Prisoner in the Sad Places of the Langae [Southern Piedmont], in the Fort of Ceva./[81]

He was buried here in 174- [date to be inserted], Awaiting/
the Resurrection of the Dead and Life Eternal. Amen)

Inscription for the façade of the villa Due Porta:

VIATOR

LOCUM HUNC QUEM OLIM DUO

INCLYTI FRATRES

IO. BAPTISTA ET NICOLAUS PORTA

OB INSIGNEM NATURALIS PHILOSOPHIAE SCIENTIAM

ET HUMANARUM LITTERARUM PERITIAM

81 G. clearly expected to end his days in Ceva.

NOBILITAVERE NOMENQUE DEDERUNT

NUNC DUO ALII FRATRES

PETRUS ET CAROLUS GIANNONE

I.C. ET ADVOCATI NEAPOLITANI

ILLUSTRIOREM FECERE AC IN AMPLIOREM FORMAM

REDEGERUNT.

NON ERGO ERRAVERIS SI PRAETERIENS PAREM EI

HONOREM AC REVERENTIAM TRIBUERIS

QUALEM ANTIQUI NAUTICI ET ITINERA ACTURI

AEDIBUS CASTRORUM

QUONDAM PRAESTITERE.

VALE

('Wayfarer,
This place once that of two illustrious brothers, Giambattista and Nicolò della Porta/
Ennobled by their renowned knowledge of/
Natural philosophy/
And mastery in the literary arts/
From whom it took its name.
Now two other brothers/
Pietro and Carlo Giannone/
Neapolitan jurists and lawyers/
Made it again illustrious and even more
Imposing.
You will not be incorrect, therefore, if when passing by you render them equal/
Honours and the same homage/
which the ancient seafarers and those about to undertake a journey in the abodes of the Castors/
Once made them.
Farewell.')[82]

82 Part of the draft of the unacknowledged petition sent to Ormea, dated 27 March 1741: TAS *Mss. Giannone*: *Giannoniana* pp. 445-446; P.G. *Vita, Scritti diversi*, ed. Giulio de Martino, 3 vols (Naples 1998), 3, pp. 151-152.

In a letter of 11 May 1748, addressed to the Vicario of Turin, the Assessor of the Holy Office wrote:

> It is with relief to their spirit that their Eminences the cardinals have heard of the passing to a better life of the famous Pietro Giannone with the most manifest signs of his remorse and repentance and reformation. Instructions were given to publish the news of his death in a way 'most acceptable to that Royal Sovereign... in the simplest and least affected form'.[83]

News of his death arrived in Naples in June. but was not announced officially until September.

We have, however, the remarkable document from his inquisitor-confessor Fr Prever, written almost a year after G.'s death. It contains the standard, obligatory observations and pious assurances in such cases, dependent on a private witness whose account cannot be checked, but it was instigated also by the relentless schemes of Ormea.

This account of Fr Prever of the Oratory of S. Filippo Neri of the conversion and death of Pietro Giannone, on 17 March 1748 is entitled:

> *This is the sincere report of what I have observed and known of the sentiments of the late lawyer Pietro Giannone, Neapolitan, both while he lived when I was his confessor, and at the time of his death.*
>
> Before he was taken from the fort of Miolans, where he had been detained, to Turin, I did not know him and had only heard of him as one for whom upright men felt a Christian respect.
>
> In 1738 he was moved to this city with the aim of employing the zeal of some religious person to reduce him to a true reformation, and thus lead back to Jesus Christ a sheep so wretchedly led astray.
>
> I therefore had orders from the late Marquis d'Ormea to undertake this good work, and truly great was his anxiety to have him recognize his errors, and that someone undeceive and convert him. The errors were those scattered through the Civil and Ecclesiastical History of the Kingdom of Naples, written by him, there being even more in the very bad manuscripts found in Ormea's possession. The marquis told me that I would be given six months. This did not worry me at all, as I trusted in the Lord, who is all powerful, and gives help and strength to anyone who for love of him employs himself in the conversion of sinners.
>
> Thank Heaven, to which everything must be uniquely attributed, a few visits and talks were enough to touch his heart and make him

83 Bertelli, 'Líncartamento originale', p. 33.

recognize, confess and detest his errors,[84] as I had especially availed myself of some texts from the letters of saints Peter and Paul to enlighten him. He was then convinced, moved and softened, and embraced me as I was leaving, saying that I was a man sent by God. And I replied that I had, in fact, the good fortune of bearing the name of St John the Baptist, and that he might thank the Lord for such great mercy.

I remember that, on my first visit, I told him to think no longer of leaving prison or changing his situation; that if there were any outcome of my intervention, it would have been, if good and useful, solely for his soul and nothing else, as then truly was the case, and I could see that he was convinced of it.

He wished then to read good books and asked me for them. I therefore took him St Augustine's *City of God*, because it seemed the most suitable to instruct and confirm him further in his reformation.

He thanked me for it and unceasingly thanked the Lord, father of light and mercy, and also prayed that God might bless His Majesty for having been so charitable and sought his salvation. And with each day he knew more firmly, as he used to say, that he owed his liberation to his arrest and, moreover, that Heaven had led him to Geneva, a place of errors, in order to lead him back compassionately to where he had to recognize and bemoan them in a prison for his salvation.

Good Friday of that year was the day on which the Father-Vicar of the Holy Office determined to hear and receive his Retraction and Abjuration, and I had the satisfaction of serving him as secretary.

This he did with tears in his eyes, and the most tender proofs of a repentant heart. He moved us thus to pity, and before the deed, he offered to write it out, and did so in his own hand. And he declared himself ready to explain all which was suggested to him, since it was his intention that his Retraction be not only true but also entire, and in every respect as it was meant to be.

He then made to me a general confession, which consoled me, and received the Holy Pascal Communion.

He was then moved to the fortress of Ceva, and remained there until 1745. From Ceva he wrote me a letter of which a copy is enclosed, and one can perceive from this his sentiments at that time.

The work to which he refers in the letter did not come into my hands,

84 Ricuperati notes (quoted by Van Heck, *Discorsi* 2.p.713): 'G. Would have been a hard bone to crack for anyone who confronted him on controversial matters, but the poor obtuse canon, with his instinctive goodness, could have established an understanding with him which was not theological, but based on basic sentiment. Prever aimed completely at restoring a religiosity which in G. Was still verymuch alive.'

and for some time I did not receive even another letter from him.[85]

Because of the war, the Lord then provided that he be brought to Turin and to the Citadel, where, on his arrival, he was again placed under my direction.

His sentiments were always constant in reference to his retraction of past errors, and in accordance with it were his protestations that he had demonstrated, and would always demonstrate, a true and filial respect for the Holy See. They were accompanied by those acts of gratitude and obedience due the Holy Church and proper in a faithful Christian, in that he confessed that his lapses had originated from a spirit of vanity, whereby he had sought to make a name for himself, without reflecting whether that name was therefore truly good, and especially before God, and that, urged on by passion and the task in hand, he had fallen into much error and given great scandal. And as one who walks on the straight path goes from virtue to virtue, but on the oblique path from fault to fault, he declared that he had done wrong in writing and publishing that History of the Kingdom of Naples, and in having kept those other papers which were said to be truly infamous.

His habits during all this time were always those of a good Christian, as was also his discourse, as he spoke with great reverence of our Holy faith and the Saints, and went often to confession with me and received communion.

He occupied himself mostly with Holy Scripture, which was always in his hand, and he willingly continued reading the sacred expositors. He did not ever give any sign of aversion or boredom about his imprisonment, and lived there in tranquillity of mind. One may say that he showed in everything the holy contentment which God gives to all in affliction and hardship who ask.

He wished to undertake a work, as was also my wish, on the maxims of the Gospel and those of the world, and he already had in his mind the idea and structure of it, and gave me, to my gratification, a detailed account of it. God, however, disposed differently, because he fell ill, and the thread of the work and of his life was broken.

His illness lasted no longer than eight days. I told him one day to fortify himself with the Holy Sacraments. 'Yes', he replied, 'let us put my conscience in good order, so that I may make a pure appearance at God's tribunal, and let us return again somewhat to past matters'.

85 G. in fact wrote five letters to Prever from Ceva dated 6 July 1738, 23 February and 24 May 1739, 18 April 1740, and one undated. In the letters of 23 February and 24 May, G. refers to the *Discorsi*. Van Heck observes (*Discorsi*, 2, p. 715) that G.'s letters, sent through the secretariat of state, may not have arrived. After G. had protested at his silence to Ormea, Prever made two replies, one 12 April 1739, the other dated simply to that year. He had, however, sent to G. in Ceva. a parcel of chocolate.

> He devotedly received all the Sacraments, and on 17 March, 1748, he passed to a better life at the age of seventy-two, dying, as do true penitents converted to the Lord, to whom he fervently commended himself, telling those present, 'Pray to God for me'.
>
> And such was the end which this man made through God's special mercy.
>
> And I testify and declare before the Lord, to whom thanks and glory are due, with my oath, hand on heart.[86]

G. dedicated to Prever his *Apologia de' teologi scolastici*, a vast work of over 700 pages. G. referred to this in detail in his letters to Prever. Perhaps because Prever had fulfilled his role as inquisitor-confessor, however, he evinced no interest in it. This dedication must reflect G.'s gratitude to Prever for his visits during those terrible six months in the Porta del Po, visits for which his Abjuration may not have seemed such an immense price to pay.

Tributes to Giannone

There were many moving tributes to G. An anonymous essayist (perhaps his friend and fellow historian, Bernardo Andrea Lama (c. 1685-1760),[87] wrote:

> he suffers from melancholy, but delights in his morning walks... I knew him in Vienna and had to do with him more than once, and enjoyed his critical and bold intelligence... His precocious intellect, suitable for any endeavour, is evident in his writings... He is the greatest friend of all literary and learned men.[88]

It is G.'s early biographer, Leonardo Panzini (1739-1809), in the conclusion to his sensitive and invaluable work, who provided a fine summation of his character:

> He was of medium stature, had olive skin, a long face and bright eyes, was grave in his bearing and pleasant in his ways. He did not like large

86 TAS, *Mss. Giannone*: Ricuperati, *Carte torinesi*, p. 82; Occella, 'Ultimi dodici anni', pp. 706-709; Van Heck (ed.), *Discorsoi sopra gli Annali di Tito Livio*, pp. 711-717.

87 Lama was a Neapolitan; like Giannone, another student of Argento: see Chapter Nine, n.34.

88 *Memorabilia Italorum eruditione praestantium quibus vertens saeculum gloriatur*, ed. Giovanni Lami (Florence 1747), 2, p. 32.

or frequented gatherings, and was content to be with a few friends for a short while each day. He was by nature of few words, and in those he was careful and circumspect. Only with friends of proven integrity was he pleased to be frank and open, and nothing was more unbearable to him in friendship than simulation and duplicity. He always shunned idleness and, except for a few hours each day when he went for walks and talked with those close to him or sought to rest his wearied body, he employed the major part of his time in legal and literary pursuits. He suffered from melancholy and asthma, and therefore did not neglect, when he could, to seek relief from those ills by going out every morning for recreation in the company of some friend to walk in the delightful green and in the hills. He enjoyed withdrawing to some pleasant place of solitude far away from the clamour of the city and the society of men, there to attend peacefully and seriously to his study and his writings.

He was sober and moderate in his meals, and clean but unaffected in his dressing. In giving advice he was always wise and prudent, and ready and efficacious in putting it into effect. He had a clear, well-balanced mind, and deserved to be much consulted by the best men of his own and foreign nations, especially by Councillor Grimaldi, President Argento, and the regents of the Supreme Council of Spain. He always hated falsity and could not restrain his acrimonious censure, when the occasion arose, concerning abuses and corruption and what had been introduced by cunning or negligence into the civil political system and the ecclesiastical order.

He was rigorous in keeping his word and his good faith, and scrupulously observed his obligations and duties. He had for his father a more than filial respect, and a ready willingness to serve and benefit his friends. He was always content with little and never aspired to excessive riches.

He was, above all, a man who interested himself in what was genuinely advantageous for his country and enlightening for its citizens. What was ultimately extraordinary and worthy of wonder was the constancy with which he bore his wrongs, and the courage with which he put aside his misfortunes.[89]

Voltaire (1694-1778) wrote of G.'s unique significance and fate:

Giannone is the only one who has thrown light on the origin of the supreme domination imposed by the popes on the kingdom of Naples. In doing so, he has rendered eternal service to the kings of that country. In recompense, he was abandoned by the emperor Charles VI, at that time king of Naples, to the persecution of the Jesuits, was betrayed since

89 Panzini, *Vita*, pp. 167-168.

> then by the most cowardly treacheries, and was sacrificed to the court of Rome. He ended his life in captivity.[90]

Edward Gibbon (1737-1794) read G.'s *Istoria civile* in Lausanne in the French edition of 1742. He wrote of it: 'The artlessness, insight, and the freedom of this excellent lawyer make all wise men always value his work'.[91]

In his series of public lectures in Milan in 1863, Giuseppe Ferrari (1811-1876)[92] stated:

> G. surpasses in poetry and foresight the most celebrated men of our time, when with jurisprudence he entwines like a vine around the papacy, strangling it without a wound; when with insight, almost by a spell, he makes the Empire vanish because the papacy is extinguished; when from the depths of a Piedmontese prison he points to the star of Savoy, and, turning to the son of Charles Emanuel, he tells him to put aside the reading of Tacitus, to put aside the underhand arts of Tiberius, to put aside the historian who teaches how the declining empires could be preserved, and to read instead the historians from whom one learns how new states arise...He asks the future for a historian of humanity; he announces his very grave immense mission of embracing all the traditions, all the errors, all the cults which mutually presuppose each other. At the same time, however, he declares that his mission is not superior to human strength, and points to the example of Pliny the Elder and Livy, who brought to fruition works no less grandiose.[93]

The great Lino Marino (1925-2005)[94] concluded his work on Giannonism in Naples with a quotation from Fonseca Pimentaz. G. is defined as 'the illustrious champion of, and martyr to, the national cause', whose writings transformed Naples into a 'new nation'.[95]

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90 Voltaire, *Les droits des hommes et les usurpations des autres* (Amsterdam 1768), in *Oeuvres complètes*, 29, p. 848.

91 *Le Journal de Gibbon à Lausanne*, ed. Georges Bonnard (Lausanne 1945), p. 143.

92 Ferrari, born in Milan, historian and philosopher, studied in France, a Doctor of Letters of the Sorbonne (1840); he returned to Italy 1859, successively professor in Turin, Milan, and Rome. He edited works of Vico (1865), *Histoire des révolutions de l'Ítalie* (1856-1858). He was a revolutionary in politics, but also a federalist for Italy. Like G., Ferrari suffered for his ideals. *DBI* 46, pp. 609-615: Franco della Peruta.

93 Ferrari, *La mente di Pietro Giannone, Lezioni all'Ístituto superiore di Milano* (Milan 1868), pp. 9-10.

94 Lino Marini born at Cuneo, died at Bologna.

95 Pimentez, introduction to Nicolà Caravita, *Nullum ius*; Marini, *P.G. e il Giannonismo a Napoli nel Settecento* (Bari 1950), pp. 177-178.

In the view of one of G.'s most devoted advocates, Giuseppe Ricuperati:

> His intellectual and religious itinerary was complex and tormented: he had moments of exaltation in which he drew closer to the free thinking and deistic European culture. He nevertheless remained essentially faithful to that first nucleus of ideas which the brother [Fr Antonio Torres] had taught him and he had learnt perfectly. Through these ideas it was possible to fight superstition, the intolerance and abuses of the ecclesiastics and the divine right of the Church, believing that he did so in the name of 'truth, which is God himself.[96]

Ricuperati saw G. not as an 'erudite libertine', as did Bertelli, but as a figure of the Enlightenment: 'After his renowned *Civil History*, G. turned to "a universal history of religious domains entitled the *Triregno*. It was, together with Alberto Radicati di Passerano's *Discourses concerning Religion and Government*, the most important document of the Italian radical Enlightenment"'.[97]

> G. became an intellectual of European stature, distinguished by the cosmopolitanism and modernity of thought lacking in other great Italians of the time. Above all, his time spent at the Imperial Court of Vienna in the era of Charles VI and prince Eugene of Savoy contributed much to the proto-enlightened and radical nature of Giannone's thought. The *Triregno*, which gave expression to this maturity must be cited as one of the rare contributions of our country to the Enlightenment.[98]

96 Ricuperati, *L'esperienza*, p. 537.
97 Ricuperati, in The *Encyclopedia of the Enlightenment* (Oxford 2003), 2, pp. 125-127.
98 *Istoria del pontificato di Gregorio Magno*, ed. Chiara Peyrani (Turin 2011), introduction p. clxv.

Memorie de' successi accaduti a D. Giovanni Giannone nel Corso della sua Vita
(Memoirs of the Events Which Befell Giovanni Giannone in the Course of his Life)[1]

If ever in this world there were men who were able to leave for posterity an account of what happened to them in the course of their lives, among them could be numbered the unfortunate Giovanni Giannone. And if such deeds and misfortunes had befallen Gil Blas de Santillana[2] or Robinson Crusoe[3] in their accounts and plots, to which are given the name of novels, what could be said of what happened to Giovanni in the course of his life? It will surely seem like a fable to the Reader, and yet these things actually happened to him in which I was the main participant.

I was born in Naples at the beginning of March in 1715, and was baptised on 8 March in the parish church of St Maria a Piazza. I was given the name of Giovanni Francesco Gennaro, son of Pietro Giannone,

1 Rome, Biblioteca Nazionale: *Giannoniana*, pp. 184-213. This is a text of the greatest interest, notably as a complement to G.'s *Vita,* but also for the fate of G.'s family, and for Giovanni's participation in the existential struggle between West and East in Central Europe.

2 Alain-René Lesage, *Gil Blas*: *a comédie de moeurs* (Paris 1715-1735).

3 Daniel Defoe, *Robinson Crusoe*, *The life and strange surprising Adventures* (London 1719).

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who was renowned for the works which he gave to the world, of the noble and ancient family Giannone-Alitto of the city of Bitonto, as my father related to me.[4] And if we are to trust the legal documents, we are descendants of the notary Johannes de Iannone, well deserving of Ladislaus king of Naples,[5] known as Durazzo Zieschi, who gave him the land of Rocca Gloriosa, as can be read in the king's inventory in the Gran Curia della Zecca[6]—and of Angiola Castelli, husband and wife, in whose charge I was brought up until the age of seven years and two months, when I lived in Naples.

In 1723, because of the trouble which had arisen over the publication of the *Istoria civile del Regno di Napoli* (Civil History of the Kingdom of Naples), written by the lawyer Pietro Giannone, the said author was obliged, in order to save himself, to leave Naples and betake himself to the feet of the Emperor to whom the work had been dedicated.

My mother whom he had secretly married (for his just reasons) was placed in the Real Conservatorio di Santo Antoniello alla Vicaria under a false name and without mention that she was his wife[7] with my sister Carmina Fortunata,[8] born in November 1721. I was left in the power of my uncle Carlo, brother of my father.[9] Since my uncle was unwilling to look after me, he found a way to drive me away, and after I had

4 G. did not once admit the possibility of aristocratic origins. His humility is immediately attested in the first sentence of the *Vita*. And when later in Vienna, he was claimed as a cousin by one of the aristocratic line of the Giannone, his last reference, of only seven, is one of exasperation at the claims of yet another client (Vienna, 8 April 1730: *Epist.*, p. 703). Ciro Cannarozzi, *Pietro Giannone nei primi diciotto anni di vita* (Florence 1950), p. 20, proves that there was no consanguinity between the two families.

5 Ladislao ruled 1386-1414.

6 Fol. 83: *Regitror sequens notamentum videlicet Notario Ioanni de Iannono donat Rex terram sitam, et positam in territorio Roccae Gloriosae nuncupatam Sanctae Mariae Annunciatae, et li Grutticelli ut ex Registro signato 1404, on paper based on cloth, fol. 237 ut acto in quo etc*. This states that the king gave to the notary Giovanni di Giannone land situated in the region of Rocca Gloriosa, called Santa Maria Annunciata.

7 Underlined words are crossed out in the text; Bertelli has found no record of a marriage between them, and their *de facto* status follows logically from the accusation levelled at G. that he was guilty of keeping a concubine. Although Angela Castelli was illiterate, her brothers were of sufficient social standing to marry two daughters of the duke of Brindisi. G. states, in a letter to Carlo, that she did not wish to marry.

8 Little is known of Fortunata, except that as her father relates, she chose not to marry and leave her mother. Much later it would appear that Giovanni took both his mother and Fortunata from the convent and they lived together in Naples.

9 See Chapter Three, n.37.

lived with him for a few days he proposed that I go and find my father again; in that way he tricked me. And when I was placed in a carriage, accompanied by a gentleman whose name I do not remember, I was taken to the city of Manfredonia, whence I went on horseback to the city of Viesti, only one day's distance from Manfredonia, to the home of my aunt Vittoria Giannone, sister of my father, domiciled there with a gentleman of that city, Domenico Tura.

As soon as I had arrived and rested somewhat after the exhausting trip, I asked: 'And my father?' Both my aunt and her husband, however, told me that he had left home and would soon return. When I did not see him returning, I lay on the bed and shed torrents of tears, and although those around tried to comfort me with false hopes, I could not calm myself. In part because of the exhaustion of the trip and in part because of the copious tears, I fell asleep. After a short time I awoke and it was nightfall, and again I began to ask for my father, but in the end my requests were in vain. Unable, therefore, to fulfil my dream, I had to accustom myself to that home with my brother and sister, cousins who were of a similar age, and with their diverting me by taking me to their farms, I became a famous lover of woods where I grazed cattle and ploughed the fields.

On reaching the age of fifteen, I began to realize that I was becoming lost living in those parts, deprived of an education and sense of morality. I began to abhor those places, and much more so because I knew that my dear aunt regarded me with disfavour, and if she could, would have rid herself of me; she had also perceived my thoughts. And she wrote often to her brother in Naples that I was misbehaving there and growing in vice, not virtue; she thus concealed others' wishes. My dear uncle in Naples, however, wanted nothing less than to hear such news! He shook with rage and wrote in terms which would have burned Rome, but without revealing who was to blame.

> O pietà grande, e quali Dii permisero
> Meliseo venir fato tant' aspero.
> Perche di vita pria non lo divisero?[10]

10 'O great pity! And who were the gods who permitted so harsh a fate to come to Meliseus? Why did they not separate him sooner from his life?' Iacopo Sannazaro, *Arcadia*, *Eclogue* 12.

As I knew, therefore, the proud nature of my uncle and the bad mien of my aunt, I found myself on a storm-tossed sea. And as her bad moods were intensifying, occasions for worse evil became more frequent. Fate decided to motivate my thoughts, because of some verbal altercations with my aunt, which were such as to confirm once and for all my decision to leave immediately and abandon that place where I could find no profit, where in fact I was becoming ever more unfit for civilized society, and growing into a man of no benefit to the world. I did not know, however, how to put into effect my departure, because opportunities to travel by coach from there to Naples were rare. Heaven, however, the provider of all things, and in particular of what in extreme situations one proves to be most in need, immediately presented me with a favourable opportunity. I discovered in that city a gentleman who was suffering from retention of urine, and was tormented by the worse evil of a stone in the bladder, so that surgery was necessary. Such operations, however, were said to be dangerous and required great skill and expertise, which were not to be found in that place. He was advised, therefore, by doctors that he must go to Naples, and when it came to my notice, I went immediately to see him. After I revealed to him my determined wish, he willingly consented, but wanted to make sure that my uncle and aunt were aware of my intentions. When asked, they in fact not only accepted with great pleasure but warmly requested him to do me that favour, and, as both were in agreement, the day was set for our departure.

The departure took place at the beginning of March 1733. On arriving in Naples six days later I betook myself to my uncle's house. I remembered that he still lived in the same district as he did when I was sent to the city of Viesti, which was said to be outside the Porta Medina behind the palazzo of the prince of Tarsia[11] in the house of the gentleman Martino. And I prepared a defence against his inevitable reproaches, so little was it to his determined mind that I should make this move. And what was going round in my mind happened. After my knocking and knocking on the door, one of his servants came out and took him my message, that it was I who was asking for him. I then

11 G. was constantly engaged on business for the house of Tarsia in Vienna. The princess was slow in paying him for his intercessions (Vienna, 8 May 1728: *Epist.*, p. 248, among other letters).

overheard his reply that she must have been dreaming, because he did not know any nephew of his named Giovanni, and all of a sudden the door was shut in my face.

As I had prepared myself for all possible sinister events, it was obvious that my uncle was not going to welcome me, but I could never have imagined such cruelty. It was too difficult to rely on myself and on my slight experience of the city of Naples to discover in which convent my mother was staying, in order that, by making myself known to her, she could give me some shelter. In the end, however, I took courage and armed with the maxim that anyone with a tongue can find what he wants, I diligently went marching to every convent, and finally found what I was seeking. After I had made myself known to her, she arranged for me to receive every help and comfort, and directed me outside the Porta S. Gennaro nel Borgo, called delle Vergini to the palazzo of Abate Antinori, where my two maternal uncles were living with the two nieces of Signor Antinori, daughters of the duke of Brindisi. It was a great relief.

I stayed, therefore, with my two uncles and recovered somewhat from the hardships which I had suffered. One of them took me to the home of a close and dear friend of my father, Francesco Mela, who was exceedingly glad to see me, and after I had told him everything, he wrote a full and pressing letter to my father, who was, however, living in Vienna in Austria.

My father, who at his departure had entrusted my mother, me and my sister and his possessions to his brother, believed that he could safely rely on him and his administration. His brother, however, harboured sentiments totally alien to these instructions, and wanted (if he could manage to do so) to destroy everything in order to be the sole overseer of another's possessions. When questioned many times by my father about me, he did not ever reply.

My father, in order to rectify such confusion, and having no other way to deal with such an emergency and not aggravate the wound even more, considered it expedient for the time being for me to teach myself to write well. As he needed someone to look after his interests, of whom he could avail himself in matters of great secrecy which he could not do with others, he wanted to give this responsibility to his own son, knowing full well that everything would not only be all that he was looking for, but would also be profitable to me. He wrote urgently, therefore, to

his dear friend Mela,[12] to whom, among the other obligations which he professed to him, this would have been the greatest, that I instruct myself in particular in writing. To assist him I would have to know how to spell, and he should not have to play the pedant with me by insisting on good grammar.

The clamour of arms in Italy gave very clear and manifest signs of a cruel war, which brought about the loss of Naples and Sicily for Charles VI, and as a consequence the departure of my father from the court of Vienna [1734]. And as he wished to set out on his return to his own country, it was necessary to go to Venice and obtain a passport from the ambassador of Spain in order to pursue his plan. He was, however, refused a passport. Forced to be a spectator at the outcome of his actions, and entertained by the blandishments of the aristocratic gentlemen of that city, he was hoping for some relief. For this reason he decided to send for me. I therefore promptly left Naples at the beginning of April 1735.

I went to Manfredonia to embark, but stayed there for ten days in the home of a gentleman of that city, Francesco Antonio Cessa,[13] and because at that time there was no connection for Venice, I was obliged to go elsewhere and find embarkation in that region, to a place called Rodi di Puglia which lies opposite the Isola Diomedea, known as Tremiti.[14] I was soon there, and on finding the vessel ready to go to Pesaro I embarked, and a kind priest, whose destiny it was to go to Vienna in Austria by order of Count della Cerra,[15] kept me company. I departed, therefore and had a happy trip to Pesaro, and on finding there also ready embarkation, in two days I was in Venice. I went to my father who, as he was a guest in the house of Signor Angelo Pisani in Campo Sant'Angelo, enjoyed good quarters. The welcomes were endless and endless were the compliments.[16] Having thus made my father quite satisfied with my ways, as he demonstrated in those first days, he gave me the opportunity to enjoy the delightful entertainment to be expected in a magnificent city. And I encountered one of these precisely in May, the time of the

12 This letter is not preserved.
13 Francesco Antonio Cessa: not in *DBI* or *IBBNH*.
14 Isola Diomedea, an important maritime centre in the 1800s.
15 Della Cerra, Count: not in *DBI* or *IBBNH.*
16 See *Vita,* Chapter Ten.

solemn feast of the Ascension in that capital, famous for its fair and also for the ancient tradition of the noble festival of the Bucentoro. In this sumptuously decorated festival in the presence of the assembled Senate and the Doge, and surrounded by the noble retinue of gondolas decked out with great pomp, the ceremony of marrying the sea is solemnized (it is customarily performed near a very strong and impregnable citadel, or be it two castles, near the sea, which had never been taken by assault or capitulation, and is still preserved as though a virgin). The motto on the stern of the Bucentoro is *Sanguine partum* (born of blood). And the ring is thrown into the sea with the words: *Desponsamus te Mare in signum veri, perpetuique Domini Maris Adriatici* (We marry you, Sea, as a sign of our true and perpetual control of the Adriatic Sea).

My stay in Venice was above all my consolation for not ever in my adolescence having enjoyed civil entertainments. And they were so much more frequent because of the good company in the house where we were staying, which was that of Signor Pisani, great Maecenas and truly splendid knight, temperate in his ways. He not only succeeded in pleasing my father, but also exerted himself beyond the bounds of proper duty. He let pass no festival or invitation to events in Venice without ensuring that my father went or was taken. And thus it was in the city and on *terra ferma,* in the noble villas in the country.

The good peace and tranquility experienced in Venice was very soon made bitter by a black and evil man,[17] ensnarer of others' peace and quiet. In this state of affairs, therefore, at the beginning of September, when my father was as usual discoursing with friends—he used mostly spend whole evenings at the home of the lawyer Terzi[18]—on one such evening, while he was returning home in the company that night of Abate Conti, in the neighbourhood of the bridge of Santo Stefano near the Campo di Sant'Angelo, he was stopped by armed men who, by order of the State Inquisitors of the Republic, arrested him. He was thus surrounded and taken to the home of the head or governor of the city of Venice and given orders to leave immediately not only Venice but also that State. And after receiving as guide and escort a certain Pantalone, he was taken to Crespino.

I allow the reader to imagine my wretched state on hearing

17 Giovanni appears to be referring to a Jesuit, not identified by name.
18 Terzi: first name not known; see above, Chapter Ten, p. 516.

such unhappy news. When Signor Pisani was advised of it, he was overwhelmed by many fears, realizing that the blow had come from a superior hand, not without some intrigue of an insidious cabal plotted by the black crows[19] and by simple souls seduced to surrender the innocent victim to the atrocious torture endured by uncorrupted humanity. In the great commotion and search for news of where he had gone, a letter came from my father relating that he was in Modena, where fortunately he was saved after painful travail, and that he had been taken by boat to a place dangerous for him. He charged Signor Pisani to defend his innocence, and in a similar way to expose the wrong done to him, and he asked him to look after his belongings, if some fragments were left of them after others' rapacity. He added that Signor Pisani should talk over with me whether I wanted to follow him in his misfortune or return to Naples; and, if it transpired that I wanted to follow him, that I be sent to Modena where he was waiting for me. And acting in concert with Signor Pisani, I set out at once for Modena. On my arrival we took the road to Milan, and then to Turin as he was forbidden to stay in the city of Milan, because of its being again under the dominion of the Sardinian King,[20] and suspect because the Holy Office had been introduced there. From Turin it was then necessary to go beyond the mountains, leaving Italy and passing through France, to find refuge in Geneva. We arrived there on 6 December of that year [1735].[21]

Geneva lies on a pleasant hill. At its foot extends the bed of the river Rhône which, as it runs through to Lake Lemano, divides the city in two parts, the so-called low city and the high city, which are well fortified with moats and ramparts. Here the good arts reign, here there are good professors of every virtue. In its government policies are guided by a magistrate who governs it in the form of a republic. We arrived, thanks be to God, and settled down in the home of a Genevan by the name of Charles Chenevié.[22] And after informing the magistrate, as was the custom of that city, we applied to visit the home of the Resident of

19 In the margin: "the Jesuit Father Pepe"; *Giannoniana,* p. 189, but he was in Naples. It was he who later destroyed Giovanni's hopes of employment in Naples (see below).

20 Charles Emanuel III (reigned 1730-1773).

21 G. states in his *Vita,* Chapter Ten (above, p. 539) that they arrived in Geneva on 5 December.

22 Charles Chenevié: not in *DBF* or *IBBNH*.

France, since we had declared ourselves to be true Roman Catholics, to share in the holy sacraments in his chapel and participate in everything else which a Catholic is obliged to do. During our stay there we became acquainted with Signor Jacques Vernet,[23] minister and historian of that city, a man of letters and good understanding, as was Signor Turrettino[24] who was learned in all oriental languages, and with other gentlemen whom I omit.

The constellations cannot be deflected from human breasts and must crash for the most part on men made unhappy by misfortune. As for consolations, I cannot speak of them, as I have no idea of them. To return to my account, therefore, the fatal blow thus befell my father. Who would ever have believed that a prince would lay a trap for him, when all his strength had been directed to the defence of the royal rights belonging to princes! Fate decided to end his persecutions once and for all. As our landlord had been acquainted for many years with one Giuseppe Guastaldi, a Piedmontese and an official of the Sardinian King, he frequented that house and was infinitely pleased to learn that my father was living there. And putting into execution his wicked plans, he had himself admitted into my father's room, and, by disguising himself as a man of letters, became friends with my father. Through constant visits he insinuated himself into a perverted friendship, by means of which he put into practice his cunning and invited him to his lodgings. As my father, however, always made excuses, he could not carry out his intentions. He did not therefore dismay, but continued to press him and frequent the house, and finally succeeded.

It was the custom of Catholics who resided in Geneva for business, when time came to fulfil their Easter Dues, to go to the parish churches of Catholic regions. The only exception was the Resident of France,[25] who had the privilege of fulfilling them with his priest, whom he kept for the direction of his conscience. Observing, therefore, Guastaldi's loving kindness, and the frequent demonstrations of it, my father decided to go to see him, also as an act of courtesy in return for his visits. At the same

23 Jacob Vernet: see Chapter Eleven, n.3.

24 Jean-Alphonse Turrettini: see Chapter Ten, n.85.

25 Giovanni thus reveals that his father had not been able to fulfil his Easter Dues in the chapel of the Resident and had been obliged to seek another place of worship, obviously difficult in Protestant Geneva.

time he told him that on this occasion he wanted to make his Easter Dues. 'Of course', said the criminal, 'you could certainly do so to your satisfaction, because not far from my lodgings is the city of Ainsi, where you could be attended by my spiritual father, who is the good parish priest of that cathedral, and my fellow-countryman, a Piedmontese. I ask you, however, on the feast of St Joseph, which will be my name-day, as I bear his name, to grant me the favour of your company and that of your son from morning till lunch, and in the evening there will be a small entertainment, which is the custom of the place, and I want you to take part'. As my father was sincere by nature and guessed nothing about the accursed man, he willingly accepted the invitation. When the feast of St Joseph came, God, however, did not want such wickedness to take place on that day, because heavy rain fell from Heaven and continued the whole day. His plan, therefore, came to nothing for the time, and could not take place on the second day because we had set the date to go there on the Sunday of Passion Week which in that year was fixed on 24 March [1736], the eve also of the most holy Annunciation.

As he had given us for our convenience an oared *felucca*[26] to cross Lake Lemano, taking our places together in the company of our landlord, we left Geneva at about 4.00 p.m. and arrived at sunset in that village of Vesenà where he lived, which was one French league[27] from Geneva. When the vulture came to meet us, he welcomed us with demonstrations of great friendship. He had prepared dinner for us, and when it was over he prepared for us the room of sacrifice: lo, the inevitable moment which man cannot escape. He led us to sleep, and second by second plotted our capture.

It was night and all took their rest. Around midnight he came with armed men, and after forcing the door of the bedroom which collapsed, he suddenly appeared near the bed, and the men whom he had brought with him encircled it. And when we awoke from deep sleep to such an unforeseen calamity and tried to find help, believing them to be murderers, we beheld the dear friend who a few hours before had shown such loving kindness and courtesy suddenly changed into a Judas, he who betrayed our Saviour. And my father's attempt to reason

26 A *felucca*: a small boat of which the prow and stern were of the same shape. It had low sides and generally only one mast.

27 A French league measured four kilometres.

with the scoundrel was completely useless. The evil man carries out his plan, boasts of heroic action, reveals the orders of the Sardinian King, and zealously implementing them, sets off to arrange for the carriage to transport his prey. Day came, and as Our Lord was welcomed with palms, after which they crucified him, that one, having provided soldiers on horseback, ingratiatingly had us mount into the calash, and he went ahead on horseback in triumph shouting: 'A great man, a great man!' The people of the places through which we passed then asked in wonder what he meant by that 'great man' who was being taken along, thus captured. They said: 'If he has merit, why is he being taken in that manner?' He, however, said no more than that. And, in fact, the original not being enough, he carried in his hand my father's image in the form of the portrait, in order that those who could not see him in person could see a picture of him. And thus eagerly and merrily he took us to Chambery, capital of the duchy of Savoy, where he informed the governor, Count Picon, that the order had been executed, so that he might send a courier to Turin in expectation that the court would inform him of what was to be done. Then came the reply and a positive order that both father and son were to be taken to the castle of Miolans, twelve Italian miles from Chambery. We were to be kept there until new orders came from the Court (by means of which the Holy Office had carried out our arrest. Here it is necessary to roar [sic] accusations, but one must remain silent... And this is how virtue is castigated).[28]

We thus left Chambery for the castle of Miolans, with an escort of four soldiers, two for each calash, as they had separated us, and in one went my father and the governor's royal adjutant, brother of the traitor, and I and the traitor in the other carriage. Separated we arrived at Miolans, where the order of the Governor was read in the name of the King of Sardinia, and we were taken into custody by the castellan, Monsieur Chevalier le Blanc, who prepared two rooms for our lodging with provision of four Savoyard lire per day, which in our Neapolitan currency make ten *carlini* and four *grana*, assigned by that King for our maintenance.[29]

28 The passage in brackets is added in the margin: *Giannoniana*, p. 192.

29 The amount given was for the maintenance of a prisoner of high status (*Mémoires et Documents publiés par La Société Savoisienne d'Histoire et d'Archéologie*, vol. 18: *Miolan, Prison d'Etat* (Chambery 1879)).

The castle lies on a very high rock, the air is good and the view encompasses not only the plain of Chambery but also that of the city of Grenoble near the borders of France. There is a garrison of two hundred men, for the most part veterans, and its site is impregnable. The castle used to confine and hold in custody persons of distinction, such as those guilty of high treason or suspected of it. And where we were there were many such persons, and, in particular, those guilty of wanting to put back on the throne the father of the present King, who had already abdicated in favour of his son.[30]

We lived in that castle for eighteen months and occupied ourselves with books; nothing more was permitted to a man enclosed in a cell. And as I had Livy in my hands, I noted down many things and composed from it two discourses divided in two parts. The first concerned 'The Religion of the Romans and their Rites' and the second part 'The Expansion of the Romans into Provinces and Kingdoms throughout the then known world, and their wisdom and policy in knowing how to govern.' And to make it a work which could be read if ever it were published, my father polished it.[31] As I knew or understood something of the French language, I translated some pamphlets into Italian, and they were: 'The story of the Devil with Luther on the private masses and the unctions of the Priests with reflections by our Catholic doctors'; a small 'Treatise on the deception of a Calvinist minister who asserted that the Religion of the Greek Church resembled that of Calvin'; and finally a quarter of the *History of Sr Martha*. All those manuscripts remained in the said castle together with the *Vita* of my father,[32] which he wrote there.

Everyone will believe, as one should, that, as we were left in that castle, we were to expect that the clemency of the King would set us free, since an inquest must be held before a man is condemned, and the reason for which he is condemned must be proved by such proceedings. In our case, however, there does not appear to be any reason whatsoever,

30 Victor Amadeus II: above, Chapter Eight, n.72.

31 *Discorsi sopra gli Annali di Tito Livio scritti da Pietro Giannone Giurisconsulto e Avvocato napoletano nel Castello di Ceva*, 1739. This is a strangely erroneous claim by Giovanni, but perhaps explained by the fact that he had spent much time copying this text. The authorship has been firmly attributed to G., not least for its erudition and style. See above, Chapter Twelve.

32 For the story of the survival of the manuscript of the *Vita,* see 'The Fate of the *Vita*' (below).

except that it was requested by the Holy Office of Turin. And why? Because we had lived in Geneva among heretics? I do not wish to argue with priests and tell them the reason, which would be the same as beating one's head against the wall. I can only admire the goodness of princes who permit subjects to be condemned by those who do not have that power! This I concede, but neither my father nor I are his subjects. The law of nations, the *ius gentium*, is something considered sacrosanct and observed by both Catholics and barbarians, and yet in our case was it not crushed? Let one cast an eye over the Abjuration of my father, and consider it a little. Observe these words: 'I remember that on my next visit I told him that he was not to think any more about leaving prison or of changing his situation, and whatever might have been the outcome of my intervention it would have been, if good, useful to him only for the soul and nothing else, as it then was truly so, and I could see that he was convinced of it'.[33] Here, therefore, is the sword in the hands of one who was to direct souls, who begins by saying that one must not think any more about leaving prison. The prince and his magistrates must see to that. *O misera hominum mente* [sic], *o pectora caeca* (O miserable minds of men, O blind hearts)![34] And therefore he had to end his days in the Citadel of Turin!

As we were living thus in this state of affairs, a new storm was gathering. On 7 September 1737, when after lunch I was talking about various things with my father, we heard our custodian enter our rooms, which was unusual, and he turned to my father and said: 'The Castellan wishes to speak to you.' And I replied: 'And does he wish to speak also to me?' 'No', he replied. 'He asked only for your father.' My father then put on his clothes and *pilucca*[35] and went to the Castellan's apartment. I was left alone, and this was his departure, and I did not see him again. After a little while, the custodian returned and took a few things for my father's use, and when asked by me if there were something new, he made no reply and went out of the rooms and locked the door in my face. I was at that time a little more than twenty, and failed, nevertheless, to restrain my tears, but I believe that such would have been the case not only at

33 The words of Fr Prever, perhaps in self-justification, were written after the Abjuration. See Chapter Twelve.

34 Lucretius 2.14: 'o miseras hominum mentes, o pectora caeca'.

35 *Pilucca*, perhaps a cloak. This word is not in Battaglia's dictionary.

that age but even older. 'Unfortunate me', I told myself, 'what will be my end!' The separation cost me many tears, and with reason, because apart from having lost such a father, I did not know where my destiny would end. I ran up and down, made an uproar, shouted and wept, but to what purpose? In the end, I was overcome by continuous weeping and exhausted to the point of fainting with fatigue. In this tormented anguish I heard the door reopen and saw the Castellan before me, who added affliction to affliction, and after he had distressed me even more, as I could not extract anything from him, he left me to what was to come.

Eight days passed in tears and sighs; I was left alone and held in those two rooms. And for me there was no pity: die, said my destiny. In this painful melancholy and from the depths of sleep I heard the door of one of the two rooms open. It was after midnight, and not knowing who it was, 'Ah', I cried, 'now comes also my torture'. And thus bewildered and trembling, I looked through the light and saw my custodian and behind him the Castellan, who, in the name of the Sardinian King, gave me orders for my release and that I was immediately to quit his states. And I replied, but I have no money, and he answered: 'The King my Lord has thought also of this', and he counted out to me some twenty gold doubloons and some silver, the amount of which I do not remember.[36] In this state of anxiety I dressed and when preparing my small luggage I was saved the trouble, since it was not to be taken, because they did not have any conveyance or carriage or even mount for my use.[37] Having taken, therefore, what is required to dress a man, escorted by a sergeant of the garrison, I traversed many miles on foot. When we had gone six or seven miles, we came to an inn which provided rest and food. Here the sergeant bid me a last farewell and returned to his destiny.

After the long and exhausting walk, alone and abandoned, I gave myself up to the worries which were going round in my mind. Recommending myself to God, I slowly began to walk on. If I could have been in an instant in Italy, I would have considered myself happy, but wretched me, I had gone barely a hundred paces when I felt myself fainting and I sank down on the grass. And thus weary and afflicted, I was considering how to go on my way when I saw in the distance two

36 Cancelled in the text: *Giannoniana*, p. 193.This money from the royal treasury is thought to have been sent by Vernet in payment for manuscripts.

37 Giovanni thus could not have taken with him the text of his father's *Vita*.

small donkeys driven by two women coming towards me, and when I saw that the donkeys were riderless I asked in a polite way that if they were theirs, I might ride one of the animals. They courteously answered yes, and availing myself of this good opportunity I was driven by those two kind women, who took me to a region where I was to stop. And when they had shown me to the place to stay, I stopped there and after giving them a Savoyard *lira*, thanked them for their courtesy.

On arriving at the lodgings, I immediately made arrangements for a new mount for the next morning. And when informed of this, they objected to my having one because of a regiment of soldiers of the Sardinian King which was travelling to Piedmont. With much politeness, however, I overcame all obstacles, and for the payment of two *zecchini* I had a good horse. I worked out a plan for how to pass without being stopped; that if ever I were arrested by them, I would pretend to be a local, a citizen of Moriena and was returning there. There was no need, however, for this, because they let me pass freely without the least difficulty, and fortunately I thus arrived at the city of San Giovanni di Moriena.[38] Continuing my way, I then arrived at the sloping terrain of Mosinico,[39] and the next day at Turin.

On arriving in Turin, I decided to go to Milan to learn, if possible, some news of my father from Princess Trivulzio.[40] And in fact my plan succeeded, because when I arrived and went to her house, she gave me precise news of him, that he had been moved from Miolans to the Citadel of Turin. I stayed for three days in Milan and then decided to go to Genoa to sail to Naples. On arrival in Genoa, I stayed ten days in that city arranging for my embarkation and seeing what was most notable in the city. After booking my passage to Naples, I embarked in a Genoan vessel which was carrying recruits for the King of Naples and other passengers.

We left around 10 October with a fresh breeze which lasted, however, only a short while, and it was necessary to put in at Spezia for our safety, and the contrary wind detained us for eight days. When the favourable wind returned and the contrary wind dropped, we set sail for Port Ercole in Presidi di Toscana to disembark part of the recruits whom we

38 Moriena: St Jean de Maurienne.
39 Mosinico: Savoy.
40 Princess Trivulzio: above, Chapter Ten, n.53..

were carrying. After berthing and disembarking the required number of recruits, we resumed our journey direct to Naples. We had scarcely left Port Ercole when we were assailed by a fierce storm which forced us to make a reckoning with God and recommend to him our souls. By prayer, therefore, and experience in the art of maintaining equilibrium, and the great vigilance of the people on the vessel, we survived imminent shipwreck on the Roman coast, and came in sight of the fort of Gaeta. With unceasingly brave efforts and help, we finally came into port. Here on disembarking we went in procession to thank God for our salvation to the church named the Most Holy Triad, and also Our Lady, the most holy mother of God, whose aid we had invoked in such danger during the storm. When the sea calmed and the sky was again serene, some made their way by land to Naples, which was sixty miles from Gaeta. Others, more courageous, scorned the past danger and decided to continue the journey by ship as far as Naples. And I did the same.

On arriving in the beautiful Partenope, I decided to go to the home of Signor Francesco Mela,[41] as he was the most sincere and the closest friend of my father. I had found him on every occasion in my need to be my support and bulwark, and in this necessity I hoped to benefit from his advice. I did not, however, find him at home, and when his relatives told me that he was in the country enjoying his holidays at the place called Due Porte, which was, in fact, the country house of my father, I decided to go there. When I arrived and asked for him and he realized that it was I, he came immediately to meet me, and after warmly embracing me, wanted to know about my father and how all his misfortunes had befallen him. He then made me anxious by observing that my uncle would be most unwilling to admit me into his home. And such was the case, because instead of being glad that I was safe and alive, he began to maltreat me. Had it had not been for his consideration and respect for Signor Mela, I would have been driven from his home, as had happened the first time, and would have happened again. He did have consideration and respect, however, for Signor Mela, who had a serious talk with him and made him aware of his obligations. Since, after so much clamour, my uncle had been pacified, I regained my strength after the terrible voyage by several days on holiday, because of Signor Mela's

41 Francesco Mela: above, Chapter Four, n.52.

efforts to make me content and satisfied. And he had me place my bed in his room where he slept. He then said: 'Ah, my boy, while you are in my sight all will be well, but I am doubtful about when we return to Naples and you go to your uncle's home to live with him. Knowing his ill will towards you, I fear that something bad will happen to you. Let this be a warning, so that you know how to profit from my advice and be on your guard'.

The sentiments of that most courteous man were not unfounded, and all that he said came true. On returning to Naples and taking up residence in my uncle's house, he tried with all his might to be rid of me. To dupe me, he brought to my attention great men who had made their fortune as simple soldiers, and as he knew that by my nature I was suited to that, suggested that I should not neglect such a good opportunity. Since therefore he was acquainted with Cavaliere Ignazio Marulli, nephew of the old general,[42] his very close friend, he hoped that, by my going to serve in Hungary in his regiment, promotion and advancement would be at hand, and so much more so because at that time the war against Turkey was raging.[43] In order not to hear his constant ravings, and aware that my long stay in his house would some day make him erupt and turn on me, as he had made me feel most uneasy–his state of mind fomented also by his two servants—finally under so much pressure I yielded to his perverse wishes, and told him I would follow his advice. I, nevertheless, did not fail to speak about it to Signor Mela (notwithstanding that he had forbidden me to do so). 'Ah!' he cried, 'I had already warned you. He has worked it all out. With one stone he will have two fig-peckers. He rid himself of your father, now if he disposes of you, he will be left the sole owner of others' property. There is nothing to be done, my boy, but to commend yourself fervently to the Lord that he might help you'.

42 General Francesco Marulli, Neapolitan commander of the fort at Belgrade, had been G.'s friend and had taken with him on his campaigns copies of the *Civil History* and helped introduce it even in Hungary. It had been his custom to spend a few months of each year in Vienna (*Vita*, Chapter 5; Vienna, 17 March 1731: *Epist*., p. 785).

43 The Austro-Ottoman wars extended from 1526 until 1791. In the eighteenth century, there were three phases: 1716-1718: the Austrians take Belgrade; 1737-1739 (here): they lose Belgrade; 1788-1791: they regain Belgrade! The war of 1737-1739 is highly depressing: it was marked by unreliable relations of Austria with her ally Russia, territorial expectations, total instability in minor gains, constant French mediation for peace, and total incompetence in the highest Austrian command. Ivan Parvev, *Habsburgs and Ottomans between Vienna and Belgrade* (*1683-1739*) (New York, 1995).

I therefore plucked up courage and since fate is the guide of the desperate man, I decided to leave, and towards the beginning of April 1738, I set out for Barletta. And when I went to the house of the cavaliere Marulli, mentioned above, he provided me with a letter of commendation to an old general, his uncle, and also to his brother, who was colonel in command of the Marulli regiment. When I was equipped with all of the best which could be obtained, by favour of Signor Don Saverio Fraggianni,[44] who was then lieutenant in charge of the salt works at Barletta, he obtained a comfortable berth for me and, escorted by him, since he wanted himself to take me aboard, I happily set sail. After several days of fair winds, I arrived fortunately without mishap in Venice. On my arrival I remained there for ten days, and on that occasion I saw passing the Queen of the two Sicilies.[45] Pursuing my journey, I went to Trieste. Here, when deciding which route to take to Belgrade, whether that through Vienna or the direct route through Putj[46] Osijek and Petrovaradin, I decided on the latter because, being the shortest route, it was less costly and more convenient. Having thus decided, I went to Liubliana, from Liubliana to Putj, from Putj to Osijek, from Osijek to Petrovaradin and from Petrovaradin to Belgrade. As soon as I arrived there, I presented myself to General Marulli, the governor of Belgrade. I explained my enterprise and the pleasure it would give me to serve in that war as a volunteer against the Turks, in order that the proof of my conduct might be recompensed by some promotion in the army. He then answered as an expert captain, placing before me and revealing all the disasters which could take a soldier's life, and that my having come there was too eccentric and reckless. And he added these words: 'Your uncle perhaps is a little worried about your health and wants to perfect it, or to put it in a better way, to end it with the valour of Mars. For this campaign you are safe, since two battalions of my regiment have again already left under the command of my nephew, who is their colonel, and because you wish to serve in his company, we will think about that on his return. In the meantime, you may begin to serve in one of the companies of my third battalion which is in this

44 Once again, the steadfast support of Nicolo Fraggianni and his brother is evident.
45 The queen of the two Sicilies: Maria Amalia of Saxony (1724-1760), daughter of Augustus III.
46 Putj is on the Drava river in Hungary.

garrison of Belgrade'.

Belgrade lies on a pleasant hill which forms a peninsula, as it is surrounded on two sides by the Danube and Sava which make it impregnable. Having installed myself, therefore, in the citadel of Belgrade, the home of the above-mentioned battalion, I began first of all to be acquainted with our Italians and the Spanish who were there. Among them was the canon La Figuera, who often invited me to dinner at his home. And on such occasions I made friends with various officials of rank, who similarly frequented his home and also boarded with him, among whom were General Botta d'Adorno,[47] General Berenclaw, and Colonel Marquis Coporis of the regiment of Count Wilseck,[48] to whom I introduced myself, so that when the occasion arose they might show some kindness to me for my advancement.

On finding myself idle again in the citadel of Belgrade, I learned that a body of 800 men was marching to the fortress of Rachz under the command of the Prince of Ildeburgausehen[49] (the fortress lay on the banks of the Sava and was blockaded and besieged by a body of Turks). Destined for this detachment were two battalions of Wilseck's regiment, and consequently they were led by Marquis Coporis as the regiment's colonel in command. I asked him to allow me to serve as a volunteer in his company on a similar occasion, saying that I would regard it as a great honour. As he condescended with all pleasure to grant my wish and also obtained permission from my general, Marulli, I hastened my departure for such an opportune case of need. When the unit arrived in the neighbourhood of the fortress of Rachz, and the enemy realized our plan, it immediately decamped from the siege, and not being able to do anything else, devastated and burnt the land around its camp. Prince Ildeburgausehen, therefore, had to do something else in the area surrounding the fortress and await the enemy's movements to know where he could direct his strategy. As he could not discover anything and the season was advancing, and the continual rain was wrecking the field of our quarters, the prince decided to have the soldiers march

47 Antonio Botta d'Adorno (1788-1774): *DBI* 13, pp. 380-384.

48 Berenclaw, Coporis, and Wilseck appear untraceable (not in *IBBNH*), perhaps also because of mis-spelling (understandable!) on the part of Giovanni.

49 Ildeburgausehen: Prince Joseph Friedrich zu Sachsen-Hildeburghausen (1702-1787); *NDB* 10, pp. 624-625.

to their winter quarters. Marquis Coporis, the colonel of Wilseck's battalions, was therefore destined for the garrison at Belgrade. In truth, the colonel did not approve of the choice, because in that city the contagious epidemic brought there by some soldiers from Timisoara had broken out.[50] Those who serve in the army, however, have to obey.

Towards the beginning of December we arrived in Belgrade, and on finding the citadel where I had my quarters infected by the evil Plague, I decided with the permission of my superior to go and live in the home of my great friend the canon.

The uproar of war, but much more so the plague, was wreaking infinite slaughter, but excellent and opportune regulations prevented worse evils as far as was humanly possible. As winter ended and spring approached [1739], arrangements were made for the new campaign. My colonel, Marulli, in whose company, as I have stated, I wanted to do my service as a voluntary soldier, had not returned to Belgrade, but was stationed in quarters for winter with Marulli's two battalions in the neighbourhood of Vienna. I had to wait for him, therefore, in Belgrade for the new company. I had learned in the meantime of the inclusion of the regiments in the body of the great army, and that the two battalions of Marshal Marulli had already arrived and passed Osijek and were encamped there under the command of Prince Waldeck[51] awaiting new orders. I therefore left Belgrade with the escort of some soldiers to convey the baggage of General Botta as far as Osijek and deliver it to General Guadagni,[52] cousin of Botta and commander of Esseck, since Botta had been appointed plenipotentiary minister by the Viennese court to the court of Muscovy. And as the baggage was in Belgrade and I had to leave for there, I was given that order.

When I presented myself at my destination, Colonel Marulli placed me in a company of grenadiers to honour me even more, as I was to do service in that company as a volunteer. The grenadiers are truly the most select troops and in the van in battle. This unit of the army having gathered in the region of Osijek under the command of Prince Waldeck, headed towards Sabac in Slovenia, acting on the information that the Turks would not attack that fort. The Turks imagined, on hearing of

50 Timisoara is in Rumania.
51 Karl August Friedrich, prince of Waldeck, Lieutenant Field-Marshal (1704-1763).
52 General Ascanio (?) Guadagni: not in *DBI* or *IBBNH*.

the approach of our unit, however, that it was to break the siege, and after we had halted for many days around the town, we discovered that the enemy had a different aim. After the order for the unit to be incorporated into the great army gathering in the lines of Belgrade made by the valorous commander-in-chief Prince Eugene,[53] we arrived there at the end of June. When the great corps, therefore, had assembled, and the entire army under the command of Count Wallis[54] was reviewed, it was found to number 60,000 men; that is, 40,000 encamped in the lines of Belgrade under the direction of Field-Marshal Wallis and 20,000 as a unit of reserves under the command of Field-Marshal Count Naymberg[55] beyond the Danube on the Pancevo Plain.[56]

Everything was ready, and martial valour was felt stirring in the veins of every soldier. The order to march was given, and on 20 July at the first glimmer of dawn each soldier was ready to march, and after they had formed two lines, the signal was given to march. In that ordered manner they advanced, and the sun's rays extinguished every film of dew, and when it struck the weapons,[57] they so glittered all around that there seemed to be not one sun but many. When the army arrived at the encampment, it halted and rested breathless from the summer's heat. The next day the scouts informed the commander that the enemy's army was already close and would be first to occupy the plain of Smederevo.[58] On receiving such unexpected news, General Wallis held a council of war, where it was decided to advance and attack the enemy. The announcement ran through the army to prepare to march and be ready on the evening of 21 July, as was done. The army marched in silence without the din of trumpet, tympanum and beating drums. On the morning of 22 July towards dawn, we were at the entrance of the Black Forest. When the previous detachment of twenty companies of grenadiers and fourteen squadrons of cavalry had advanced some paces under the leadership of General Carafa,[59] he began

53 Prince Eugene of Savoy: above, Chapter Five, n.90.
54 Imperial Field-Marshal Count George Olivier, Count of Wallis (1673-1744).
55 Field-Marshal Count Naymberg: untraceable.
56 North of Belgrade. Modern accounts of the forces give the main corps as 30,000 at Peterwardein and the Banat detachment of 26,000 under Field Marshal Count Reinhard Wilhelm von Neipperg: Parvev, p. 229.
57 Here a word has been completely eliminated by ink: *Giannoniana*, p. 201.
58 South of Belgrade.
59 General Carafa: not Antonio (d.1743)

the battle.[60] And while defending himself with all possible bravery from the enemy's dense ambush and marvellously encouraging his men, he was wretchedly killed. Courage did not thereby fail. The entire army advanced with all its strength, and avid for glory, every soldier sought victory. The courage to face the enemy, however, was overwhelmed by the dense woods, because we had to clear the arduous obstruction of the branches rising up and crashing down. The army then formed, as best it could after the exhausting march, a rectangular square in some low hills near a village named Croscyka. As I mentioned, after forming the rectangular square, the two battalions of General Marulli were placed on the left wing of the square under the command of Prince Charles of Lorraine.[61] The assaults on...[62] both sides showed extreme bravery, but we were worsted because of our bad position.

Among the dead and wounded of Marulli's two battalions, after forming into line, were the captain of the grenadiers, Elefante di Barletta, with a musket-shot in the head, a lieutenant in the infantry, and a standard-bearer. There were 116 wounded, although I refer only to those of Marulli and omit the other officers. The dead of the army were: General Carafa, General Lesner, General Reyndelfeld, Colonel Prince Waldeck of the Maxesen regiment, Colonel Marquis Litta of the Tolon regiment;[63] those wounded were Generalissimo Count Wallis, Prince Charles of Lorraine, Lieutenant-Marshal Prince Waldeck, Lieutenant-Marshal Jun Rawn, General Bemes, and others.[64] Among the colonels were Count Marulli, Marquis Villanova of the Modena regiment, Colonel Marquis Coporis of the Wilseck regiment and others whom I omit. The action lasted some twelve hours. I could not know the rest, because I had to abandon the battlefield with a wound from a ball, which, although not mortal, forced me to withdraw.

The loss for us was irreparable,[65] the retreat was dreadful, and the

60 The battle of Grocka (22 July 1739). The Austrians expected to meet small Ottoman detachments, but instead ran into the main force.

61 Charles Alexander of Lorraine (1712-1780), son of Duke Charles Leopold, who entered the imperial service in 1737.

62 Some missing word, perhaps already erased from the text: *Giannoniana*, p. 201.

63 General Lesner, General Reyndelfeld, and Colonel Marquis Litte are untraceable.

64 Lieutenant-Marshal Jun Rawn (Leopold von Daun [?]) and General Bemes: untraceable.

65 Estimated variously between 2,000 and 15,000, and so generally given about 6,000: Parven, p. 231.

enemy remained master of the field. The rest of the army retreated to the borders of Belgrade, and then, to restore and rest the exhausted army, recrossed the Danube. The Turks seeing the borders abandoned, seized them and began to mount the siege of Belgrade. In this siege there numbered as many as 100,000 Turks, who had the advice and counsel of Bonneval.[66] With the Grand Vizir[67] was the ambassador of France[68] and his wife, who remained to the end, when they decamped from the fort. The surrender of the fort had infinite consequences, in spite of all the expedients which had been necessary to resist the siege and delay the fall, but finally it was necessary to yield to fate.

Belgrade was the bulwark and the key to the two Hungarys. The capture of Belgrade had to precede any undertaking planned by the Turks, and then arrangements were to be made for what remained. At this time the Turks had gained control of the fortresses and armed forts of Timisoara, Vaccia, Sabac, Petrovaradin, Osijek, and Buda, one not preventing the other from mounting a siege.

When Belgrade surrendered, therefore, on the universally known terms,[69] I was staying in Petrovaradin with my Colonel Marulli, since we were wounded and being carefully healed in the fort. Orders then came that we were to make ready for winter quarters, which meant that the two battalions were to go to Upper Hungary near the capital of Debrecen. The two battalions left Belgrade and arrived in Petrovaradin, and marched from there for Upper Hungary. Here, on reaching Szeged, the whole army was divided, because the two marshals Wallis and Naymberg had been summoned away and had left its command to Prince Ildeburgausehen. And the two battalions continued on to the destination of their quarters in the seven cities of Hayducali, which are in the compass of the capital city of Debrecen. The march terminated at the end of November 1739. The major corps and the two companies of grenadiers were lodged in Zoboszlo, a large region six miles from the city of Debrecen. And as I stayed there for almost a year and was overwhelmed with boredom, I decided to write an essay entitled:

66 Claude Alexandre Bonneval (1673-1747).

67 Ayvaz Mehmed Pasha, appointed (1739) the Ottoman commander; there had been many changes recently in this office.

68 Marquis Louis Sauveur de Villeneuve (d.1745), who had been acting as peace-maker throughout the war.

69 The Treaty of Belgrade, 18 September, 1739.

'Esercizi militari di un regimento diviso in battaglioni, managgio d'armi e sue evoluzioni' (Military Exercises of a Regiment Divided into Battalions, Weapons Drill and Movements), which I keep in my possession.

When the war ended and a truce was made, as was customary, between the German and Turkish emperors, Charles VI died.[70] He was a most fortunate prince according to the first auspices, rendered almost master of a monarchy which Spain declared itself, and of an empire in the West which is Germany. Human vicissitudes, however, are common to all, and even the most sublime personages are pawns in that game. That Emperor, therefore, who will have been considered glorious over the course of many years, was unfortunate in the last years of his reign, and at his final collapse was engulfed by death, and his Empire made the theatre of a clamorous war.[71]

Maria Theresia Walpurga, Archduchess of Austria, daughter of Emperor Charles VI, Queen of Hungary and Bohemia, declared herself his heir. Her orders extended throughout her states and the military class. As advice arrived, therefore, that the two battalions with the major army quartered in the seven cities of Haiducali were to go for training at Timisoara in Banat, we left the said quarters, and at the beginning of December 1740 arrived in Timisoara and were lodged in the barracks of that fort.

By now three years had passed since, with fine fervor, I had exercized the profession of a soldier. You have observed the long voyage from Naples to Belgrade, the campaigns on which I went to war, how I was wounded, my zeal in military operations and all that is required in that art. Added to that, indeed, were all my expenses. In spite of everything recounted here, it has been useless. And why? Where are the advances and promotions? Where is the merit and the justice? With the Germans. the generals are the leaders and commanders of the regiments, and the appointments of officers depend on their wish. They are, therefore, arbiters who are able to sell or grant commissions as pledges, and dispose of them at their pleasure, and few obtain the appointments

70 On 20 October, 1740.

71 At his death, the labour of his lifetime, the Pragmatic Sanction (1713), whereby the great powers agreed to the succession of his daughter, was disregarded, resulting in the War of the Austrian Succession (1740-1748).

through their own merit. Since this is, in fact, the case, on enlisting to serve as a volunteer, one initially has the idea of disposing the general under whom one serves to show one favour in promotion, otherwise any advantage of zeal and good conduct would be totally lost when embarking on a career with the aim of advancement.

This happened to me. Notwithstanding the good recommendations in my favour, nothing served to overcome the repulsive nature of my general. And what is more, to prove himself a good fellow, he had his guardian angels, who manipulated him for whatever they wanted. And, moreover, when I was in winter quarters at Zoboszlo, my dear colonel wrote to me that my father had passed to a better life in the citadel of Turin, which gave the final impetus to my wish to leave and recover my father's property, which was in the possession of my uncle.[72]

The Emperor's death had delayed supplies and they were announced in the next spring of 1741. And when I was expecting them for certain, they were many miles away, which made me take the final decision to leave and abandon the whole operation. I requested permission from the colonel in command of the regiment, who was completely reluctant to give it to me. I was, however, obstinate in my decision, and wanted, if it had been possible, to leave without permission, so much so that I thought necessary only the passport of the commander of that fort of Timisoara, who was at the time Count Zucaw, who refused to give it to me without my first having obtained the permission of the regiment. I was obliged, therefore, to press the colonel to give it to me, and finally obtained it. And to mollify my exasperation, they gave me the rank of lieutenant. And to publicize the justice of my position I shall register here the fact that I served well, which will establish my rights.[73]

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72 Added in the margin: *Giannoniana*, p. 203.

73 The statement is as follows:

Of his Royal Hungarian and Bohemian Majesty, courtier, war counsellor and general of artillery, Count di Marulli of the Sacred Order of Jerusalem, commander and legionary tribune of the famous old Neapolitan Legion of Infantry.

I, Filippo Count di Marulli, send this to all and any individuals and make known to those present and attest that the presenter, Giovanni Giannone, from the city of Bitunta near Naples, noble patrician, in this above-mentioned Marullian legion, in which he served as lieutenant for forty-four months. During this time on all occasions, and especially in these last Turkish wars and in whatever place, he faithfully and honestly and with all promptness and skill so acted that I received every pleasure thereby and would willingly have kept him longer. He, however, for the purpose of seeking his fortune elsewhere, requested from me his discharge,

The original of this copy is kept by the notary Michele Jacoviello of Naples in the volume of legal writings. It is in the Curia attached to Seggio di Nido, where the master of the Acts of the Notaries resides.

After receiving this document of my good service, I prepared to leave, which I did on 4 April 1741, whence I arrived at Pest, the city next to Buda, divided only by the Danube. I was obliged to stop here for the fourteen days fixed by the tribunal of the Committee of Health for the quarantine imposed on all persons coming from Hungary. When it was over, I went to Vienna towards the end of April. I presented myself at the feet of the Queen of Hungary, as I wanted to be a spectator that morning at the ceremony of the leave-taking of the Turkish ambassador, his task having ended with the conclusion of the truce with the empire of Turkey. This I was able to do to my great gratification.

I stayed in Vienna for ten days and obtained a passport from the pontifical nuncio, which I still have, and took the road to Trieste, where I arrived without incident. I had to stop there for a few days to wait for the ship, which was not ready to leave. When it was finally loaded and prepared for departure, it set sail for the region of Manfredonia. After arriving safely with a fair wind, my request for permission to enter was refused, and when I asked the reason, the reply came from the Deputation that all those coming from Austrian regions had to stay in quarantine for fourteen days, after which I would have permission to enter. It was necessary, therefore, to be patient and stay fourteen days on the vessel. When they were over and I had obtained the permission from the Deputation of Health, I decided to go to the famous Sanctuary of St Michael the Archangel, and having said the appropriate prayers and gone to confession and communion in that holy place, I returned to Manfredonia, whence I went to Naples after finding a comfortable calash.

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and becomingly and humbly sought it. I could not therefore, on account of his services, deny it to him.

I therefore respectfully ask all officials of whatever rank, ecclesiastical, military or civil, to allow the above-mentioned lieutenant Giovanni Giannone-Alitto not only to come and go freely and without hindrance in every place, but also truly to deign to grant him every pleasing wish and assistance; this I shall on the same and other occasions repay handsomely. For the greater validity of this, I wish the present instrument to be signed by my own hand and furnished with the customary seal. Given at Timisoara, 2 April 1741. Count di Marulli. (sealed).

It is to be noted that Giovanni claims exalted social rank.

In going to Naples I believed that I had my own home and could dispose at will of the farms and income of my estate, and I had not envisaged having to find a livelihood. I was certain that, when my uncle knew of my return to Naples, he would have fallen into the most furious rage and no longer wanted any friendship with me. Alas, that is how it was. When I went to his house, he no longer behaved as a man, but hurled himself at me like a tiger. My desperation was such that I went elsewhere to find lodgings, flattering myself, however, that having served in the war and become an expert soldier, I could find employment with my Prince (this seemed all the more possible, because when the prince of Strongoli, Ferdinando Pignatelli, lieutenant-general of cavalry to the German army, presented me to the king Charles III and also to the secretary of State Montealegre, they welcomed me with much pleasure, and when I asked for employment, initially appeared favourable. Later, however, with subtle duplicity they resorted to expedients as follows.[74] My hopes, nevertheless, were in vain, because when I went to Monteallegre, then first minister of state, and explained to him my mission, he replied that the king did not intend to give employment to those who had served the Queen of Hungary, as though I were a subject of the hers and by consequence was claiming as a foreigner the employment of others, which the Prince had to distribute to his vassals. I believed my request to be reasonable, because as I was of the kingdom of Naples, I had to look to my Prince for a livelihood, and there was in fact more reason to enlist in his troops a soldier already experienced in the military arts and deserving of respect. Quite the reverse happened to me.

While patiently enduring my misfortunes, I decided to make use of justice, and in that way set about having my uncle forced to provide for me from the property of my father, since he had been rendered owner of it. I applied with a petition to the Sacro Real Consiglio, and as its president at that time was Vincenzo d'Ippolito, one of the friends of my father, I thought it beneficial to give the petition to the royal councillor Onofrio Scassa, whose more intimate knowledge of the affair might swiftly attend to my just claim. I was deceived, however, because as he was a friend of my uncle, the said Scassa made no provision whatsoever for my request. I was left crushed, not knowing what to do about what I had requested.

74 The passage enclosed in brackets was added in the margin: *Giannoniana*, p. 205.

Despite this situation, I found myself in a very serious predicament. I was spurred on by a friend, who was also a friend of my uncle, to go and see him at home and try to effect a reconciliation, advice truly futile which I should not have followed, as I knew better than anyone else the brutal nature of my uncle, and that it would not only have been of no benefit, but also damaging. And in fact such was the case. My having condescended to meet my uncle resulted in a tragedy which ended in calamity for me, because he accused me of [attempted] murder. I was imprisoned, and on grounds of clemency almost exiled. Thanks to the integrity and justice of the president of the Ruota, Nicolo Fraggianni,[75] I was released.

Fate then wanted to make some reparation for my destiny. The councillor Onofrio Scassa had been appointed advisor of the Monarchy of Sicily, and to his vacant place succeeded the royal councillor Giuseppe Borgia,[76] who, in spite of the many obstacles raised by my uncle, finally caused the hand of the Lord to shake the hard steel, and a writ of sequestration was obtained on a country house and garden at Due Porte, and also on its fruits. This seizure was a thunderbolt which shattered my uncle, and he immediately gave his word to the royal councillor Borgia to make an amicable settlement, which, when accepted by me, established that my uncle was to give me a monthly subsidy, until other provision was made by the Sacro Real Consiglio. In this way the matter was settled.

My having served in a war gave me some incentive to continue to live in that manner, so much more so because the lightning of war was still crackling in Italy with the invasion of Prince Philip [1745][77] Among the regiments which he formed was one for which he appointed as colonel a certain Pietro Moroni, which was called the Hussar's Regiment. I decided in the beginning to try to enlist as a volunteer, and if I had succeeded in having a company in it, I would have been well content. My

75 The noble loyalty of G.'s old friend Nicolo Fraggianni is again encountered, in bitter contrast to the lack of support by Vincenzo d'Ippolito and Onofrio Scassa, two of G.'s oldest and previously faithful friends. Fraggianni had prevented the Curia's attacks on the publication of G.'s Abjuration with two courageous interventions to Charles III of Naples (see Chapter Eleven: Appendix [40]). As mentioned, he had equipped Giovanni for his safe and pleasant travel to Belgrade.

76 Giuseppe Borgia.

77 Philip Bourbon (1720-1764). His army was joined to that of General Montemar.

hopes succeeded at first, but then the plan came to nothing, the reason for which was that the colonel who, from being a leader of armed men, became a ravisher of nuns enclosed in chaste cells. The regiment had hardly formed and become two companies than it disappeared like mist in wind. The duke of Montemar,[78] who at that time was the commander in Italy, observed the colonel's evil aptitude, and to expunge all memory of such a regiment, incorporated the two companies already formed into the cavalry regiments, and did not even replace the officers who became officers with their own money in other regiments.

Regret too late is useless. I personally must assert this. Some are led to make blunders in their conduct, and instead of ruin make their fortune, and I could give a thousand examples. Everyone knows that, without my going into detail. In my case, however, fate wished to remain constant, in order that regret on my part was irrelevant.

I went on living, therefore, in that way, and to give some semblance of not being idle, and because of a great friendship with a Spanish officer who was serving in that navy, I decided to enlist as a volunteer in the same company which manned the vessel of St Philip. of which he was captain, and for no other reason than that it could with time, depending on circumstances, turn to my advantage.

On finding myself thus placed and pressing on with my profession, I decided to try another path, that of having a letter reach my father, as I had learnt that the rumour spread in Vienna of his death in the Citadel of Turin was false. I then in effect included the letter in another addressed to the marquis d'Ormea. Because of my arrest, he must have known about me, as he held the post of prime minister to the Sardinian King at that time, and on his orders I had been freed. When the letter came into his hands he immediately sent it to my father, and addressed the reply to the envoy of the same king in residence in Naples.[79] The envoy, with utmost diligence, ensured that I received it, and charged the person who was to bring it to me, moreover, to go to see him in order to arrange to keep open that channel of correspondence with my father. And I willingly and with delight embraced that opportunity.

The reply of my father expressed the same pleasure as my proposal,

78 The duke of Montemar, Jose Carrillo de Albornoz (1671-1747), generalissimo of the Spanish army.

79 '[His] name was Count di Monestarda': added in the margin: *Giannoniana,* p. 207.

and to quote his words: 'No less consolation than yours has been mine to receive after three months your precious letter written on 31 August, which arrived only this week'. He then added how delighted he was with our correspondence, and wrote: 'And in order that in the future there not be such a delay and difficulty in receiving your letters, you might enclose them, without, however, sealing them, in a sealed envelope on which you write: To the most Illustrious and Right Hon. Patron Count Giovanni Battista Caramelli, Adjutant-Major of the Citadel of Turin. 24 November, 1745'.

To have such a path open to my father was necessary if some recommendation on my behalf were required with my general. And in truth it was timely, because I had been advised by my friends to request some royal post. This advice was not unwelcome, and I had recourse to my general. He had been already warmly requested by my father, and told me to present a petition to the King. This in effect I did, and on giving it to Marquis Tanucci, he willingly carried out all that I wished, and in fact gave pressing orders to the Royal Cabinet (Camera Reale) that I be accordingly placed on the short list. And I was stationed first of all in the city of Cisternino. And my general had the goodness to speak not only to the president of the Council, but also to all four presidents of the Camera Reale, and warmly to Marquis Tanucci, that in view of the short list, I be sent the letter of advice.

After I had been informed by my friend,[80] therefore, that I had obtained the post, I went to the secretariat on the Tuesday morning, the day of the audience, at the beginning of December 1749, the Court being still at Portici. I spoke to the Marquis' page-boy, who showed me the said letter, but because the signature was lacking on all the letters of advice of other posts, he could not give it to me. For that reason the page repeated: 'You might come tomorrow to St Jorio,[81] or also wait until Saturday for another day of audiences, when we shall again be in Naples and you might attend to the matter'. With that understood I went on the day arranged, and instead of the letter, found something different. I waited for the hour of the audience, and after informing the Marquis of the necessary details, he

80 One may only speculate on the identity of the 'friend', perhaps again Marchese Nicolo Fraggianni, one of the most important and distinguished officials in the government.

81 Santo Jorio, where the count was in residence.

replied in these terms: 'Signor Giannone, I had conceived good hopes for you, but they have all been in vain' (Who would believe it? The favour had been granted to D. Giovanni Giannone and printed, as one can observe, in the provisions for 15 December 1749, and made public; in it, D. Giovanni Giannone was appointed to Asternino).[82]

This brief conversation spurred me on to investigate the reason for what had happened. I went to my general at Portici and told him everything. He noted in his own hand the circumstances, and made a full report to the King through the secretariat of war and the navy, revealing the reason on which my claim for the said royal post was based. Everything, however, was in vain. According to common report in the city the reason could be traced to the Jesuits. A certain Jesuit named Father Pepe had performed this act of charity. He had gone personally to the King's confessor and informed him that His Majesty should think hard about having given me the post, something not proper for me, as I was the son of Pietro Giannone, so hated in the city of Naples. It was enough to impress the mind of His Majesty to have my letter [of confirmation] suspended. Who would believe this? I certainly had my doubts about it.

I decided to try other channels to ascertain the truth of it, and presented myself in person to the papal nuncio to discover from him if he had been charged with this matter. After his confirming that it were so, he kept me for more than an hour, going through with me how I was to behave in order to overcome this impediment: that I was often to go to confession and always appear in church; and that I was to present a full petition to His Holiness in order that, once he was informed about my life and habits, he could have His Majesty informed, and then have the government confirm me in my post.

I thanked Monsignor Nuncio for such charity and carried out his dictates: I wrote the petition and sent it to Cardinal Valenti,[83] secretary of state of His Holiness,[84] asking him for due justice to my petition. After waiting for a long time, I received such a reply: 'His Holiness was pleased to read my petition and at the time could not give me complete justice as he was occupied in matters relating to the Republic of Venice'.

82 The passage in brackets was added in the margin: *Giannoniana*, p. 208.
83 Cardinal Valenti Gonzaga, secretary of state 1740-1756.
84 Benedict XIV (1740-1758), Prosper Lambertini.

Everyone will think this story hyperbole and extraordinary. Unable to do anything, not knowing where else to turn, I relegated the matter to silence. O omnipotent God, I want to cry out, how is it possible that our religion teaches charity and forgiveness of one's enemy? They, on the contrary, not only do not wish to forgive the guilty party but also inveigh against his son who is innocent. They assign him the symbol of the sin of Adam left as a legacy to the human species.

At length, after my father's long imprisonment, no less than twelve years, he ended his life in the Citadel of Turin on 17 March in the year of Our Lord 1748. When I learnt of his death, and by means of the duke of Cannalunga Falletti, a Torinese, had investigated whether my father had made a will, and it was confirmed by the duke that he had been completely excluded from doing so, because as he wrote: 'During the twelve years that Monsieur your Father was in this Country, he never worked: this was absolutely forbidden him'. From this I understood that, subject to such a restriction, he could not have made a will. I determined to expedite the preamble *ab intestato* [by the person without a will] before my uncle had realized, and having the property in his possession, could adopt more appropriate expedients. I filed a petition in the Gran Corte della Vicaria Civile in which I explained how, because Pietro Giannone, my father, had died intestate in the Citadel of Turin, the court was to send me the preamble [preliminary document] for my claim. I obtained the preamble, but since my uncle had been informed by the royal judge Rocco, to whom the preamble had been submitted, he had recourse to the royal councillor Borgia with a petition to prohibit the Vicaria's consigning to me proof of the said preamble.

On 16 October 1748 Councillor Borgia ordained a different decree 'quod M(agna) C(ivilis) V(icaria), consignet fidem sive copiam retroscripti preambuli verum pro immissione partes adeant S(acrum) R(egium) C(onsilium) et interim cum effectu nihil innovetur circa possessionem' (That the Great Civil Vicariate Consign the *fides* or Copy of the Retrospective Preamble, and Truly the Royal Council Should Be Present for the Admission of the Parties. And in the Meantime Nothing Should Be Changed Concerning Possession).

I had been sent the preamble, but there was no certainty about taking possession of the paternal property, since first one had to dislodge the possessor, who was my uncle, who would not so willingly surrender

the fort without rivers of blood, and he would do it as a valiant soldier.

First of all, he contested my civil state by asserting that I was not the son of Pietro Giannone, either natural or legitimate. That cunning deceit lasted the space of four years with his attacking me in every tribunal and forum, the Sacro Consilio, Vicaria Civile, Vicaria Criminale, the archbishop's Curia and that of the Delegate of Royal Jurisdiction, as can all be examined in the cases compiled in the Sacro Real Consiglio by the Keeper of the Records, Pietro Basile Auriemma. And everyone will easily recognize the all too clear and manifest slander.

Having gained virtually nothing, I salvaged a little esteem more than property. After the many expenses of drafting the many acts, the labour of procurators and lawyers, little or nothing to speak of remained of the property, which was reduced to a single country house and a small garden, and being a house in the country, the rent is very small.

When the litigation was over and my troubled mind was somewhat rested, I struggled on as best I could. In 1755, on 14 February, my uncle had an apoplectic fit and died, and with him ended all trace of dissention.

To continue serving in the navy was useless, as I could not gain any promotion. I was considering, therefore, either to leave or to direct my aspirations elsewhere. In that state of mind, one morning I received a letter from Lieutenant-Colonel Pasquale Giovino, which ran: 'At home. Friend, I shall be home in person to wish my ladies all the best on the occasion of the Holy Feast-days. Yesterday evening at the home of Marquis Fraggianni, Lieutenant-Marshal Marulli, who lives on Monte Oliveto, told me that he had to speak to you, and that he wanted to see you. Your Lordship therefore may go to the said place to see him. Stay well. I kiss devotedly your hand, your very devoted Giovino'.

After reading this letter, I did not fail to go there immediately, as it was a great consolation to see again one of my great friends and find him already with the rank of lieutenant-marshal. I hoped that, having such a rank, he would not fail to give me a company, as he had the authority to do so, and knew of my merit from my having served in the last Hungarian wars against the Turks. He was very pleased to see me, and embraced me and said: 'Now would be the time to promote you, as I find myself in a position to do what at that time I could not'. I thanked him for having kept alive his memory of me, and for his good intention to promote my interests, and I added that because he had expressed

such kind sentiments in my youth, I would not let slip such a good opportunity. Assured by his words, I was settling my affairs, that is, my interests, and I was so much more sure that my wish favoured my plan, because a month later my uncle died. I decided, therefore, if I could, to sell my country house to provide a suitable support for my mother and sister,[85] or if it could not be sold, to rent it and through official channels have the money sent to me in Germany.

I made this agreement with the said lieutenant-marshal, who, a few days later left Naples and went to his native Barletta. He stayed there for the whole of spring and also the summer to complete a certain cure in the mineral baths. Towards the beginning of autumn he embarked either for Trieste or Fiume, as the many letters written to me in his own hand will bear witness. And in order not to describe them one after the other in this volume, I shall content myself with transcribing his latest letter, which went as follows:

> Most illustrious Sir and most gracious Patron. With my usual pleasure I received your very kind letter of the 20th of this month, in which I hear of your good health, which I trust with all my heart will continue, as I am always anxious to hear that you are in excellent form. For myself I truly cannot give you excellent news, since for some days I have had small pains in the intestine, to prevent which next Monday I shall have a purge. Because of the many letters in the last courier, I could not write to you, hence in this I can give you the news that at the beginning of next month, with a favourable embarkation, I shall go to Trieste and from there to Vienna, but will stay for some time in Stiria[86] with a friend of mine, hence I shall not fail to let you know where to address your letters. I have written to His Excellency Marquis Tanucci to obtain a new passport, since the one which I received in Naples was signed by His Excellency Marquis Fogliani,[87] which I hope to receive with the next courier. I thank you for the current news from the capital, and for the report of the two ambassadors of Malta, and of the Monsignor Nuncio to His Majesty our Sovereign. May God preserve him! As I must finish now, with distinct

85 This may indicate that Giovanni had brought his mother and sister out of the convent. They may, then, have been living together for several years since Giovanni's successful legal appeal. It had forced Carlo to give him a house at Due Porte and a monthly subsidy. There remains a certain lack of concern for their future, and this is his only reference to them. See observations on his later life (below), for which we are indebted to the scholarship of Elvira Chiosi, in *P.G. e il suo tempo*, 2, pp. 770-777, and Biagio Ferfante, *ibid*., pp. 841-846.

86 Stiria is the second largest province in Austria.

87 Marquis Fogliani.

> pleasure I remain, Your Illustrious Lordship, your most affectionate and faithful servant Count Filippo Marulli; Barletta, 27 September 1755.

This was as much as I knew, as I was hurrying to settle my affairs in order to be able to leave whenever requested, and without any delay to look elsewhere for a position. I then received the sorrowful news which I relate here. I cannot without tears mourn the tragic event which befell my dear friend Filippo Marulli, lieutenant-marshal of the German troops. After his sojourn in Naples and his native Barletta, he prepared to depart for Trieste, and having embarked from the salt works at Barletta in a large boat with a load of salt, he set sail on 5 November 1755. On the sixth day of that month it was assailed by a fierce storm, and when the helmsman became aware of the evident, irreparable danger, he took counsel and decided to escape with his life. A boat was made ready, and seeing that the vessel was about to founder, with every solicitude they rushed for the lieutenant-marshal and placed him half-alive in the hull, and with all their strength rowed to shore. Because of the fortitude of the sailors, used to continual storms, they had more strength to resist death, but poor Marulli, who had expended so much courage and vigour in continual battles, many times wounded, was now set free forever by that last decree which brings eternal death. He could not turn away and resist those fierce elements which wanted him on all counts and made an end to his existence. The stormy waves which kept up a vigil for several days, the mental agitation, the cold, and his being drenched to the skin led cumulatively to the loss of him. The poor man believed in those last moments that there was some escape. The people around him wanted to take him with them, but he did not trust himself, and told them on the contrary to go, look for somewhere to stay and then he would come. They, however, were somewhat delayed, which was enough to deprive him of any more time to live. Their return with the glad news of having found habitation was of no relief to the expired Marulli, but only to those left looking after him. The island of Malida (Mljet) near Ragusu[88] encloses and serves as a tomb for the bones of that hero, and you, Cassinense,[89] with honoured prayers gather them up.

Such is the end of all our earthly virtue. In truth, the Muse had been too gracious to him: a man who was not yet fifty, of handsome

88 Dubrovnik.
89 Cassinense.

appearance, laden with honours, at that age having become lieutenant-marshal, a rank which the free princes of the Empire were wont to possess. And although fortune exalts one among many, it mounts up after unique exploits and glorious circumstances, but too late. Some philosophers have accused him of too much eagerness to save money, when he could have made that journey in a different way. I declare, however, that destiny here could not have been avoided.

Aware, therefore, that all my human industry was futile, as I have now arrived at the fifth cross,[90] that is, that I depend more on the beyond than here, I have decided and have already done so, to move to my country house, ultimate refuge of my ills, and here I quench my thirst in clear water.

> Che non tem' io che di venen s'asperga
> E l'ortical dispensa cibi non compro
> alla mia parca mensa (Tasso, *Gerusalemme Liberata* 8)[91]

I do not wish to omit noting how on 12 October 1769, when going to Portici, I met at S. Giovanni a Tetucci, His Majesty King Ferdinand IV, who was passing on horseback to hunt fowl, which are caught with the net. I made him a great bow in my calash, I being in the company of a lady, and he, a great monarch, raised his hat, whereat all those in his retinue followed the example of the master.

On 16 February 1770, I was in Caserta where I saw the very beautiful lake made in the royal woods, with a small island in the middle and five thatched shelters within, for the use of the Royal Majesties to dine when Her Majesty the Queen wishes to amuse herself. I observed similarly the well-designed bridge in the valley, which contains two levels of great arches, the first numbering twenty-one, and the second thirty-five. There are small arches in three orders, in the first order nineteen, in the second twenty-eight, and in the third forty-four, to make the water flow. It begins from S. Agata de' Goti at the place called the Svizzo, sixteen miles from Caserta. The bridge is one-third of a mile long.

90 The fifth cross: five times X: 50, Giovanni's age (b.1715).

91 'Since I do not fear sprinkled poison, and the garden offers food which I do not have to buy for my modest table'. A small pension was granted to Giovanni on 8 March 1769 and extended to his mother and sister on 5 June 1770 (Gian Battista Dattino, *Il Triregno*, p. 10).

Afterword

Giovanni was enmeshed in the misfortunes of his father, evident in the rejection of G.'s petition to return to Naples, and in 1739 the rejection of Giovanni's application, brutally blocked by an erstwhile friend of G., Matteo Ferrante, to have G.'s pension restored. Rome's influence had become more powerful than the ideals of Giannonism. Those in power sought to moderate jurisdictionalism, as reflected in the marginalization of one of G.'s closest friends from their years in Vienna, Pietro Contegna. Contegna's submission against ecclesiastical immunity counted against him with the vested interests of the ruling class. Apart from the Curia's far-reaching condemnation of G., long and difficult moves were underway for a Concordat between Naples and Rome, signed formally in 1741, which the payment of G.'s pension would have obstructed.[92] The influence of the court of Rome in southern Italy had long been waning, from the last decades of the Spanish period, and even more so in the Austrian vice-regency.[93] The rejection of Giovanni's application to join the Household Guard nevertheless continued to reflect the fate of his father and the care of those in power not to antagonize the court of Rome.

On 8 May 1769, however, when Giovanni was aged fifty-four, he was granted a pension by Marquis Tanucci, who wrote: 'It is not appropriate for the felicity of this government or the decorum of sovereignty to allow to remain in poverty the son of the greatest man whom the kingdom has produced in this century, who was most useful to the state and most unjustly persecuted'.[94]

In 1780, eleven years later, in response to Giovanni's petition, he was granted the pension in perpetuity; on his death it passed to Carmina Fortunata, G.'s daughter and Giovanni's sister, aged fifty-nine, and to his wife and son. Giuseppe Beccadelli, Marquis Sambucca, when granting it, stated that the pension was to honour 'his father, whose fame was without par in this century. He was of great usefulness to the state, in that he upheld the supreme rights of the Kingdom with vigour, genius, and learning, for which he was wrongly persecuted'.[95]

92 See the fine essay by Biagio Ferrante on these complex matters, 'Il sussidio a P.G.', in *P.G. e il suo tempo*, pp. 845-886.

93 Marini, *Mezzogiorno*, pp. 71, 197.

94 Portici: Ilario Rinieri, *Dalla rovina di una monarchia* (Turin 1901), p. xxxviii.

95 Naples State Archives, Archivio Farnesiano, b.1599.II; Ferrante, 'Il sussidio a P.G.', p.

In 1785, Giovanni made further application: 'With such a subvention, granted through the magnanimity and ineffable justice of Your Majesty, the suppliant is uplifted from the ignominious indigence in which he was immersed without having committed any crime or misdeed, and is able to support his family decently, without degrading his dignity or humbling himself in the exercise of base and mercenary work. Since, nevertheless, he is deprived of any kind of property, not having any real estate or personal industry, he cannot manage to remedy and satisfy all the needs, much less attend to the education, of his family. The annual pension of 300 ducats is hardly enough to provide a simple, frugal living, and, in fact, as he is unable to afford the rent for a house in the city, he is constrained to live in the country, far away from society, among rustics and peasants'.[96]

Giovanni, nevertheless, lived to the age, extraordinary in those times, of ninety-one. He seems to have devoted the rest of his life to safeguarding his father's legacy. In his last years, with the aid of Panzini, he embarked on the preservation of G.'s letters, which his uncle Carlo had kept, and on copying the remains of his great and tragic *Triregno*. Panzini in his *Vita di P.G.* (Lausanne 1760) could consult the original copy of the *Regno celeste*, because Vernet had sent it to Giovanni in Naples.[97]

After Giovanni's death in 1806, his pension to his wife was greatly reduced. After her petition, however, it was restored the next year.[98] In 1808, G.'s grandson, Pietro, applied for and was granted the lapsed pension, 'confirmed by the present government, in order that the sole descendant of the most learned and decisive defender of the Royal Rights, who was Signor Pietro Giannone Senior, not remain in humiliation and indigence'. It was also recorded that Pietro the younger was 'a youth of ability and honesty, as well as being loyal to the present government, and therefore to be recommended for employment'.[99]

843. It is noted that this decree echoes the sentiments of that of 1769.

96 Naples State Archives. Archivio Farnesiano, b.1599 II, postscript to Giovanni's petition of 1790; Ferrante, 'Il sussidio a P.G.', pp. 844-845.

97 Ricuperati, 'P.G., bilancio storiografico', in *P.G. e il suo tempo*, 2, p. 207. Panzini included in the *Opere postume* (1766) the 'Tavola de' capitoli del Regn celeste'. See Bertelli's reconstruction in Chapter Eleven, and in the *Fate of the Triregno.*

98 Naples State Archives, Pensioni del Decennio vol. 5139.

99 Naples State Archives, Ministero Interno, second inventario, fascio 2438: Ferrante, 'Il sussidio a P.G.', p. 846. On the family of G., see now Giovanni Reccia, 'Sulla ascendenza di P.G.', *ASNP* 142 (2014), pp. 271-284.

The *Triregno* and its Fate

On 25 March 1736, G. had been arrested by fifty Sardinian soldiers, in the name of the pope and the kings of France and Savoy, so that the Genevan Senate placed seals on all G.'s effects. By a secret understanding Jacob Vernet, a Genevan pastor, was permitted by the Senate and the auditor-lawyer Eynard to remove G.'s manuscripts and belongings.[1] All G.'s papers and manuscripts were immediately hidden at Saconex,[2] in the country house of Professor Jean-Alphonse Turrettini, except those which seemed less incriminating, which Vernet kept at his home.

When G.'s arrest was reported on 18 April 1736, the cardinal-inquisitors demanded that G. be sent to them: 'Since the primary duty of His Holiness is to punish anyone guilty of divine *lese majesté*, it is believed that such a request is indispensable...'[3] Marquis Ormea had already offered to send G. bound to Rome.[4] When Charles Emanuel chose not to consign G. to Rome, Ormea had to disavow his pledge.[5] Ludovico Antonio Muratori, in fact, wrote to his friend Celestino Riva: 'The Court of Turin will hardly hand over the unfortunate Giannone to Rome. It will want to keep him, to frighten them'.[6]

After G.'s expulsion from Venice, all his manuscripts had been left with Angelo Pisani, including the *Apologia* or Fifth Volume of the *Civil History* (probably a copy), which had been sent to the reviewer of books for the Republic of Venice, the Franciscan Carlo Lodoli. G. arrived in Geneva on 5 December 1735. The manuscript, or it seems a copy, of that

1 Stelling-Michaud and Waeber, 'P.G. et les Genevois', p. 40.
2 Outside Geneva.
3 BAV, *Rossiano 1180*, cc. 114-115: Bertelli, 'L'incartamento originale', p. 22.
4 Ormea to Albani, 13 December 1735: Chapter Ten: Appendix [68].
5 Ormea to Albani, 10 April 1736: Chapter Eleven: Appendix [29]. See also the avid correspondence between Savoy and Rome through its representatives and courtiers, Marquis d'Ormea and Cardinal Albani: Chapter Ten: Appendix [61, 68].
6 Muratori to Riva, 30 May 1736: *Epist.di Muratori*, 8, p. 3659 (no. 3653).

Fifth Volume of the *Civil History* had been sent from Venice and was in the possession of Princess Trivulzio's secretary, Francesco Canary, by 5 January 1736.[7] In Geneva, however, G. was revising all the manuscripts for the publication of the *Civil History,* including the new Fifth volume for this second edition, and was also preparing for its French translation. He was, in fact, deeply occupied in writing, also for imminent publication, the fourth part of the *Regno papale* (Papal Kingdom). G.'s vain hopes for publication also of the *Triregno*, 'some other new work', are illustrated in Vernet's letter to de Bochat:

Jacob Vernet to Charles-Guillaume Loys de Bochat, 11 February 1736:

> Did you know that Signor Giannone has been here for several weeks? He has come to keep an eye on the printing of his writings, of the first four volumes which come originally from you, to which he has to add some clarifications and notes, and also of the fifth volume in Italian, and perhaps of some other new work which he has brought with him. The upset with Bousquet will also upset somewhat this plan, but in a short time a way will be found to save this worthy man, who seems as artless as he is learned and brilliant.
>
> He has asked me, Monsieur, to request from you all the notes and appendices which M. Bousquet had you keep for him. He wants to revise them and use them in his work.[8]

His statement in the *Vita* that he was still waiting for his manuscripts to arrive from Milan before the return of Jacques Barillot from Frankfurt to begin publication,[9] therefore, would have been a ruse to protect the existence of the *Triregno*.

Soon after G.'s capture, the hunt began to retrieve his writings,[10] so execrable to the Roman Curia, thus to expunge even his notorious name, and to resume negotiations by Savoy for a Concordat with Rome. The 'friend' to whom Giuseppe Picon, governor of Savoy, turned to effect Vernet's surrender to Guastaldi (the 'customs officer'),[11] of G.'s original papers, in this case his original draft of the *Triregno*, was Isaac Budé de

7 *Giannoniana*, p. 390.
8 Berne, Bibliothèque de la Bourgeoisie: Bonnant, 'P.G. à Genève', p. 121.
9 Above, p. 613.
10 Chapter Eleven: Appendix [37].
11 The reader must be alerted to the fact that there are two Guastaldi, this 'customs officer', known as G. Guastaldi, referred to herein therefore simply as Guastaldi, and his brother Felice, aide de camp to Count Picon.

Boisy of the old aristocracy, a member of the Genevan Senate, brother-in-law of Turrettini, and an informer of Charles Emanuel.[12] He became the middleman in the plot.

Picon's letter of 11 April 1736 to G. in Miolans,[13] accompanied by gifts of tobacco and coffee, requesting that G. send for his papers left in Geneva, thus yielded only a trunk 'with nothing of consequence inside... only linen, some books, as well as ten letters'[14] Milan may have yielded nothing not already published or circulated in manuscript; for example, the parts of the *Apologia* written in defence of the *Civil History*, from which, as mentioned, G. was preparing the fifth volume for publication in Geneva. The cache contained, however, G.'s Preface to the *Triregno*.[15] Picon wrote to Ormea on 2 June 1736 that among the papers from Milan were those which were 'horrifying to read'; that from the Preface it appears that 'the author [G.] has written or wanted to write a new book' (10 July 1736). This was the first revelation to G.'s enemies of the existence of the *Triregno*.

Picon's letter to De Boisy, less than three weeks after G.'s arrest, had been read out in the Genevan Senate. Picon wrote that G. was very anxious to have his papers and several additions concerning the sequel to his history, and Picon asks De Boisy to gather them up and send them to him.[16] Picon's first attempt to obtain G.'s writings, however, failed. In the chest were *The Confessions of St Augustine*, and G.'s much loved and long-treasured *Don Quixote*.[17] The stage was set, however, for Guastaldi's disastrous plunder some six months later.

Not only G.'s arrest but also the confiscation of his manuscripts had become part of the plot of Savoy, through Rome's Holy Office, to resume negotiations for the Concordat with Rome.[18] Remaining hidden, however, were the manuscript or the copy of the Fifth Volume of the *Civil History*, an entire copy made by Giovanni of the *Triregno*, the original of the *Regno celeste*, and some of G.'s correspondence. The grievous loss later,

12 Stelling-Michaud and Waeber, 'P.G. et les Genevois', pp. 40-41.
13 Mentioned by G., Chapter Eleven, above, p. 632. The letter does not seem to have survived.
14 Picon to Ormea, 9 May 1736: Chapter Eleven, n.32.
15 See 'The *Triregno* and its Fate': Appendix.
16 Archives d'État de Genève, R.C. 1736, 10 April: Stelling-Michaud and Waeber, 'P.G. et les Genevois', p. 46.
17 See Picon to Ormea, 9 May 1736: Chapter Eleven, n.32.
18 Chapter Eleven: Appendix [37].

nevertheless, was G.'s original draft of the *Triregno*, put deliberately out of order by Vernet. It would probably have indicated also the influence on G. of his contacts with many members of Geneva's most learned and enlightened Protestant intelligentsia.[19]

Although at the time of G.'s arrest it would appear that G. had not told Vernet or Turrettini about the *Triregno*, in safeguarding G.'s papers, they must have realized how dangerous they were for G. For that reason the 'selected papers' were hidden in Saconax. It is, nevertheless, incomprehensible that neither of them, it seems, took precautions to hide in Saconax also G.'s vast original draft, which had been left in Vernet's keeping. It contained https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Portret_van_Pierre_Giannone,_RP-P-1909-5988.jpg all the *Regno terreno* (Earthly Kingdom) and 'some chapters' of the *Regno celeste* (Kingdom of Heaven), given that later G.'s biographer, Leonardo Panzini, could claim that he had, in fact, the 'Regno celeste'. Rome, nevertheless, still lacked the *Regno papale* (Papal Kingdom). Even though Vernet put the pages deliberately out of order, in 1736 he surrendered these first two parts through Savoy to the Inquisition.

On 25 September 1736, Albani was to send to Monsignor Girolami of the Sant'Uffizio also a copy made for Charles Emanuel of the re-ordered notes of that draft, that is, of the *Regno terreno* (Earthly Kingdom) and parts of the *Regno celeste* (Kingdom of Heaven).

> ... In order that His Holiness might consider or have considered the impiety and errors of which such a work is full, because to read it in its original state would be very difficult, and take much time and labour, Cardinal Albani, in fulfilment of these royal wishes, sends herewith attached some other quinternians of the original work of Pietro Giannone.[20]

The Surrender of the *Triregno*

Vernet knew of G.'s persecutions and flight across Italy from the Roman Curia. He knew that G. had been arrested, with great cruelty, in the name of the pope and the kings of France and Savoy, and imprisoned by Catholic Savoy, with which Geneva's relations were anything but cordial. Six months after G.'s arrest, nevertheless, he had trusted the

19 Bertelli, 'Appunti ed osservazioni', p. 228.
20 29 October 1737; *Rossiano 1180*, c.140: Bertelli, 'L'incartamento originale', pp. 26-27.

word of the official of that king, Guastaldi! In Guastaldi's letter to Ormea of 16 October 1736, moreover, he advised him not to allow Giovanni, when released, to return to Geneva: 'He will discover that I used the word of Giannone to root out the last writings sent to you, kept by the said Turtin [sic]....'

What can be surmised from Guastaldi's letter is that not only Vernet surrendered G.'s original draft of the *Triregno* shortly after G.'s arrest. It appears that also the unfortunate Turrettini, doubtless overwhelmed by the insinuations and pressure of the informer Budé de Boisy, his brother-in-law, later in that same first year of G.'s imprisonment (1736) surrendered some original material relating to G.'s writings.

On 26 June 1736 Ormea sent Albani the summary of the Preface prepared by Palazzi.[21] That summary might have referred also to parts of the original draft surrendered by Vernet, while the *Censura* read out by the Dominican Vincenzo Elefante might have included also what finally had been extorted from Turrettini, as referred to in Guastaldi's letter to Ormea, 16 October 1736.[22]

Behind closed doors, therefore, G. was abandoned; G. a powerless author of a 'famous but banned' work, the *Civil History*, who had taken refuge among the Genevans to complete and publish his last writings, an abandonment, which, logically, could have ended in G.'s terrible execution as a heretic.[23]

Vernet and Turrettini, both authors and scholars, thus surrendered the totally compromising draft of part of the *Triregno*, the work of a fellow-scholar, on which he had been toiling in appropriate seclusion for the entire period of his sojourn in Geneva. Vernet's words 'I obeyed and handed over all that was in my possession', reveal the irony of a gruesome, unquestioning sense of moral duty to collaborate with the State. A year before Saint-Saphorin, the Swiss general and diplomat, English chargé d' affaires in Vienna 1718-1727, had deplored the submissiveness of the pastors to the authorities.[24]

21 See 'The *Triregno* and its Fate': Appendix.

22 Guastaldi's letter to Ormea, 16 October 1736: Bertelli, 'L'incartamento originale', p. 25.

23 See Ormea's exultant letter to Albani, 26 June 1736; the letter of Picon to Ormea, 29 August; Ormea's letters to Albani, 19 September and 13 October, as well as that of Guastaldi to Ormea, 16 October 1736: Chapter Eleven: Appendix [37].

24 27 January 1736: Archives de Mestral Pesmes, Brouillons 46-52: Stelling-Michaud and Waeber, 'P.G. et les Genevois', p. 46. Vernet's tragic surrender of G.'s draft of

On 25 September 1736, therefore, Albani sent a parcel of G.'s papers to Monsignor Girolami, Assessor of the Holy Office.[25] Bertelli stated that the parcel contained 'many papers which seem to be—it is impossible to check—fragments of passages of the *Triregno* or notes for its draft'. It contained also G.'s review of Gregorio Grimaldi's *Istoria delle leggi dei magistrati* (History of the Laws of the Magistrates) (Naples 1731-1733) and the texts of both the *Trattato de' rimedi* (Treatise on Remedies)[26] and the *Professione di fede*. Of these there exist copies in Turin's State Archives, which prove that copies were made by Savoy before the originals were sent to Rome.[27] Copies already made by Giovanni and others were retained by Turin. Of the *Professione di fede*, Albani, in his accompanying letter to the assessor of the Holy Office, acknowledged that he himself, in fact, owned one of the many copies made of it.[28]

On 20 February 1737 Albani finally sent the original manuscript (draft) of the *Regno terreno* and parts of the *Regno celeste*, put in order by Palazzi di Selve, to the Inquisition.[29] This was Picon's major plunder from Geneva.

When, however, the above manuscripts of the *Triregno* were given, most probably, to the Dominican Vincenzo, professor of Theology at the College of the Propaganda of the Faith, perhaps for him to prepare the censure,[30] they were found to lack the last part, the *Regno papale*, so that Rome still had only the *Regno terreno* and part of the *Regno celeste*.

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the *Triregno* to Savoy appears to have been mitigated by his probable retaining of the original manuscript of the *Regno celeste*, and, it would seem, his sending it to Naples after G.'s death.

25 See list from *Rossiano 1180*, cc. 120-121: Bertelli, 'L'incartamento originale', pp. 23-24.

26 *Trattato de' rimedi contro le scomuniche e proibizioni de' libri che si decretano da Roma, scritto da P.G. giurisconsulto ed avvocato napoletano coll'occasione dell'invalidità della censura contro di lui fulminata dal Vicario di Napoli, per aver fatto qui imprimere i libri della Storia Civile di quel Regno senza sua licenza, e della proibizione de' medesimi decretata da Roma al di' 1 luglio 1723* (Treatise on Remedies against Excommunications and Bannings of Books Decreed by Rome; Written by P.G., Neapolitan Jurisconsult and Lawyer, on the Occasion of the Censures against Him, Fulminated by the Vicario of Naples, for Having Had Printed There the Books on the Civil History of that Kingdom without its Licence, and the Banning of them Decreed by Rome on 1 July 1723). This work had been in great demand in Naples.

27 *Mss. Giannone*, mazzo 5, ins. 1,4 and 17: *Giannoniana*, p. 484.

28 *Ibid.*, p. 25.

29 See Albani's accompanying letter to Fr Girolami, 20 February 1737: Chapter Eleven: Appendix [37].

30 For Elefante's summary, and other reactions to the *Triregno*, see 'The *Triregno* and its Fate': Appendix.

Charles Emanuel had obviously had second thoughts about a copy, as mentioned, which he had made of the above incomplete text, and sent it to Rome, as stated in Albani's accompanying letter of 29 October 1737. Bertelli concludes: 'Now in Rome, therefore, were the original of part of the *Triregno*, as well as Savoy's copy of the same part, together with the original preparatory notes'.[31] The final tragedy at the hands of Barillot and Bentivoglio (below) was still unimaginable. All attention, therefore, was focussed on acquiring the missing parts of the *Triregno.*

According to the 'Instruction' of the Assessor of the Holy Office in Rome, at G.'s trial by the Inquisition of Turin in 1738, which resulted in his abjuration (4 April), after the *Professione di fede*, that 'Third Manuscript' entitled *Del regno celeste e terreno, libri due* (On the Kingdom of Heaven and that of Earth in two books) was to be examined. Bertelli draws our attention to the reference to it at G.'s trial, where he was asked: 'Whether he believes or believed etc., that it is allowed etc. to keep a manuscript entitled *Del regno celeste e terreno* in two books, containing many heretical propositions, as well as many other manuscripts, perhaps twenty volumes' (*Giannoniana*, pp. 340-343).

G. believed that his daring subterfuge on the non-existence of the *Triregno* had been accepted. He was therefore careful to confess and abjure his labours on the Fifth Volume of the *Civil History*, as though it had been the most 'evil' work of his revision and preparation for publication in Geneva.

A vital step in the elucidation of the mystery surrounding the grievous fate of the manuscripts of the *Triregno* was an old enmity between Voltaire and Jacob Vernet, which re-surfaces in Voltaire's essay 'Dialogues chrétiens ou préservatifs contre l'Encyclopédie'[32] It consists of two dialogues between a priest and a pastor, who are both striving to discredit the *Encyclopédie*. In the dialogue of the Protestant minister, he agrees with the priest that 'one may allow oneself some moral negligence when it concerns the interests of religion'. He continues:

> I have seen in a library... a manuscript which could have harmed the court of Rome and greatly troubled His Holiness. I was initially carried away with zeal to have it published and combat our enemies, but then

31 Bertelli, 'L'incartamento originale', p. 27.

32 Voltaire, *Dialogues chrétiens ou préservatifs contre l'Encyclopédie* (Lyon; in reality Geneva, 1760), *Œuvres complètes de Voltaire* (Oxford 2001-2022), 51A, p. 550..

> thought that it would be more politic to sacrifice it to the Holy Father. He would be grateful to me for it and would respect a religion, the ministers of which conducted themselves with this moderation and disinterest; for I then gave it to him without any conditions whatsoever. He was in fact very appreciative of my step, thanked me and sent me 1000 *écus* (*scudi*) in exchange for the manuscript... he gave a benefice of 500 *écus* to a priest whom I knew and had recommended to him, and the priest shared the revenue with me until he died.[33]

Voltaire later identified the minister from Geneva as Vernet.[34] Vernet then wrote his own defence in the form of the following letter addressed to the chief magistrate, the Premier Syndic, of the Senate of Geneva Although it is lengthy, it casts much light on the long mystery of the fate of the manuscript of the *Triregno*:

Jacob Vernet à Monsieur Le Premier Syndic, 14 November 1760:

> Sir,
>
> If the Honour of each citizen, like his property and his life, must be under the protection of the Government, that is true above all for the persons who, invested with public office, a holy office, could not practise it with dignity or usefulness, if their reputation were to come under the slightest attack.
>
> As Paris was inundated this spring with satirical and scandalous pamphlets, it was decided to begin the same game in Geneva. And what should place me above even suspicion in reference to integrity, I mean my character, the nature of my works, and the rank which I have the honour to hold in this Church and the Academy, is precisely what has directed against me the blows meant for persons such as I.
>
> To this effect a pamphlet has been released which was published in Lyon, with the derisive title *Dialogues Chrétiens ou préservatifs contre l'Encyclopédie* par M. V***** à Genève ['Christian or defensive Dialogues against the *Encyclopédie by M. V***** at Geneva'*]. Our Governors of their own volition judged that it was fitting to suppress it and even condemn it to the flames on 7 September last, as an insult in general to Religion and to its ministers. When I read it, I saw in it, in fact, only fanciful portraits, that of an Encyclopedist playing the main role, that of a Roman Catholic priest who rages against the philosophers, and that of a rascally, mean and dishonest minister. I believe that this tale was meant to compare with another almost as coarse, entitled *Oracle des nouveaux philosophes*, written

33 *Giannoniana*, pp. 569-570.

34 Voltaire, *Correspondance*, 11, p. 528; Ricuperati, *L'esperienza*, p. 479.

by some Jansenist against M. De Voltaire, and that it sought thereby to disparage the clergy of one or other Communion, without having any particular one in mind. Those planning this coup, however, wanted to do it in two stages; the vague printed form was only to prepare people's minds. They reserved giving the key to it by a small verbal commentary which would specify matters.

I felt completely unconcerned about it, when a friend came to warn me of the campaign, that it was openly said that this libel referred in part to me, and of the five or six traits which made up the dreadful portrait of the minister, some were applied to me, at least to a certain extent when reporting in a very odious way certain matters in which I took part.

As much astonished as afflicted by this news, but reassured by my own sense of innocence, I began to perceive from certain details the cause and aim of this shameful vengeance. I soon had the satisfaction of learning, before I had spoken, that the majority and the soundest part of the public had rendered me enough justice against this evil talk to allow me to express the same indignation already evinced by the Magnificent Council against the wicked tract. And I also know that the lawyer Monsieur Eynard had reported some facts known to him, which served to exonerate me from the main issue.

The talk which grieved me, however, was not such as could be scorned. As will be seen, it was too serious in its intent, too detailed, too repetitive, and too listened to by a certain world, for me rightly to regard it as being of no consequence…

My first concern, therefore, was to go to you, Sir, and not having the honour of finding you, to go to the Gentleman who was Syndic of the Guard to express to him my just pain at finding myself the butt of the calumny, to declare to him that I was disputing the validity of all that was said to my detriment, and to give him succinct information, while I was gathering all the evidence which I had in hand to exculpate myself more at length.

The evidence was soon found. I had the honour of showing it to the Syndic, M. Saladin, at his country house, and I know that he had the goodness to speak of it to the Magnificent Council on the same day that the Syndic of the Guard kindly intended to report the interview which I had the honour of having with him.

I hastened also to give the Venerable Company and the Venerable Consistory information, which seemed so much to their satisfaction, that on this occasion both bodies kindly gave me their most comforting marks of approbation.

The plan also was approved there to have the same information submitted to the Magnificent Council, because they considered it, as do I, a case which reflects essentially on the honour of my ministry, and

conversely on the honour of the bodies to which my various occupations bind me. It was proper that I take my justification as far as the heads of State.

As a result of this advice, I had the honour, Sir, of going to your home to tell you that I have nothing more precious to preserve than the approval and goodwill with which our Governors have always honoured me. I asked you, moreover, to obtain for me their permission to present my vindicatory explanations in the manner which they will judge best to prescribe to me. This defence, however, is not always sufficient with persons either prejudiced or strongly disposed to believe half the evil which they hear. Kind Providence had fortunately allowed that I be left enough documents, letters and testimony to add to my formal denial positive confirmation of the falseness of all that of which I am accused.

One of the most villainous charges levelled at the minister expressed in the second dialogue of the libel is that he stole from a library an important manuscript, which he sold for 1,000 *scudi* to the Court of Rome. As this fabrication was released in print, people have dared to say under their breath, so that it be reported out loud, that this was not invented and that it referred to me. Here is how.

It is known that Monsieur Marc Turrettin had in his possession twenty-three years ago some manuscripts of the learned Neapolitan jurisconsult Pierre Giannone, which passed into my possession. Someone later brought to light a story of which I was ignorant, that one of these manuscripts entitled *Regno terreno*, *Regno celeste*, *Regno papale* was sent from here to His Excellency Cardinal Alexandre Albani by the lawyer M. Bentivoglio, who received for it a letter of thanks, which he exhibited. It is easy to understand how malice can take advantage of these different facts. One has only to arrange the connections and additions as one likes, to turn a very innocent matter into a web of crime woven into slanderous stories, to which an admixture of truth always gives some colour. One has only to replace, since it is necessary, the true circumstances with the false, and divulge the details which through discretion should have remained hidden, to see how dangerous it is to allow rash suspicions on matters which cannot be perceived in depth, and also to see how those called by certain combinations of circumstances to render the secret offices of friendship and prudence would object if that exposed them to indiscreet and evil judgement.

Monsieur Giannone, author of the *Civil History of the Kingdom of Naples*, published in Italian in Naples in 1723, came with his son to take refuge in Geneva in November 1735, to flee persecution and to publish some works which he had brought with him. He lived in a very retired way in a furnished room in the home of a tailor named Genevié near the Fusterie. He was recommended to me (and to me alone) by some friends in Italy. I

rendered him all the good offices which were in my power, among others to introduce him to professors Turrettin[i] and Burlamaqui, who were acquainted with him only through me, as they had never received any letter recommending him to them. That illustrious fugitive was occupied putting his papers in order and arranging matters with M. Barillot, M. Bousquet, and a publisher in Lausanne introduced to him by Professor de Bochat.

He fell into a trap, however, in Savoy, instigated by the papal nuncio, and was imprudent enough to let himself be drawn there by a Piedmontese to fulfil his Easter Dues at the village of Vezenas. There he was arrested on 24 March 1736 and taken to Chambery, then imprisoned with his son in the fortress of Miolans, where His Majesty the King of Sardinia ordered that he be well treated, without his ever consenting to surrender him to the Court of Rome.

At the first news which Genevié came to give me of this calamity, I hastened to inform those of his friends and correspondents abroad, who were known to me. Prince Frederick of Hesse-Kassel, now Landgrave, who was then in Geneva, wanted immediately to write to Prince Eugene to recommend to him this illustrious unfortunate whom he had known in Vienna. Prince Eugene unfortunately died precisely at that time.

Professor Turrettin, moved as much as I at the fate of the prisoner, judged that there was nothing more urgent than to hide his papers. I understood the great prudence of his advice. In order not to assume the responsibility alone, however, of taking them into my possession, as I was still not sufficiently authorized, and wishing to do only what was proper, I asked him to intervene as a witness and guarantor worthy of respect. He willingly accepted this labour by returning with me to Genevié's home. We gathered together all the writings and papers, and as M. Turrettin had had them taken to his home, we sorted them out, burning some letters and putting aside everything which could have compromised various persons abroad or aggravated the fate of the prisoner. Genevié was left in charge of the other belongings until further orders.

That order was not slow in coming. Monsieur Giannone, the father, wrote to me from Chambery on 28 March to ask me to send him some clothes and linen, to settle his account with his landlord, and *to look after all his belongings in particular his papers, in order that none went astray, and to have them taken to my home or elsewhere, as I judged best to keep them safe.* These are the actual terms of his letter, translated from Italian. I have already declared, and shall repeat once and for all, that I still quote only the letters which I can produce.

I sent the prisoner what he asked, I paid the landlord, I took to my home in St Gervais all that remained of his belongings, and also the books and papers which M. Turrettin and I judged were of no consequence.

Monsieur Giannone acknowledged that he had received the clothes by a letter of 14 April 1736 from Miolans. It is the last which I received from him. He gave me also various small tasks in reference above all to his negotiations with the publishers, to tell them that all remained suspended.

As M. Turrettin had well foreseen that the Court of Turin would demand all the belongings of the prisoner, I had at first thought to send the parcel of selected papers to Professor de Bochat in Lausanne. I have a reply from him of 4 April 1736, testifying to me his great interest in the sad misfortune of that learned man, and he adds: '*I am at your disposal for all that you judge appropriate to be kept safely with me for fear of accident*'. When, however, it was decided from the prisoner's letters that I alone was given charge of his belongings left expressly in my keeping, that I alone was to be responsible for them, I preferred to accept the offer made to me by Professor Turrettin, that he himself keep the parcel of selected papers, to which I referred, to send to his country house in Saconex, and that he be thus the secret trustee on my behalf, until it was time to return this parcel to my home.

A few weeks later, what M. Turrettin foresaw happened. Count Picon, Governor of Savoy, sent to Geneva an officer directed to M. De Boisy to remove the belongings, books and papers of Sig. Giannone, which M. De Boisy had said were in my possession. He asked the Gentlemen of the Senate to interpose their authority if necessary. M. De Boisy in effect addressed himself only to me. He took the trouble to come to my house with the officer to declare to me his commission. It was my belief that I had to wait to be released from the order given me by the Gentlemen of the Senate. When M. Buisson, who was at that time Syndic de la Garde, had sent for me formally to give me that order, I obeyed and handed over all that was in my possession, but not the parcel which was at Saconex. It was not mentioned, and I was reimbursed by the Officer for what I had paid Genevié.

A year and a half passed without my hearing anything from either Giannone, father or son, who remained imprisoned in Miolans. During this time, in May 1737, Professor Turrettin died, which did not prevent the parcel of papers to which I referred remaining at Saconex. His widow Madame Turrettin, who knew about the matter, kindly wished, as did Monsieur her son, to continue to keep them, and much more so because the city was then in turmoil.

After a long silence I finally received a letter of 10 October 1737 from Genoa from the son Giannone, wherein he announced that he had been given his freedom, but that his father had been transferred from Miolans to Piedmont. He added, since he well understood that I would have had the prudence not to surrender all the papers, *that I look after them and not*

give them to anyone except on a letter from his father or himself. He did not refer to M. Turrettin. He had never known, nor had his father, that these papers were not in my keeping. I alone was known to be the repository of them. The secretary of an Italian nobleman, who also took an interest in the family, wrote to me at the same time to recommend the same course as the son Giannone. I did not fail to inform M. Marc Turrettin of what I had learnt of the fate of the two persons in whom he interested himself, and as I was again given charge of the papers in question, I considered it time to take them back to my place. Our troubles [in Geneva] were over, and I asked him, therefore, to send them to me at his convenience, which he did without opening the parcel, without having taken any note of the contents, as one gives back from hand to hand something with which one has been entrusted. I kept this parcel as it was for two years without opening it or telling anyone about it except Councillor Burlamaqui and my wife, apart from taking the precaution of placing a label on it. This parcel contained many letters and some manuscripts of which I alone had a note.

The first occasion to touch it was presented only at the beginning of 1740, in order to give Monsieur Gosse a notebook of *Notes, corrections and additions to the History of Naples*, which he needed for the two editions which he had undertaken, one in French and the other in Italian. I had no qualms about it, especially because the matter had been promised by Monsieur Giannone himself, and because such a notebook contained nothing which could have hurt anyone. That, moreover, did not reveal the secret which had to be kept about the papers left here, because it could be thought that the author himself had given the notebook to the publisher during his stay in Geneva. I considered only that it was simply to make some money from it on behalf of the author. The agreement was put in writing on 7 March 1740. It referred to the notebook sold to Sig. Gosse and the price of that sale was seven *louis mirlitons*. I find also in my general book of receipts and expenditure [*Livre général de recettes et dépenses*] this note for my heirs in case of my decease: 'On 8 March, received from Monsieur Gosse seven Louis *mirlitons* for some corrections and additions to the *History of Naples* which Monsieur Giannone had left me, of which I shall continue to keep an account for his family or himself'.

As the same publisher believed that he owed me something for my having taken the trouble to translate from the Italian in the said *History of Naples* the dedicatory letter and the preface, which are fairly long and important, he presented me with the sixteen volumes of the *Histoire de l'Académie des inscriptions*, the edition published in Holland in octavo. This present was worth around two pistoles [louis d'or]. It will soon be seen that, although it belonged by rights to me, I have not profited from it.

Some two months later, it was reported here in the letters from Turin

that Sig. Giannone had died in his prison. That was then proved untrue. He had been taken to the fortress of Ceva, then brought back to the Citadel of Turin, where he lived until 1748. The rumour of his death, however, certainly circulated at the time which I said, in Turin, Rome, Naples and Venice. Several persons remember it and I have proof of it.

This rumour was confirmed to me by the lawyer M. Bentivoglio, who then came to see me. His visit surprised me somewhat, as I had not had anything to do with him for a long time. As it was he, however, who had worked for a long time on the translation of the *History of Naples* for Sig. Gosse, and because of the notebook of the *Corrections and Additions* which I had produced, he knew that M. Giannone's papers were in my possession. He therefore took the opportunity to come and speak to me about his work, adding that, since he had finished and did not want to remain idle, he was hoping to undertake something else by the same author, as he had become used to his style. All this led to his probing me about the manuscripts of which I was the custodian. His attempt, however, was useless. I believed that I had to be on my guard.

Soon after I received a letter from Sig. Giannone's son, dated 15 April 1740 from Tzsoboscho in the depths of Hungary. He announced positively to me the death of his father.[35] He told me that without patronage and because of poverty, he had been reduced to enlisting as a volunteer in Marulli's Italian regiment in the hope of soon being promoted to ensign in it. He asked me to *do my best to make some money from the writings of his father*, and to send him promptly some help. He then indicated to me the channel by which it was to arrive, which was through his colonel in Vienna.

I willingly gave ear, therefore, to Sig. Barillot, who came to me as a publisher, knowing already the works of Sig. Giannone, with whom he had been negotiating during his sojourn here. I believe that he had at the time returned from Italy. He confirmed the rumour of the prisoner's death and proposed printing one of his works, which could not fail, said he, to be well received. I began negotiations with him for that manuscript, and here is our agreement, transcribed in full because it is fundamental:

'We the undersigned are agreed as follows: that Professor Vernet will from this moment transfer to M. Barillot, publisher by right of sale and proprietorship, a manuscript of the late M. Pierre Giannone, in several large notebooks in folio entitled *Regno terreno, Regno celeste* and *Regno papale*, which work is incomplete and unfinished in the last part. Its sale is based on the assumption that the public will profit from it, whether as

35 Vernet, in reply to Giovanni's letter of 15 April 1740 informing him of G.'s death, disputed Giovanni's announcement (BNF *Magliabechiano* II, VII, 22.34-35: *Giannoniana*, pp. 531-532). See the erudite work of Elvira Chiosi, *Lo spirito del secolo* (Naples 1992), p. 148.

an edition of the original text, or as a version or extracts which may be taken from it. M. Barillot promises, in case he cannot himself publish it as he proposes, not to let it leave his possession, unless it is in order to be put to the same use by some other publisher. And the sale is made for the price of ten louis d'or, in favour of, and for the profit of, the son of the late M. Giannone, who has given M. Vernet the commission to do so. Done in duplicate at Geneva, 12 July 1740'.

Having received the manuscript, for which I give receipt in full

In Geneva, of the above date, signed Barillot [sic].

I hope, Sir, that close attention will be given to all the clauses of this agreement, and that it will be observed:

1, that there are two references to the author's being dead. This is because it was believed so, and there was no longer any fear of the publication of such a book.

2. The document shows that I had the order from the son Giannone to dispose of his papers. It was in fact necessary clearly to show the letter which authorized me to do so, in order that the sale be valid.

3. The agreement expressly reveals that the money which I received was *in favour of and for the profit of the son Giannone*.

4. I took every precaution possible in this matter to ensure that there be no misuse of the manuscript, since Sig. Barillot undertook positively *to print it*, and in case he could not do so himself, *that he would allow it to leave his possession only in favour of another publisher who would put it to the same use*.

5. This agreement, finally, was written in duplicate, because I did not wish to have anything to do with a third person, since the evidence existed only in my hands. I did not think that one could do anything more regular.

As soon as I had been paid the ten louis mirlitons, which combined with the seven of Sig. Gosse, made seventeen, I went to ask Messrs Gallatin and Merklin to have Sig. Giannone's son paid through the channel which he had indicated to me. The amount was twenty Spanish pistoles, which was about twenty-five francs more than I had received, as I wanted him to have that round sum, taking into account his needs, and wanting to give him in general the value of the volumes which Sig. Gosse had given me. That was carried out without delay. I have the receipts from Count Marulli and Messrs Gallatin and Merklin. I have also two letters from Sig. Giannone's son, which inform me of his having received those twenty Spanish pistoles, one letter coming from Temeswar of 21 December 1740, and the other from Naples, where he betook himself on finding no avenue open for advancement in his regiment. He told me, in that second letter of 22 August 1741, that his father was not dead, as he had believed; and he thanked me again in the strongest terms for the service which I

had done him in sending him so opportunely the twenty pistoles.

Of the two manuscripts sold by me, one to Sig. Gosse and the other to Sig. Barillot, only the first has come to fruition through the use which Sig. Gosse had effectively made of it to enrich the two editions published by him of the *History of Naples*, in French and in Italian. I was careful to place in the last volume a note on the life, merit, and death of that excellent writer.

As for the other manuscript, it has never seen the light of day. I spoke of it more than once to Sig. Barillot, who alleged various impediments, and told me at last that he had come to an understanding about it with a publisher in Holland, of which I was careful to inform Sig. Giannone's son. I did not fail to remind Sig. Barillot of the conditions to which he had agreed. He, however, fell sick and died.

Although from that time I was not without suspicion about the fate of the manuscript, not seeing it appear, it is only now that I understand: M. Bentivoglio, not being able himself to remove it from my keeping, will have succeeded better through another avenue; not wishing either to compromise the publisher or cast any blame on me, he contented himself by stating, as he did to the lawyer M. Eynard and to others to explain how the manuscript had come into his possession, that he had obtained an order addressed to me from the son Giannone to give it to him.

Be that as it may, the matter no longer concerns me. It is enough to see clearly how, in all that has been administered by me, I have acted both in the capacity of a friend and in that of an agent with all possible regularity and integrity, and that if the manuscript in question has had the fate which people say, I have had nothing to do with it. It is a misfortune for which I am in no way responsible, about which I must be more grieved than anyone, since nothing was more contrary to my intentions.

If it is asked what has become of the other papers of Monsieur Giannone, left in my possession, although that has nothing to do with the present case, I shall state simply that I have properly accounted for them with Sig. Giannone's son, and have sent him those which he asked for after the actual death of his father. There still remains with me a bag of useless letters.... Your very humble and obedient servant, Jacob Vernet.[36]

The reply of the Senate, 13 April 1761:

A letter of the Honourable Jacob Vernet, pastor and professor of theology, addressed to the Lord First Syndic, has been read on the fourteenth day

36 Vernet to the First Syndic, 14 November 1760 (Geneva State Archives, Archives de l'Eglise Nationale Protestante): *Giannonana*, pp. 573-583; see copies made on 4 December 1754 in Naples of Vernet's letters to Giovanni of 5 August 1740 and 27 June 1743; Florence, National Library, *Magliabechiano: Giannoniana*, pp. 531-533.

> of this month; read also there the original documents attached to it. These are aimed at his vindicating himself against the various slanderous rumours which were intended to apply to him, especially some gibes set forth in a vague manner in an anonymous printed libel, entitled *Dialogues Chrétiens ou Préservatifs contre l'Encyclopédie par M. V....* in Geneva. This libel, in the judgement of this House of 8 September last year, has been cancelled, torn to pieces and burnt by the hand of the executioner of High Justice, as being injurious to the Christian Religion and its ministers. The opinion, the unanimous decision, has been that the explanations given in the same letter and the original documents attached to it establish with proof the full and entire justification of the said Honourable Vernet. These the Senate examined to its satisfaction, both in relation to him and to the honour of the Holy Ministry impugned personally in him. There is, moreover, cause to assure the said Honourable Vernet that the malicious and slanderous accusations levelled at him have never suspended the sentiments of esteem which the Senate has always had for him.
>
> It is finally considered expedient, at the request of the said Honourable Vernet, that the Senate graciously have him sent an extract of the Register on the subject, and that it be drawn up for him by the Secretaries.[37]

Certain observations can be made on Vernet's letter. It is primarily and implacably a letter of self-justification and self-defence against Voltaire's smear.

In it, some twenty-four years later, Vernet merely mentions the auditor-lawyer Eynard, who in 1736 witnessed the vital, secret removal to safety of G.'s manuscripts by Turrettini and Vernet. In reference to Bentivoglio's flagrant lie (see Vernet's letter), Eynard simply referred to Bentivoglio's statement 'that he had obtained an order from the son Giannone addressed to me [Vernet] to give it to him' [Bentivoglio]; that is, Giovanni's actual copy of his father's *Triregno*, done mostly in Geneva in 1733 and 1736, Vernet writes dismissively:

> Be that as it may. The matter no longer concerns me.

In his letter, Vernet reveals no suggestion of anxiety, remorse or even awareness. In fact, he makes no mention of having previously surrendered, and 'deliberately set out of order', what was the draft of G.'s

37 Signed Pictet, Collation on the copies read to the Venerable Company on 21 November 1760. This day, 13 April 1761; Buisson, Secretary. Buisson to Vernet, 13 April 1761 (Geneva State Archives, Extract from the Council's Register of 17 November 1760): *Giannoniana*, pp. 591-592.

Triregno. Like his mentor Turrettini, however, Vernet was a committed conservative, whose loyalties and sympathies lay with the aristocracy. His good name and his peace had been imperilled. The letter, therefore, conveys a pitiless impression of the tragedy of G.

Vernet's apologetic explanations to the Senate, never referring to G. in plain terms simply as author of the famous *Civil History of the kingdom of Naples*, must have been gratifying to it. The Senate had already permitted Savoy's brutal arrest of the innocent G. and his son. In 1736 the minister of the senate Buisson, perhaps later the 'Magistrate of Geneva'[38] had ordered Vernet to surrender G.'s manuscripts to an official of Savoy (above), through the connivance with Savoy of the corrupt senator Budé de Boisy. The Genevan Senate some five years later was then complicit in the evil transactions which Barillot and Bentivoglio, conducted, as Barillot wrote in his letter of 1 February 1741 'with the approval and judgement of my superiors'.

Twenty-four years later the Senate (of which Buisson was now secretary) ordered that the document relating to Voltaire's libel be 'torn to pieces and burnt at the hand of the executioner'.

That the Senate knew that the destination of the *Triregno* was the Inquisition, and approved, seems confirmed by the final report of the Holy Office: it refers to the agreement to that sale given by a 'Magistrate of Geneva', and it is formally part of the contract.[39]

Jacques Barillot and Jean Bentivoglio

In 1741, the publisher Jacques Barillot, to whom Vernet eventually had given for publication Giovanni's entire copy of the *Triregno* (retained and hidden initially with Turrettini and finally taken back by Vernet), and Barillot's accomplice, the translator Jean (Giovanni) Bentivoglio,[40] who

38 See below, the report of the Assessor of the Inquisition.

39 Stelling-Michaud and Waeber, 'P.G. et les Genevois', p. 44.

40 Jean Boddevolle, alias Giovanni Bentivoglio, was born in Geneva in 1697, where he practised as a lawyer from 1717 to 1722. He then became a Carholic and left Geneva. 'He became First Gentleman of the duke de Gesve, governor of Paris, in 1730 but was expelled from the capital for some intrigue. He then returned to Italy where he made himself known as the descendent of the celebrated family Bentivoglio of Ferrara... because of which he was expelled from Rome. He returned to Geneva in 1735 and died at Dardagny around 1750. Through Vernet he worked for a long time translating the *Civil History* for Sig. Gosse'. The labour of translating was poorly

had worked on the French translation of the *Civil History*, became the last of G.'s iniquitous traitors. They conspired together to surrender to the Inquisition the entire manuscript of the *Triregno*, copied by Giovanni, which would have made a profound impression on his contemporaries.

Barillot wrote on his receipt of 1 February 1741:

> I, the undersigned, have received from Count de Bentivoglio 200 Spanish pistoles for the remittance and cession which I made to him, with the approval and judgement of my superiors, of a manuscript in three volumes in folio entitled *Regno terreno*, *celeste* and *papale*, written by M. Giannone. *They* had not judged it suitable either to print it here [in Geneva], or to accept the proposal made by some publisher in Holland, who wished to buy it. They preferred to remit it to M. Bentivoglio for the said price.[41]

The statement of Barillot reveals the vulnerable position also of the Genevan Senate in relation to the tragedy of G. Its reply to Vernet's self-defence implies, in fact, unscrupulous justification of its clearly compromised position. It initially had acknowledged Picon's letter to De Boisy, thus sanctioning Vernet's surrender of the draft of G.'s totally incriminating *Triregno*. The Senate's position was then even more gravely dishonoured by its rejection of the offer of a Dutch publisher to publish the *Triregno*. It appears also that 200 doubloons (pistoles), an enormous sum of money, changed hands.

The *Rossiano 1180* Manuscript

Our knowledge of the details of the conspiracy is based also on Bertelli's examination of the fate of G.'s manuscripts in his integral article: 'L'incartamento originale del Sant' Uffizio relativo a P.G.'. It is based on the astounding discovery of the Inquisition's file on Giannone, referred to as *Rossiano 1180*, found on the antiquities' market by Cavaliere Gian

paid. (Georges Bonnant, 'Giannone à Genève', p. 128). He was, as related above, a recent convert, 'ready to give a hand in the disappearance of Giannone's major work' (Bertelli, 'L'incartamento originale', p. 28). His son Giacomo Michele Bentivoglio, who received the benefice from the Piedmontese government, was, ironically, a Jansenist. The son's correspondence was published in 1966-1971 in *Il Giansenismo in Italia*, *Collezione di documenti*, ed. P. Stella, I-III, *Piemonte* (Zürich, 1966-1970), 2, pp. 515-663; Ricuperati, *La città terrena di P.G.* (Florence 2001), p. 43.

41 BAV, *Rossiano 1180*, 221: Stelling-Michaud and Waeber, 'P.G. et les Genevois', pp. 43-44.

Francesco de Rossi (1796-1854),[42] bibliophile and antiquarian. His library, the *Rossiana*, was formed in 1838 and 1854, after his marriage to Luisa Carlotta di Borbone, daughter of Luigi, king of Etruria and duke of Parma, and widow of Maximilian the duke of Savoy. De Rossi's library was fabulously rich in 'treasures bought wherever they could be found, in Italy, Germany, France and England'.[43] The library, including the precious *Rossiano 1180* manuscript, which had been formed in Rome, in 1922 was finally housed in the Vatican Library.

The manuscript may have been among those plundered from the archives of the Inquisition by Bonaparte in 1810, rescued with 700 other volumes from the sausage-sellers of Paris by Abate Marino Marini, the agent sent by Rome between 1815 and 1817 to reclaim the priceless archival material. Many manuscripts were deemed useless by Marini, such as the trials of the Inquisition (including most of the trial of Giordano Bruno), and were discarded as wastepaper. 'Another thirty-seven volumes were saved by the booksellers of Paris..., another fifty-four volumes found their way to Trinity College in Dublin, and one is in the Bibliothèque Nationale of Paris'.[44]

The *Rossiano 1180*, entitled thus in memory of the great bibliophile who rescued it, could also have been part of the private file of one of the cardinals of the Sacred Congregation. It may then go back to 1799, under the Jacobin Republic in Rome, when so many of the libraries of cardinals were sacked and dispersed. The destruction also of a large part of Albani's library, one of the richest in Europe, could account for the loss of a copy of the *Triregno*, which Albani, as cardinal-shepherd of Savoy, would surely have had made of the entire manuscript as it passed through his hands. He had admitted to having already a copy of the *Professione di fede*. The discovery of the manuscript is momentous. It reveals all the documentation on the consignment of G.'s manuscripts to the archives of the Inquisition.

The *Rossiano 1180* therefore now makes it possible to confirm what parts were missing in the *Triregno* deposited in the Inquisition's archives. The manuscript, that is, the draft of the *Triregno* which Vernet consigned

42 *DBI* 39, pp.194-198: Guido Fagioli Verccellone.

43 Karl Silva-Tarouca, 'La Biblioteca Rossiana', in *Civiltà Catholica*, no.1720, 18 February, 1922; Bertelli, 'L'incartamento originale', p. 17.

44 Angelo Mercato, *Il sommario del processo di Giordano Bruno* (Vatican 1942), pp. 2-3; Bertelli, 'L'incartamento originale', pp. 17-18.

out of order to Picon's agent in Geneva in 1736 (then put back in order by Palazzi di Selve) comprised, as mentioned, the entire *Regno terreno* and some chapters of the *Regno celeste*. Rome did not have the *Regno papale*. The original of the *Regno papale* was, however, joined to the manuscript of the *Regno terreno* with the notes for the remaining unfinished chapters of the *Regno papale*, and later in 1740 these notes also were all given by Vernet, incomprehensibly, to Barillot! As Bertelli cries: 'Why ever did Vernet hand over also the notes to Barillot? In his self-defence he makes no mention of it'.[45]

Vernet's contract with Barillot for the publication of the *Triregno* bears the date of 12 July 1740. Vernet then states (see his letter, above) that Barillot 'fell sick and died'. Barillot, in fact, died in 1748, yet only seven months after taking possession of Giovanni's copy of the manuscript from Vernet, he sold it to Rome through Bentivoglio for 200 Spanish pistoles or doubloons. The brutal irony is endless. Vernet was to send to the poverty-stricken Giovanni twenty pistoles for his father's works: the sale of the French edition and new Italian edition of the *Civil History*, and the complete text, copied by Giovanni himself, of the *Triregno*!

Bertelli has brilliantly pieced together the complicated jigsaw of the plot 'with Barillot's using Bentivoglio as a screen'. The *Rossiano 1180* refers to 'a magistrate of Geneva' (see below, the 'Report of the Assessor of the Inquisition, Joseph Maria Archbishop of Damascus'), who gave his approval to Barillot to give the *Triregno* to Bentivoglio. It had been 'Monsieur Buisson' as 'Syndic', who had previously ordered Vernet to hand over G.'s manuscripts to Picon's agent. In 1740, as mentioned, he was still in office in the important post of secretary. Perhaps to obtain his second permission, Barillot had raised the price to 200 pistoles. In his attempt to reconstruct the villainy, Bertelli observes:

> The assertion that the 'Superiors' did not judge opportune either to have the *Triregno* printed in Geneva or the manuscript sold to Dutch publishers suggests that permission was granted in full awareness of the fate to which those papers were destined.[46]

> The Calvinists evidently cannot have liked the deistic tone of the work, and the Company of Pastors did not want further confrontation with

45 Bertelli, 'L'incartamento originale', p. 29.
46 *Ibid*., pp. 29-30.

Rome.[47]

The Genevan Senate decided not to seek another publisher for the *Triregno*, having refused the offers of Dutch publishers to buy it. The Senate, nevertheless, permitted Giovanni Bentivoglio, a private citizen, a recent convert to Catholicism, who had been expelled for malpractice from both France and Italy, to buy it from the publisher Barillot, who had signed, with his oath, the contract with Vernet to publish it or find another publisher. In a tiny city like Geneva, where religion and apostasy were the preoccupations of that closely-knit society, it is inconceivable that the obvious interpretations were not put on Barillot's trip to Rome, and the considerable sum of money involved in the sale of the manuscript to Bentivoglio. It was, moreover, a slow process. Negotiations for the sale of the manuscript were begun with Clement XII, who died in February 1740, so that, as Bertelli observes, Bentivoglio's visit to Vernet around March or April of the previous year was not unmotivated.[48] The sale was finally concluded in 1741.

Bertelli notes with astonishment that Vernet seems never to have suspected any villainy. For some eight years later he continued to remind Barillot about their contract. After a painstaking investigation of the tragedy, Bertelli can only observe 'in the end Voltaire was not totally wrong in accusing Vernet of having himself sold the *Triregno* to the Inquisition'.[49]

Vernet, nevertheless, in those eight years remained a hard-working scholar. After Turrettini's death he spent long years magnanimously editing and preparing Turrettini's writings for publication—at least eight volumes of them. And he diligently ensured that Giovanni in his plight received the money, albeit as it turned out, a pittance, for the sale of his father's work. Vernet, moreover, supplemented the sum with the value, no doubt considerable, of his own gift of gratitude from the publisher, Errigo Alberto Gosse, of the sixteen volumes of the *Histoire de l'Académie des inscriptions*, published in Holland. Thanks solely to him, the French translation of the *Civil History* was published in 1742 ('The Hague', in reality Geneva), by the faithful Gosse, for which Vernet had translated

47 Bertelli in *Opere di P.G.*, intro., p. xvii.
48 Bertelli, 'L'incartamento originale', p. 30.
49 *Ibid.*

the dedication to Charles VI and the introduction, and also its second Italian edition ('The Hague', again in reality Geneva, 1753). To Vernet we owe also the publication of the *Opere postume* (*Posthumous Works*) ('Palmyra', in reality Geneva 1755). It was, in fact, the first edition, even though it contained works published during G.'s lifetime, incorporated in the *Apologia dell'Istoria civile del regno di Napoli* (Defence of the Civil History), which had long circulated in manuscript. It would appear that Vernet was able to preserve the original manuscript of the *Regno celeste*, and it was he who wrote to Nicola Forlosia informing Naples of G.'s arrest, as well as establishing himself as a source of security and comfort later, at least for Giovanni.[50] For Nicolini, moreover, after his vast and meticulous labours on the fate of G. and his manuscripts, Vernet remains 'the honest Genevan pastor'.[51] The life of Vernet also inspired the sensitive biography by Eugène de Budé.

It seems that the unfortunate Vernet nevertheless fell headlong into a well organized plot, and had to suffer Voltaire's smear that he had sold the *Triregno* to the Inquisition. The 1,000 *scudi* was equivalent to the 200 pistoles or Spanish doubloons obtained by Bentivoglio and paid by him to Barillot. 'Nor did the Holy Office pay one doubloon extra, because the pension granted to Bentivoglio for his son Giacomo was paid on the treasury of Savoy'.[52]

Bertelli's study of the manuscript R*ossiano 1180*, published in 1968, and given to him to publish by another great scholar of Giannone, Lino Marini, has vastly extended our knowledge of the fate of G.'s masterwork. The *Rossiano 1180* reveals that in the Archives of the Inquisition, extraordinary to relate, had been deposited a copy corrected by G. of the *Regno terreno* and 'all of the *Regno celeste*, of which some headings had already been sent by the King of Sardinia... as well as the original manuscript of the *Regno papale*.[53]

To unravel this mystery, it must be remembered that after the sacking of the Archives by Bonaparte and his troops, the preservation of the Archives' treasures was endangered. One of the greatest discoveries,

50 See his three letters, never given to G., of 2 and 6 April and 25 May 1736. Eugène de Budé, *Vie de Jacob Vernet* (Lausanne 1893), p. 112; Ricuperati, *L'esperienza*, p. 460.
51 Nicolini, *Scritti*, p. 53.
52 Bertelli, 'L'incartamento originale', p. 30.
53 *Ibid.*, p. 37.

therefore, was made obliquely at the opening of the Archives of the Inquisition in 1979, at the request of the historian Carlo Ginzburg (b.1939), and then more fully in 1998, although only down to the reign of Leo XIII (1878-1903). Unearthed were the three codices of G.'s manuscripts, misfiled with the codex *Del Regno celeste alla Jerusalem coelestis* of the Swedish visionary Emanuel Swedenborg. As Ricuperati notes, these manuscripts are of great significance for a future critical edition of the *Triregno*.[54]

The condemned writings of Emanuel Swedenborg (1688-1772) are entitled *The Heavenly and Papal Kingdoms of Emanuel Swedenborg* (Stockholm 1788). They have been translated into Italian as *Regno celeste e papale di Emanuele Swedenborg, opera stampata a Stockholm* in 1788. Inside is a summary of the life and thought of the famous Swedish philosopher of nature. In Swedenborg's view, the sole solution for humanity was the renunciation of self-interest, implacable enemy of happiness. The introduction, 'Preliminary discourse or letter of the editor on the life of Emanuel Swedenborg, his writings, and their relevance to the present', is also translated into many languages, including Italian: *Discorso preliminare ovvero lettera del compilatore circa la vita di Emanuele Swedenborg, i suoi scritti e il loro rapporto al tempo presente.* G.'s precious codices were filed away under Swedenborg, obviously because of the title in common of both works. The manuscripts of both authors would, nevertheless, have been equally endangered by Bonaparte's brutal depredations. Swedenborg, moreover, quotes the same passage as G. from the Book of *Job*, 10.22:

> A land of misery where lives the shadow of death,
> And no order, but eternal horror.[55]

Within the *Rossiano* are found, to the amazement of the scholar, three manuscripts of the *Triregno*. The first is entitled *Libro secondo, Del Regno celeste*; the second codex is *Libro terzo, Del Regno papale*. The first is dated 1737, when G. was already a prisoner, perhaps still in Miolans, and Ormea's preparations were afoot for his Abjuration. The manuscripts are in general close to Parente's text, and Ricuperati suggests that they correspond to the Marciana codex in Venice, which he considers is based

54 Ricuperati, *Città terrena di P.G.*, p. 88.
55 Archivio della Congregazione per la Dottrina della Fede: *ibid.*, p. 89.

on this codex.[56] They are of inestimable importance, because they are close in time to G.'s actual text, 'and thus represent in the history of the *Triregno* the most significant discovery for an eventual critical edition'.[57]

The discovery of the third codex, however, is momentous. On it a different hand has written 'Original', and it is, in fact, G.'s original draft of the *Regno papale*. At the end of its second part is the note: 'Medeling, 1732', the place of G.'s summer retreat. A little further on comes the note: 'Medeling, 28 June 1733'.

This discovery contains seven new chapters of the *Regno papale* and another note: 'Med. 19 August 1733'. Yet another is 'Medel. 6 July 1734'. It ends with G.'s notes taken from Noël d'Alexandre's *Historia ecclesiastica* (Paris 1676-1686). Ricuperati, in the wake of Bertelli, on both of whom all students of G. must gratefully rely, provides a detailed description of the codices.[58]

The last passage in what was intended to be the last chapter of the *Regno papale* is as follows:

> The following centuries have made us realize the importance to the Roman Pontiffs of the wealth of the monks, which over time will become an abundant and perpetual income, enabling them to maintain the splendour of the papal court with magnificence and pomp, so that this new kingdom might rise in majesty over all other earthly kingdoms. The major donations of benefices and the greatest benefits which it dispenses today to its cardinals and other prelates to maintain the magnificence of its court do not depend on anything else, and originate solely from the wealth of the monks.
>
> And the richest monasteries, granted as donations, a practice which ceased with the passing of time, remained sources of great revenue on which they now draw. The income of those many monasteries, of which there now remains hardly a trace, all used to filter to Rome. The Roman Pontiffs, therefore, rival princes; and as the princes used to endow their faithful with feuds, so the Pontiffs used to confer benefices on their faithful. And as with feudal matters, a new body of laws has come into being for the system of Benefices, a new jurisdiction has been instituted, which fills as many volumes as does that of the Feudal. This will be seen in a more appropriate place in the last sections of this new 'Papal Kingdom'.[59]

56 *Ibid*., pp. 81-92.
57 *Ibid*., p. 45.
58 *Ibid*., pp. 88-92.
59 *Del regno papale*, Lib.III, c.236r. Quoted, *ibid*., p. 97.

This extraordinary discovery suggests that G.'s radicalism in the field of religion has returned to the jurisdictionalism of the *Civil History*. The fundamental tenets of the *Regno papale*, therefore, are not those of doctrine or philosophy, but secular rule. G.'s concept of the *Papal Kingdom* is based on the secular rulers of his time, the image of whose power was dazzling wealth. The source of revenue of the papal court is, therefore, essentially relevant to the *Regno papale*. We are thus privileged, in the words of Ricuperati, to find ourselves

> in the historian's laboratory, in his times, with his notes marking a precise division between his moments of research(by implication the months of winter) and those of writing, which at least for the *Regno papale* are always summer in the haven of Medeling. In 1734 it would have had to be definitely abandoned because of his plan to return [to Naples], which in reality would have denied the characteristic radical nature of his writing.[60]

We are confronted, moreover, by manuscripts sent to Albani from Turin, with G. already a prisoner in Miolans. Given the date of 1737, the copies of the *Regno celeste* and *Regno papale* would probably have been made in Turin in preparation for G.'s Abjuration. As the *Rossiano 1180* file records[61] in the statement of the Assessor, Giuseppe Maria Ferri Archbishop of Damascus, in 1741 Bentivoglio sold G.'s complete copy of the *Regno terreno* and *Regno celeste* to Benedict XIV. The manuscript must have then been broken up, and only the original draft of the *Regno papale* has survived. It is unfortunate that neither the *Regno terreno*, sent to the Archives of the Congregation in 1737, nor the *Regno celeste* have reappeared.

The Report of the Assessor of the Inquisition

The disastrous *fait accompli* unfolds in the following 'Report of Giuseppe Maria, Archbishop of Damascus', a most rare document accessible to us only because of the fortuitous discovery of the *Rossiano 1180*:

> After the arrest of Pietro Giannine [sic], His Majesty the King of Sardinia sent to Rome some of his manuscripts left in Geneva, where he had taken refuge to have more freedom to attend to the reprinting of his *Historia*

60 *Ibid.*, pp. 97-98.
61 *Rossiano 1180*: Bertelli, 'L'incartamento originale', pp. 36-38.

civile di Napoli, and to the publication of other works, written against the Holy See. Among those manuscripts there was one entitled *Regno terreno e celeste*, of which, as well as the original, the King of Sardinia had sent also a copy made at his order to facilitate its reading. Having seen from the general plan of it, however, that it was incomplete, and that it concerned also the *Regno papale*, *a new kingdom unknown to the ancients*, as the author described it, Your Eminences considered that when Our Lord would be asked to write a Letter of thanks to the King of Sardinia, he might ask him to have further efforts made to acquire the complement of the work. When this report was submitted to His Holiness, he approved the suggestion of the Sacred Congregation and deigned to order the Assessor to seek some way of obtaining the remainder of the work. On their learning from Sig. Barigliotti [Barillot] that the *Regno papale* with other writings of Giannone had been purloined by a preacher of Geneva, this news was conveyed to the same Clement XII, together with the offer made by Abate Bentivoglio that he would make every effort possible to have the complement of the work and other writings also which might have been in the possession of the Genevans. The advice pleased His Holiness, and he accepted the offer of Abate Bentivoglio, who betook himself to the Badia of Nantua not far from Geneva, where he was living with Signor Giovanni Bentivoglio his brother, and he conferred with him on the matter. And both did their utmost with such felicitous results that not only was the sale of the entire work to a Dutch publisher prevented, but they also had the Magistrate of Geneva consign it to them, by means of a payment of 200 Spanish doubloons, given to him as acquittance, with the permission of the Magistrate. When the Abate returned to Rome last year 1740, he informed Our Lord [Benedict XIV], felicitously reigning, of the acquisition of the manuscripts, and revealed that he was ready to collaborate about the expense. At the same time he represented to him the unhappy situation of his family, which in the pontificate of Benedict XIII had returned to the bosom of Holy Church, from which it had been driven away by one Giovanni Bentivoglio, perverted by Calvin during the secret journey which that heretic had made in Italy. The representations made by Abate Bentivoglio to His Holiness, were accompanied by those of the Barnabite Fathers of Montargis College, in a letter written to Father Maccabei in praise of Signor Bentivoglio's two sons educated in that college, and achieved all one could wish. Not only did His Holiness deign to obtain from the King of Sardinia a pension of fifty scudi for the said abate, he deigned also to order the assessor to write to Signor Giovanni Bentivoglio to come to Rome with his sons, and bring with him the manuscripts, assured of his papal protection. Signor Bentivoglio obeyed the order of His Beatitude expressed in the Assessor's letter, came to Rome with his sons, presented himself at

the feet of Our Lord, consigned to him the manuscripts, and had the consolation of hearing confirmed in the voice of His Holiness himself those expressions of good will, which had been signified in writing by the Assessor. As His Beatitude was for the moment unable to have his family enjoy all those favours which His Paternal Clemency desired to be able to grant it, Signor Bentivoglio found himself constrained to request His Holiness to reimburse him for the 200 doubloons spent in purchasing the manuscripts, to be in a position to return his sons to France to continue their studies, neglected then for the space of seven to eight months. In reference to that, His Holiness ordered the Assessor to inform Your Eminences of this matter, that in effect you were to decide whether to return the manuscripts to Signor Bentivoglio or to retain them at the Holy Office, where they already were, and have the Pious House [Pia Casa] pay him the 200 doubloons....

The manuscripts in question are divided in four volumes in folio, the first two contain the copy corrected by Giannone himself of the *Regno terreno*, the original of which had already been sent by the King of Sardinia, as mentioned above. The aim proposed by the author in the first part of the work is to destroy the dogma of the immortality of the soul, which he calls a common belief, a false and erroneous prejudice introduced over the last centuries. The third volume embraces the whole of the *Regno celeste*, of which some account had been sent to the King of Sardinia. In this part Giannone strives to show that the Christian religion has fallen into pagan superstition, and he takes offence at the Sacraments and especially the mystery of transubstantiation and the actual presence of Jesus Christ in the sacrament, as doctrines invented by the moderns. The fourth volume contains the *Regno papale*, and is Pietro Giannone's original, to which is added a copy of the introduction. This work, written to discredit the Pontificate and to show, as the author states, the encroachments of the Roman pontiffs on the rights of Princes, is divided into ten periods or Epochs, beginning with St Peter and going down to Clement XII [1730-1740]. He does not spare any occasion to inveigh against the conduct of the Popes, treating them as adventurers and usurpers, and numbering among them not only Gregory VII, but also saints Gegory the Great and Leo the Great. The work, however, goes only as far as the eighth century of the Church. There are some notes here, on the following centuries, referring to both matter and authority, which must serve as its complement.

Apart from the four volumes in folio brought by Signor Bentivoglio, there is a small one in quarto, which contains the title of the dedicatory letter: 'Alle Somme e Sovraine Potestà della Terra' [To the Great and

Sovereign Powers of the Earth] for the information of the Reader,[62] written perhaps by the nephew of Giannone but corrected by him. It explains his same idea in writing the work, which was to make the Princes aware of the assaults of the Court of Rome, which originated from the confusion of 'Apostolic See' and 'Roman Court', and of 'Bishopric of Rome' and 'Papacy', in order that they might open their eyes finally to defend the rights which the same Princes have been given by God. He declares that he wrote this work during his idle sojourn of eleven months [sic] in Vienna, with the intention, however, of leaving it buried in oblivion, but decided to publish it after the persecution by Rome of G. in Vienna, Venice and elsewhere. Because of that persecution, he had been forced to leave unfinished the *Papal Kingdom* and to withdraw to where he had nothing more to fear, where he was able to fight with arms equal to the Court of Rome by means of the pen. He states of this Court that its occult power had already been long revealed, when in it were recognized all those signs and marks with which John the Evangelist described that Whore, who was often seen prostituting herself with Kings, of whom Dante well knew how to express her characteristics and ways, and much more appropriately adapt the Church to her.

20 September 1741. Their Eminences decreed that the manuscripts of Pietro Giannone, which are the subject of this report, are to be kept in the Archives of this Holy Office, and that 700 scudi are to be paid by this Pious House to Giovanni Bentivoglio, who acquired them from the Genevan Magistrate and brought them to our most Holy Lord, if it pleases His Holiness.[63]

Giovanni's Original Transcript of the *Triregno*

In 1779 Albani died and his library began to be dismembered. 'Those who wanted to search there for the original transcript of the *Triregno*, unfortunately would have found their way blocked' cautioned Bertelli.[64] Part of the manuscripts ended in the Public Library of Montepellier.[65] Another part was taken by the Vatican Library in 1857, a third by the Order of the Buoncompagni.[66] As mentioned, a vast treasure of its manuscripts, claimed by Theodore Mommsen for Prussia, sank in the harbour of

62 G.'s Preface to the *Triregno:* Appendix.
63 AAV, *Rossiano 1180*: Bertelli, 'L'incartamento originale', pp. 36-38.
64 *Giannoniana*, p. 350.
65 'Libri e manoscritii provenienti dalla Biblioteca Albani nella Biblioteca di Montpellier', *Journal des Savants* (1841), 550-554.
66 *Giannoniana*, p. 350.

Gibraltar.[67] Part of it went also to the Corsiniana and later to Panzini.[68]

As we know, G.'s work in Geneva was mostly on the text of the *Triregno*, and Giovanni had been employed in making a complete transcript of it. When they were arrested, all the manuscripts were safely retrieved. As related, however, Ormea succeeded inexorably in having the original drafts of the *Regno terreno* and the incomplete *Regno celeste* consigned to Albani and thence to the Inquisition. Some twenty volumes of G.'s manuscripts and papers were sequestered, and of them the majority and the best were placed in Turin's State Archives, to which were added his writings from prison.

The complete transcript of the *Triregno*, copied by Giovanni and corrected by Pietro in 1735-1736, then became the object of a well-organized plot to consign it to the Inquisition. As related, Bentivoglio and Barillot succeeded in their heinous transactions.

It seems, nevertheless, that Vernet cannot have yielded the original draft of the *Regno celeste* either in response to G.'s request from Miolans or to Barillot for publication, because, as mentioned, at G.'s death Panzini had the entire three parts of it in his possession. The draft was accompanied by letters, and although it was then lost, it led to Panzini's monumental collection of G.'s *Opere postume* (Posthumous Works), which began with his biography of G. Copies based on the original draft of the *Regno celeste*, however, have been traced to Vienna, Naples, Milan, and London.[69] 'The Inquisitors did not know that the original of the *Regno celeste* [perhaps safeguarded by Vernet] had slipped through their fingers ready to bring forth a judicious series of copies. G.'s work, through two different channels, continued to live'.[70] The Church would certainly have feared its possible publication.[71] Panzini then published the index of its chapters in his edition of the *Opere postume* in Naples 1766.[72] In the second edition of the *Opere postume* published in 1768 by Giambattista Pasquali in Venice, Pasquali included not only the headings of the chapters of the Regno celeste, but also a table of all the chapters of

67 Chapter Eleven, n.51.
68 Pietro Del Negro, 'Addenda giannoniana e sarpiana', p. 133.
69 Ricuperati, *Città terrena di P.G.,* p. 45.
70 Bertelli, 'L'incartamento originale', p. 31.
71 Ricuperati, C*ittà terrena di P.G.,* p. 45.
72 *Giannoniana*, p. 342.

the *Triregno* from a copy which he was able to consult.[73]

In the pontificate of Clement XIII (1758-1769) the German edition of the *Civil History* began to be published (1758-1770). The nuncio in Vienna wrote darkly that 'it was wanted to publish also the unedited [posthumous] works of this wicked, discredited author'. Clement XIII ordered the nuncio to try, above all, to block publication, by revealing to the Empress Maria Theresia 'the irreparable damage and prejudice to Catholics such a work would be, full of foul clauses, the object of which is the destruction of what is most holy in the Church, and is therefore detested by whoever loves and professes the Catholic Faith'. The nuncio replied that in the free cities of the Empire one could publish what one wished.[74]

The Existence and Diffusion of Complete Copies of the *Triregno*

In an attempt to analyse this diffusion, albeit limited, of G.s' major work, we must return to the original transcript of the *Triregno* sold by Bentivoglio and Barillot in 1740-1741.

Bertelli and Pietro Del Negro[75] have both convincingly emphasized the probability that the precious manuscript was not grotesquely buried in the archives of the Inquisition, at least without a copy, done, as Ricuperati surmises, even conceivably by Barillot or Bentivoglio.[76] In Rome, the cardinal most closely involved in the tragedy of G.'s *Triregno*, and the person most likely to make a copy of it for his vast library, would have been Cardinal Alessandro Albani. And no one could have been more in a position to do so than he as the cardinal-shepherd of Savoy, through whom passed all G.'s sequestered writings.[77] Ricuperati notes

73 Del Negro, 'Addenda giannoniana e sarpiana', pp. 136-137, surmises that this copy, however, probably originated from the Neapolitan copyists and from Giovanni's later copy.

74 Archivio della Congregazione della Dottrina della Fede, Indice, *Censura liborum..., Pars prima*: Ricuperati, *Città terrena di P.G.*, pp. 81-82.

75 Bertelli, 'L'incartamento originale', p. 30; Del Negro, 'Addenda giannoniana e sarpiana', p. 133.

76 Ricuperati, *Città terrena di P.G.*, p. 45.

77 His library was dismembered on his death, and then in 1857. Apart from Mommsen's share, some of the manuscripts ended in the public library of Montpellier ('Libri e Manoscritti provenienti dalla Biblioteca Albani nella Biblioteca di Montpellier').

also the copyist in the Corsiniana, the library of Cardinal Neri Corsini, who worked on G.'s writings.

Bertelli refers to the scholarship of Natalino Sapegno[78] and his suggestion that in Jansenist circles in the Corsiniana in Rome G. was considered a religious reformer. There was also a rumour among contemporaries that, as Ricuperati expresses it, a copy 'had come from the Holy Office itself and was the work of some monsignor'.[79] Two copies, in fact, were circulating 'at least until the 1780s, one of the complete *Triregno* and the other based on Vernet's original manuscript of the *Regno celeste*'.

Fausto Nicolini, when recounting the lamentable fate of the *Triregno* in the last decades of the nineteenth century, refers, in fact, to a copy of the *Triregno* offered for sale to Liborio Romano, said to have been the above copy made from the original in the Inquisition's Archives 'by an unknown monsignor'. The price demanded was 120,000 *lire* and the 30,000 *lire* offered by the government's minister of education, Paolo Emilio Imbriani, was rejected by the possessor. In 1878, a writer, Raffaelo Parisi, published *La sesta parte del mondo, ovvero il 'Triregno' dell'avvocato Dattino* (The Sixth Part of the World or the 'Triregno' by the Lawyer Dattino) (Naples 1876). It related that employees in the Biblioteca Nazionale in Naples knew of a copy there of the *Triregno*, 'there until 1856 when the inventory of the manuscripts was completed'. In 1872, 'an unknown gentleman' offered the printer Mariano Lombardi another copy of the *Triregno* 'at a fabulous price'; that despite attempts to obtain it by other scholars, including Scipione Volpicella, then librarian in that library, 'the discovery... vanished', as Nicolini expresses it, 'like a piece of soap'.[80] In Rome there must thus have existed a copy close to the original *Triregno*, which Bertelli surmises was copied from the transcript done by Giovanni in Venice and Geneva.[81] The draft of the *Regno celeste* was accompanied by some of G.'s correspondence and, although then lost, it led to Panzini's monumental edition of G.'s *Opere postume*, which began

Another part was taken by the Vatican Library, another by the Order of the Buoncompagni (*Giannoniana*, p. 350).

78 *Giannoniana*, pp. 362-363; Natalino Sapegno, 'P.G. e la riforma religiosa', *Società*, 7 (1951), 35-53, p. 51.

79 Ricuperati, *Città terrena di P.G.*, p. 45.

80 Nicolini, *Scritti*, pp. 40-42.

81 *Giannoniana*, p. 352.

with G.'s *Vita*. Copies based on the original draft of the *Regno celeste*, however, have been traced to Venice, Naples, Milan, and London.[82]

The original of the *Regno celeste*, moreover, as mentioned, seems to have been sent to Naples by Vernet at G.'s death.[83] There must have been much confusion in Turin when the precious manuscripts were gradually tracked down. In the Abjuration, for example, reference is incorrectly made to the manuscripts, *Del regno celeste e terreno*, as initially Palazzi di Selve had entitled them.

The question then arises of how many copies existed of the *Triregno*, especially since a letter from Pietro Verri to his brother Alessandro of 2 January 1768 from Milan refers to plans in Holland to publish an edition, finally, of some 500 copies.[84] As Bertelli observes, such an edition would probably have been intended for Italy. A copy, nevertheless, could have gone to Holland, and it confirms the assumption that several copies of the *Triregno* did exist.[85]

The Remaining Copies of the *Regno terreno*, *Regno celeste*, and *Regno papale*

It is now possible to turn to the unexpected existence of several copies of various parts of the *Triregno*, both in Italy and in the Oesterreichisches Nationalbibliothek in Vienna, an analysis made possible by the exhaustive and brilliant labours of Bertelli in his *Giannoniana*,[86] by the significant contribution of Del Negro, and ultimately of Ricuperati's revelatory books published in 2001 and 2004 respectively: *La città terrena di PG* and *Nella costellazione del Triregno*.

The *Biblioteca Marciana*: a transcript of the *Triregno*, each kingdom of which comprises the work of a different copyist (identified as A-D), was catalogued in the Marciana Library in Venice in 1889.[87] Four copyists

82 Ricuperati, *Città terrena di P.G.*, p. 45.
83 Panzini, *Vita*, pp. 163-166.
84 *Carteggio di Pietro e Alessandro Verri*, 1, Pt.2 (Milan 1923), letter No.180, p. 124; *Giannoniana*, p. 349. See also Anna Rao, 'Un "letterato faticatore" nell'Europa del Settecento, Michele Torcia (1734-1808)', *RSI*, 107 (1995), 647-725.
85 *Giannoniana*, p. 352.
86 On the later wide diffusion of the *Triregno* in Italy, see Bertelli's exhaustive research: *Giannoniana*, pp. 338-363.
87 Ricuperati, 'Libertinismo e Deismo a Vienna: Spinoza, Toland e il *Triregno*, in *RSI* 79

can be identified, one of whom (A) Bertelli has identified as none other than Giovanni.[88]

The *Biblioteca Corsiniana*: between 1757 and 1759 an amanuensis of Rome's Corsiniana, identified as D, copied the *Regno papale*, not, however, from Giovanni's later, less accurate copy, but from the original of 1735-1736. Giovanni's original transcript of 1735-1736 passed from Barillot to Bentivoglio, and eventually (on its way perhaps to the archives of the Inquisition) to Albani.[89] It is hardly possible to imagine that Albani would not have had a copy made of the notorious manuscript of the *Triregno*, and the circle of the Corsiniana in which this copyist worked was part of the circle of Albani. The copy or copies, moreover, would have been done after 1753. As Bertelli observes:

> We have thus arrived at the proof that in Rome there must have been circulated a text of the *Triregno*, very close to the original, and we can postulate its source as being solely the library of Albani. It means that in this text of D we recognize none other than the copy done by Giovanni in Venice and Geneva.[90]

The existence of the copy of the complete *Triregno* is revealed, in fact, in the note to readers, on the author's life and works, in the 'edition of the *Istoria civile* published in The Hague in 1753:

> The author, however, was planning a great project of his own choosing, on which he spent his time, entitled the *Regno terreno*, *Regno celeste* and *Regno papale*. The first was meant to represent man in a state of nature, with no other government, philosophy or religion than what is conducive to temporal happiness. The second represents man in a state of grace and called to a spiritual, eternal happiness by means of the Evangelists. The third, which is also the most extended, showed how on the foundation of the Christian religion, there has arisen, through various circumstances and continuing abuses, a singular monarchy under the name of the Papal Kingdom.
>
> The author claims that this kingdom was to be distinguished from the Catholic Church, the Roman Court from the Apostolic See, and the Roman Papacy from the Bishopric of Rome. These matters are cleverly confused, in order that secular society, which originates from the

(1967), 628-695; *La città terrena di P.G.*, p. 47.

88 *Giannoniana*, pp. 344-345.

89 *Ibid*., pp. 345-346.

90 *Ibid*., p. 352.

liberality of Princes in addition may maintain and preserve itself in the shadow of the spiritual, sacred and inviolable, as deriving from Divine Institutions.

Given the confusion, it happens that by injuring even in the least part the Papal Monarchy or the clerical privileges, both dependent on the Roman Court, he exclaims and uses the spiritual weapons, as though the Church and religion were overturned, obstructs the timid, and limits the more pious princes.

Our jurisconsult thought to make himself useful to Christianity by developing these two matters, and noting the degree, occasion and artifice whereby this mixed monarchy was gradually formed. It was considered the ultimate by Gregory VII and firmly maintained by his successors, to the point of attributing to themselves the right of sovereigns in disposing of the kingdoms and countries of the world.

This learned and curious work was to be divided into ten periods, in which the aggrandizement of the clergy appears immediately, and later in the various levels instituted at different times by the Bishops of Rome, to raise themselves over the human species. It is not known whether such a work was ever finished. What is certain is that the first three periods, down to the ninth century, have been written.[91]

The *Biblioteca Civica* in Padua: here is found the text of the *Regno terreno* done by a single amanuensis (identified as G). It originated perhaps around 1779, the date of the dismemberment of Albani's library, or at the latest 1783, the year in which Francesco Longano completed his copy of the *Tritegno* (below). The copy bears the watermark in evidence in the Corsiniana around 1789. The copyist would have copied his manuscript in Rome, where the original manuscript and transcript of the *Triregno* remained, as Del Negro hypothesises, either in Albani's library (until 1779) or eventually in the Corsiniana.[92]

The Paduan copy resembles the first part of the *Regno terreno* in the Marciana manuscript, but there are many cases of better reading. When compared with C's copy of the second part of the *Regno terreno* in the Marciana manuscript, the Paduan copy is also, in general, more correct. Some variations suggest, however, that the source of this Marciana manuscript is the one in Padua. C's text remains linked to the Neapolitan labours of Giovanni, whose later copy, given his authority and because

91 Venice, Biblioteca Marciana: *Del Regno Terreno, Del Regno Celeste, Del Regno Papale; Giannoniana*, pp. 383-385.

92 Del Negro, 'Addenda giannoniana e sarpiana', pp. 135, 140.

the original transcript had by then disappeared, I could possibly have been confused with the original transcript.[93] The research undertaken by Giuseppe Ricuperati and Daria Perocco reveals, in fact, 'that the Paduan text precedes the Marciana copy in Venice which, for the part of the *Regno terreno*, is directly dependent on it'.[94] It must therefore be closer to the original text of the *Regno terreno*.

The *Regno celeste*

Six copies remain of the *Regno celeste* in various libraries: the Oesterreichisches Nationalbibliothek of Vienna, the Marciana in Venice, the Ambrosiana of Milan, the Biblioteca Nazionale in Naples, and the libraries of the Seminario Archivescovile (NSA) and the Società Napoletana di Storia Patria (SNSP), both also in Naples. The six texts preserved fall into two distinct groups. The first is that of the Marciana, that in the Biblioteca Nazionale in Naples, and that in the Oesterreiches Nationalbibliothek in Vienna. The second group comprises the copies in the Ambrosiana in Milan, and in the libraries of the NSA and the SNSP in Naples (the SNSP is based on the NSA). This confirms the existence of two distinct sources, as for the other parts of the *Triregno*.[95] The copies in the Marciana and Naples National Library share a common source; as do those of the NSA in Naples and the Ambrosiana. The position of the Viennese copy is more complicated.

The Viennese copy of the *Regno celeste* is precious because it is closest in time to the original draft, believed to have been sent to Naples by Vernet, and preserved and hidden by him. When he was deliberately putting the manuscripts of the *Triregno's* original draft out of order before surrendering them to Picon's agent Guastaldi, perhaps that of the *Regno celeste* seemed to him the most compromising for G. From it, as Ricuperati observes, 'it would have been possible to have a great part of a project of the radical Enlightenment'.[96]

The Viennese copy of the *Regno celeste* in its last part, however, was done by a copyist engaged by G. himself to copy the '*Professione di*

93 *Ibid*., pp. 126-128, 139.
94 Ricuperati, *Città terrena di P.G.,* pp. 49, 36.
95 *Giannoniana*, p. 357.
96 Ricuperati, *Città terrena di P.G.*, p. 44.

fede' and the 'Riposta... intorno al dominio del mare Adriatico' (Reply on the Rule over the Adriatic Sea).[97] In the Viennese copy, this hand alternates with that of Giovanni, so that the copy must derive from the original transcript done in Venice after Giovanni's arrival in April 1735. G. evidently often used that Venetian copyist. He may have been employed to correct Giovanni's copy, or he was perhaps an amanuensis used by Barillot in 1740.[98] 'At least... these last pages of the Viennese manuscript we must conclude to be the original transcript dating from 1735'. Mistakes in the biblical references could then be ascribed more to G. himself than the copyist.[99]

The Ambrosiana copy forms the other group of the *Regno celeste*, with those of the Neapolitan libraries of the NSA and the SNSP. All these would seem to derive ultimately from the corrected Viennese manuscripts, although Del Negro would contest this claim.

Another copy of the *Regno celeste* has been discovered in London in the British Library. It derives from the copies made from the original which Vernet sent to Naples and is important also because it belongs to the same year in which Panzini collated the manuscripts.[100]

An edition of the text of the *Regno celeste* on the basis of Bertelli's research would have embraced the Viennese, Marciana and Ambrosiana manuscripts, with the brief fragment of the text of D in the Corsiniana, and would exclude the Neapolitan manuscripts. This is corroborated in general by the exhaustive analysis of Pietro Del Negro.[101]

The Copyists of the *Triregno*

There was a notable circulation of the several copies of the *Triregno* in the latter part of the eighteenth century and probably the next century. Tributes must thus be paid to those persons, the scribes, the copyists of Italy's great libraries and the National Library of Vienna, who took upon themselves to copy the scattered remains of G.'s masterwork in the fifty

97 TAS *Mss. Giannone*: Ricuperati, *Carte torinesi*, p. 28; *Giannoniana*, p. 359.
98 Del Negro, 'Addenda giannoniana e sarpiana', p. 132.
99 *Giannoniana*, p. 359. We are indebted also to Del Negro for his keen conjectures on the Viennese manuscripts.
100 Ricuperati, 'Dopa la *Giannoniana*', in *Nella Costellanza del* [*Triregno*] (Foggia 2004), pp. 73-177.
101 *Giannoniana*, p. 360; Del Negro, 'Addenda giannoniana e sarpiana', p. 134.

years after his imprisonment; for the victim of the Church, the religious reformer present in all his works continued to inspire the courage of solitary idealists to embark on their secret labours of preserving at least his writings.

The circulation of the several copies of it in the latter part of the eighteenth century and probably the next century, as Bertelli relates,[102] suggests, nevertheless, that G.'s role in the Roman Jansenist circles of the Corsiniana was more that of religious reformer than jurisdictionalist.

G.'s major work in Venice and Geneva was to prepare the vast manuscript of the *Triregno* for publication. The fifth volume of the *Civil History* must have been virtually ready because of the long circulation of parts of it.

Basing himself on the admirable, fundamental reconstruction by Sergio Bertelli in the *Giannoniana* of the few copies remaining of the *Triregno*, Del Negro in his article 'Addenda giannoniana and sarpiana' has prepared a summary and an exhaustive account relating also to the important manuscript of the *Regno terreno* preserved in the Biblioteca Civica in Padua of the fragments and copies remaining of the *Triregno*. The accounts of both scholars were written before the discovery of *Rossiano 1180,* but remain in general unchanged.

(1) The original drafts of the *Regno terreno* and *Regno papale* are consigned by Ormea through Albani to the Inquisition in Rome in February 1737.

(2) The transcript (or apograph) of the whole of the *Triregno* made by Giovanni in 1735-1736 is then perhaps consigned by Albani to the Archives of the Inquisition some five or ten years later. As Del Negro suggests, Giovanni must have been under pressure to complete it as accurately and as soon as possible for its imminent publication.

(3) Another transcript (or part of it) by a Venetian in 1734-1735, a section of which is now part of the Viennese copy of the *Regno celeste* (in Vienna's Österreichische Nationalbibliothek), was probably made before Giovanni's arrival in Venice, and its text indicates 'a certain haste'.[103] The Venetian amanuensis at that time, therefore, could have been engaged by Pietro himself, with publication organized, to correct the references.

102 *Giannonana*, p. 363.
103 Pietro Del Negro, 'Addenda giannoniana e sarpiana', p. 132.

(4) After G.'s death in 1748 the original of the *Regno celeste* is found in Naples.

(5) In the years after 1756 and 'almost certainly after 1765', Giovanni recopied the *Triregno*, but whether completely or only in part is unknown.[104] Of Giovanni's later less accurate copy, however, there remains only the General Plan and part of the *Regno papale*, now included in the manuscript preserved in the Biblioteca Marciana in Venice.

(6) Around 1758, an amanuensis of the Biblioteca Corsiniana (whom Bertelli identifies as D in reference to the Marciana manuscript) recopied the *Regno papale*, the copy of which is now divided between the Marciana and Corsiniana.

(7) In 1756 the Neapolitan Matteo Lafragola had the Index to the chapters of the entire *Triregno*.

(8) At the end of 1767 it was rumoured that Holland was about to publish the *Triregno*, 'Holland', however, was certainly a fictitious place of publication, in reality, Italy; an edition of 500 copies may have been planned.

(9) In 1768, the Venetian publisher Giambattista Pasquali claimed to have a complete copy of the *Triregno*, and published its General Plan.

(10) Before 1783, the amanuensis C recopied the *Regno terreno*, or part of it, probably from Giovanni's later copy.

(11) In 1783, an amanuensis Francesco Longano, signing himself A.C. De Sannitibus,[105] recopied the *Triregno*, using the codex or codices of C. and Giovanni.

(12) Around 1789, the amanuensis noted as B, perhaps of the Corsiniana, recopied the *Regno terreno* and the *Regno celeste.*

(13) In 1789 also or a little later, the three volumes of the *Triregno*

104 Panzini, when writing Pietro's biography, knew only of the *Regno celeste*: *Vita,* p. 164.

105 The identity of A.C. Sannitibus, to whom we owe the Neapolitan copy on which Parente based his edition of the *Triregno*, has been the object of Elvira Chiosi's research in her eloquent book *Lo spirito del secolo* (Naples 1992). She has constructed a solid hypothesis for the amanuensis having been Abate Francesco Longano (1728-1796), 'the most loved and devoted student of the great Antonio Genovesi... [Longano's] evocative religious radicalism emanated from the secret atmosphere of the [Masonic] Lodges' (p. 9). His life was marked by poverty and marginalization, but was celebrated by his writings, which epitomized the strivings of the Enlightenment. In Genovesi he recognized and no doubt emulated 'an infinite sense of religious and universal benevolence'. Longano, *Autobiografia*, p. 350, as quoted by Chiosi, p. 202 (the original of his autobiography is lost: it can be read in *Illuministi italian*i, vol.5=*Riformatori napoletani* (Milan 1962), pp. 347-367.

of the Marciana were rebound in the Corsiniana, uniting the 'Roman' codices of the amanuenses D and B and the 'Neapolitan' codices of C and Giovanni.[106]

A Printed Edition of the *Triregno*

At last, in 1895, in Rome, the first edition appeared of the *Triregno*, edited by Augusto Pierantoni (1840-1911).[107] It has been judged harshly: Pierantoni published 'without doing any research on the manuscripts, but by combining the use of a copy in Milan of the *Regno Celeste* with the first and third Giannone manuscripts in Naples National Library'.[108] It is therefore of little philological value.

Alfredo Parente (1905-1985)[109] prepared a second edition, published in three volumes (Bari 1940) in the Scrittori d'Italia series of Laterza. He undertook this labour at the request of Francesco de Sanctis, 'to give a new soul to the state which had to be reborn from the ashes of fascism'.[110] His text was based—not unexpectedly—on the copy made by Francesco Longano of the Neapolitan manuscripts, instead of the most important and faithful copies preserved in the Biblioteca Marciana in Venice and the Ambrosiana in Milan. Parente does not make any personal comment in his excellent introduction. His edition, nevertheless, 'cancelled' that of Pierantoni.

106 Del Negro, 'Addenda giannoniana e sarpiana', pp. 128-130.

107 Although the edition was very unsatisfactory, Pierantoni should have been well suited to the task. He held chairs of law at Modena and Naples, was a dedicated Republican, a firm opponent of the death penalty and of papal theocracy, and campaigner for female suffrage. He was a deputy in Parliament from 1874 for Naples and then Caserta, and senator from 1883. He was author of *Storia degli studi del diritto internazionale* (Modena 1869), and *Trattato di diritto internazionale* (Rome 1881), placed on the Index. The Universities of Oxford (1885) and Cambridge (1905) awarded him honorary degrees. He was Mancini's son-in-law. *DBI* 83, pp. 291-294: Eloisa Mura.

108 Ricuperati, *L'esperienza*, 566. The same is stated by Bertelli: B., p. 344.

109 Parente was born into a cultured family, and studied Literature and Philosophy. Ill-health prevented a teaching career. He was librarian of the Società Napoletana di Storia Patria from 1738. He preserved an inflexible moral resistance to Fascism. *DBI* 81, pp. 318-320.

110 Ricuperati, *L'esperienza*, p. 547.

A Future Edition of the *Triregno*

The study of the *Rossiana 1180* manuscript, published by Sergio Bertelli, reveals that the archives of the Inquisition had acquired a copy, corrected by G., of the *Regno papale*, and 'all of the *Regno celeste*, of which some headings had already been sent by the King of Sardinia', as well as the original manuscript of the *Regno papale*.[111] After the sacking of the archives by Bonaparte in 1792, however, the fate of all was in doubt.

As referred to above, one of the greatest discoveries, therefore, made obliquely with the opening of the archives of the Congregazione della Dottrina della Fede (the Inquisition), was the group of three codices of G.'s manuscripts, misfiled with the codex: *Del Regno celeste alla Jerusalem coelesti*s, of another victim of the Church, the Swedish visionary and polymath Emanuel Swedenborg (1688-1722); they are the incomplete copy of the *Regno celeste* and an incomplete copy of the *Regno papale*. The third manuscript, however, was G.'s original draft of the *Regno papale*, and bears the dates 1732 and 1733.[112]

The exhaustive research of Giuseppe Ricuperati and of Sergio Bertelli led them to reject the admirable efforts of their predecessors, Francesco Longano and Alfredo Parente. The Marciana text also has now largely become compromised by the latest discoveries.

The *Regno terreno*, of which the original has not been found, could be based on the Paduan codex, rediscovered and analysed by Del Negro, with the fragment of the amanuensis D from the Corsiniana, identified by Bertelli.

For the *Regno celeste* a more complicated fusion might be based on the Viennese codex and the transcript discovered in the Swedenborg file, released with the opening of the archives of the Inquisition. This would take into consideration, however, also the copy in the Ambrosiana and the London codex, done, as mentioned, in the same year in which Panzini was collating the original draft of the *Regno celeste*, believed to have been sent to Naples by Vernet.

For the *Regno papale*, a judicious edition would combine the original

111 Bertelli, 'L'incartamento originale', p. 37.

112 See the descriptions of them above: 'Report of the Assessor of the Inquisition Joseph Maria, Archbishop of Damascus'.

draft recovered from the archives of the Inquisition in the file of Swedenborg and the transcript of the Marciana codex, if it is a straight copy of it. It could also be preceded by the Preface written by G. at Rovere di Cre, which Ricuperati, with the assistance of many friends, unearthed from the papers of Palazzi di Selve.[113] It would be a monument not only to one of the greatest yet most profound and unacknowledged unfinished achievements of the Enlightenment, but also to the glory of all the scholars who have subsequently dedicated their erudition to the resurrection of the fame of Pietro Giannone.

Despite the admirable labours of the Neapolitan copyists of the *Triregno*, and the discovery, for example, of the Swedenborg file, the realities of the destruction of war can never be underestimated. In the last months of the Second World War, with the Allied army drawing near, the German army in its retreat destroyed the bridge of the Four Seasons over the Arno in Florence; burnt the Nemi ships, finally raised in the twentieth century from the lake after dreams going back to the Renaissance; and it made an immense pyre of the *most valuable* historical documents from the State Archives in Naples. This represented the most serious loss to history ever recorded in Italy. A squad of wrecking and looting German soldiers in search of food came upon the Villa Montesano, and discovered 866 boxes containing 30,000 volumes and 50,000 manuscripts. The next day an officer appeared and demanded to see them, and made a detailed examination of the contents. The director of the Archives, Count Riccardo Filangieri, wrote a full description of their contents to the local German commander, affirming his responsibility for their protection—to no avail. The fact that there were copyists working on the manuscripts of the *Triregno* in both the libraries of the Archiepiscopal Seminary and the Society for National History means that there could well have been remains of the *Triregno* in those destroyed documents.[114]

The discovery of these precious fragments of G.'s masterpiece, which remains radical even today, nevertheless, leaves the scholars of Giannonian studies uncertain about a modern edition of the *Triregno* to

113 Ricuperati, *Nella costellazione del* [*Triregno*], pp. 195-202: see Chapter Ten.

114 Riccardo Filangieri, 'Report on the Destruction by the Germans, 30 September, 1943, of the Depository of Priceless Historical Records of the Naples State Archives', *The Archivist* (1944), 252-255.

replace that of Parente. Bertelli published the extraordinary discovery of the manuscript *Rossiana 1180* in his article 'L'incartamento originale del Sant' Uffizio relative a P.G.' in 1968; Merlotti has traced G.'s posthumous fame through the archives over the past 100 years. Ricuperati's eloquent analysis appeared in 1993 with his famous article 'Dopo la Giannoniana'. His research was completed and published in 2001, seven years later with *La città terrena di P.G.* We are now privileged to have a second edition, profoundly enriched, of his *L'esperienza civile e religiosa di Pietro Giannone* (2017).

Ricuperati confronts us, however, with indisputable logic, that the significance of the *Triregno* in the culture of early eighteenth-century Italy can be realized only when there is available

> a philologically plausible edition of a text, which is a sorrowful fragment, original and incomplete, ... of the religious and civil possibilities of the Enlightenment.[115]

The Lectures of Giuseppe Ferrari

Giuseppe Ferrari (1811-1876),[116] philosopher and historian, had become familiar with G. in the period between 1842 and 1844, which had marked a resurgence of interest in him, apart from the infamous poisoned darts of Alessandro Manzoni, who was made famous by the melodramatic sentiment of *Promessi sposi*; Ferrari may have been familiar also with the hardly sympathetic comments of the literary critic Francesco De Sanctis.[117] It was Ferrari whose lectures first brought G.'s incomplete masterpiece to public notice.

Ferrari's lectures on G. (amongst others) began in the great hall of the University of Turin in May 1862: 'Corso sugli scrittori politici italiani', and, given his reputation, they generated great interest. In them he consolidated his previous work on G., the aim of which, he stated, was to create a new science:

115 Ricuperati, *Città terrena di P.G*, p. 111.

116 *DBI* 46, pp. 609-615: Franco della Peruta, who makes no reference to his public lectures. Above, Chapter Twelve, n.93.

117 Attilio Mariani, 'Il giovane [Francesco] De Sanctis lettore di P.G.', *Letteratura e critica, Studi in onore di Natalino Sapegno* (Rome 1975), 2, pp. 643-680.

> To suppress entirely spiritual power, to bury it under the dictates of Roman law, and destroy the abhorred memory of it, entrusting society, if not to the philosophers, at least to the principles initiated in the mysteries of science and hardened against every superstition of the past.[118]

Ferrari continued:

> His *Opere postume* reveal him in Vienna, intent on defending himself with erudition and satire. Although the practice of the courts and a scholastic approach veiled his *Apologia* [*de' teologi scolastici*] in second-rateness, such a fog does not prevent our discerning the splendour of a poetically creative mind.[119]

G. in the *Triregno*:

> universalizes the ideas of the *Civil History*, expounding the opinions of Machiavelli with such vigour, such fullness and with such modern erudition that, having left behind all his predecessors, he raises himself beyond all his political contemporaries.[120]

Ferrari then turned to Turin's State Archives to read G.'s minor works and those written in prison. In the Royal Archives he consulted in particular *L'ape ingegnosa.*[121] This Ferrari found useful in reconstructing the missing part of the *Triregno*. His reading made him realize that, thanks to Giannone and Giovanni Battista Vico, Italy was, in fact, represented in the intellectual sphere, in particular in the field of philosophy, of European culture in the century of the Enlightenment.[122]

Pasquale Mancini, now ironically having become Minister of Public Education, in 1862 proposed a course of lectures on G. to Ferrari. The greatness of G., therefore, was to be acclaimed publicly once more by one who had devoted his life to brilliant scholarship, becoming thereby a profound humanist.

Mancini provided Ferrari with copies of G.'s manuscripts still in his

118 Ferrari, *Corso sugli scrittori politici italiani* (Milan 1862), p. 715; Merlotti, 'Settecento e "Risorgimento ghibellino", Giuseppe Ferrari, lettore di Pietro Giannone' (The Eighteenth Century and the 'Ghibelline Risorgimento', Giuseppe Ferrari, Reader of Pietro Giannone), *Annali della Fondazione Luigi Einaudi*, 28 (1994), 301-356, p. 332.
119 Ferrari, *Corso sugli scrittori politici italiani*, p. 717; Merlotti, 'Settecento', p. 333.
120 Ferrari, *Corso sugli scrittori politici italiani*, p. 718.
121 Published finally in 1993, ed. Andrea Merlotti.
122 Merlotti, 'Settecento', p. 336.

possession. Thanks again to the scholarship of Andrea Merlotti,[123] we know that Mancini appears to have given Ferrari not only copies of the *Apologia de' teologi scolastici* and the *Vita*, but also a copy of the *Regno Celeste* which Mancini had found in 1859 in Milan's Istituto Lombardo di Science e Lettere.

Ferrari finds much that is similar between Italy's two great contemporary thinkers, G. and Vico. Ferrari, after all, was an indisputable authority on Vico, having in 1835 edited his works, and then written on them again in Paris in French, *Vico et l'Italie* (Paris, 1839).

> Woe to you if you wish to bring down Vico from his heights and force him to descend to earth to the field of common erudition...you would then see his system grow pale and his circles vanish into nothing.... [In the *Triregno,* however,] you would find...all the erudition which destroys the *Scienza nuova*... Giannone, who is not equal to Vico in mobility of speculation, and cannot be compared when it comes to [Vico's] acuteness in historical psychology, is at home, so to speak, in the modern world...and, moreover, while Vico, overcome with devotion and servility, forgets the modern world and spark of law which created it, no jurist, no legislator, no tribune has arisen for a hundred years against the authority of the Church without being even unconsciously a disciple of Giannone.[124]

Ferrari observed on the *Triregno*, after a long comparison between Vico and G.:

> From the moment that his fortune or, rather, his growing fame revealed him to me as the sole representative among us in the eighteenth century against the papal religion, I could not leave him in the genre of historians, jurists or politicians where I myself had placed him, and it was incumbent on me to describe him in the end as one of the founders of the philosophy of history.[125]

Ferrari devoted four lectures in 1863 to the *Triregno*, and although he had had only the *Regno celeste*, he was able to reconstruct the whole work by using the *Vita* and, as mentioned, *L'ape ingegnosa*. He recognized that the *Triregno* owed much to the rich intellectual life of Vienna, so totally different from that of Piedmont. He described the *Triregno* thus:

123 *Ibid.*
124 *La mente di P.G.* (Milan 1868), lecture 7, pp. 94-95.
125 Ferrari, *La mente di P.G.*, Preface, Florence, 9 August 1868.

> It is the whole book in the history of Italian literature..., the whole work in which religion is openly assailed on dogma, sounded in its origins, and analysed in its consequences. Giannone is the sole writer through whom Italy is associated with the European movement of science against faith.[126]

Ferrari observed that in the *Triregno* G. had founded 'the calendar of civilization on thought', in contrast to the *Civil History*:

> in the *Triregno* all movement comes from below; the first idea of every epoch is taken from the multitude, which does not permit any leader to rise up unless he represents it in the various spheres of religion, politics, art or war. Who invented the resurrection of the dead? Perhaps Christ? No, that he took from the Pharisees. Perhaps the Pharisees? No, that they took from Ezekiel, from the poets, the philosophers, who took it from the popular development of the imagination and of the region.[127]

If, in fact, Charles Emanuel had accepted G.'s challenge 'to proclaim a terrestrial religion against the pontifex who transfers the end of man beyond the world', Piedmont

> assisted by the English writers, Germanic indifference, and the new spirit animating France, would have [been] imitated by all the Italian states, and [would have given] the signal for a war of ideas.[128]

With the publication of the lectures in 1868, Ferrari continued to be attacked by the Catholic moderates. He was to write later:

> When I began a course in Milan on the *Triregno*, an unedited and unknown work directed against the Pontifex by Pietro Giannone, the sole free-thinker whom Italy had had in the eighteenth century, I had no idea what would be periodically written against me by the very ones who made the war on the Pontifex the theme of their daily declarations.[129]

Ferrari's inspiring labours to restore G.to his rightful place are essential reading. Merlotti examines also the negative responses to Ferrari's lectures on G., in particular that of Cesare Cantù, whose work on G. in *Eretici d'Italia*, 3 vols (Turin, 1865-1866), Merlotti judges as superficial, and

126 *Ibid*., lecture 6, pp. 83.
127 *Ibid*., lecture 7, pp. 86-87.
128 *Ibid*., lecture 9, p. 111.
129 Ferrari, *Opere*, ed. Silvia Rota-Ghibaudi (Turin 1973), pp. 951-952; Merlotti, 'Settecento', pp. 349–350.

derivative, and concerned more about circumstances than the ideas of his subjects.[130] Cantù avails himself freely, without documentation, of Ferrari's work, giving it, however, his own bitter twist; for example, to Ferrari's statement that with the *Triregno* G. was the only writer who brought Italy into the European debate on knowledge versus faith, Cantù observed that this would prove that it was not wrong to detain and persecute him.[131] Merlotti noted that through Ferrari's public lectures G. was 'no longer the author only of the *Civil History*, but became, for the first time, the author of the *Triregno* and the works from prison'.[132] Ferrari's lectures marked the first time that G.'s masterpiece, the *Triregno*, which Ferrari saw as a study of the comparative science of religion, was publicly expounded.[133]

G. tells us that he began the *Triregno* on summer holidays at Mödling in 1732.[134] His letter to Prince Trivulzio from Geneva of 19 March 1736[135] contains 'the first known reference to the *Triregno*': here, however, it was stated to be the result of labours over twelve years.

Among such learned friends of the great Palatine Library G. wrote what would have been his masterwork, the *Triregno.* It was composed in between the excessive time spent justifying the *Istoria civile*: the vast *Apologia all'Ístoria civile* (Defence of the Civil History). He remembers vividly in the *Vita* how he was given access to all the sources for the *Triregno*.[136] His 'beloved Torlosia' had, in fact, arranged and catalogued in the Palatine the famous libraries of Riccardi, that of the archbishop of Valencia Folch de Cardonia, and also that of Prince Eugene.[137] It was begun in Naples in 1723, amplified in Vienna, and completed in Venice in 1734. G. had turned for assistance with this to Alessandro Riccardi and Garelli, and also in Naples to Vincenzo d'Íppolito and Giovanni Acampora.[138]

The origin of G.'s inspiration to paint such a vast fresco on the evolution of the fundamental doctrines of the Church was also the

130 Merlotti, 'Settecento', pp. 352-353.
131 Cantù, *Eretici d'Italia*, p. 426; Merlotti, 'Settecento', p. 354.
132 Merlotti, 'Settecento', p. 304.
133 Merlotti, 'Settecento', p. 334.
134 Chapter Eight, p. 376.
135 *Epist.*, pp. 1106-1108.
136 Chapter Eight, p. 385.
137 Ricuperati, *L'esperienza*, p. 376.
138 Bertelli, intro. to *Istoria civile* in *Opere di P.G.*, p. 362.

study, on which his former professor, the learned Domenico Aulisio, had inspired him to reflect. G.'s research for the *Regno celeste* (the Kingdom of Heaven) evolved from his reading of Protestant thought, but the *Regno terreno* (Earthly Kingdom) was based on the works of Spinoza. Although they underly almost all the reading referred to in the *Vita*, there is no reference ever to Spinoza's name! The inspiration of Spinoza had led him to assume that the writings of the Church Fathers had not come down to us untouched by time: to reject the divinity of the Pentateuch; to describe the pronouncements of the prophets of the Old Testament, such as Jeremiah, as inspired by imagination, not reason;[139] and to understand that the sole claim to divinity of the Scriptures is their theme of moral virtue. In Vienna, G. made a copy of Spinoza's preface to the *Tractatus,* in which is found the moving maxim that freedom of conscience and religious toleration are necessary for the state religion.[140] The *Triregno* itself was based on the ideal of tolerance. The detailed notes taken from Spinoza's writings in the Palatine remain in the Turin State Archives.[141] The *Vita* itself seems to be imbued with a philosophical calm similar to that of Spinoza.

G. began the *Regno celeste* with a quote from Gassendi:

> It is rash to define those things which seem to involve or imply contradiction....as it may be thought that something cannot be done by God;...for although we may be considered stupid if we were to state that God could bring it about that something may or may not exist at the same time. It is better, moreover, to seem stupid rather than rash, especially in argument in which is attributed to God neither too much nor too little.[142]

Much light is thrown on the *Triregno* also by a review written by G. of Book Six of the manuscript of Antonio Costantino,[143] the *Philosophia*

139 'Since all depends on imagination, not reasoning, their prophecies vary accordingly'. Spinoza, *Tractatus*, Chapter Two; *Trigeno*, *Regno terreno*, p. 222.

140 Ricuperati, in *Opere di P.G.*, p. 378.

141 TAS *Mss. Giannone* mazzo 1, ins.6.

142 Gassendi, Physic, Section 1, Book 4: de principio et efficacia rerum.

143 Antonio Costantino was probably G.'s exact contemporary. He was born in Castrovillari, entered the order of the Minims of S. Francesco di Paola, became known as a theologian and preacher, and was called to Rome in 1695 to the college of S. Francesco ai Monti, where he gained fame as a canonist and poet. He eventually was called to Vienna as Imperial poet under Joseph I. *DBI* 30, pp. 342-343: Angelo Romano.

adamito—noetica divina mundana una et eadem ad omnes gentes profecta.[144] His review of Costantino's work of 21 December 1731 means that he must have told at least his Viennese friends something of his undertaking, friends who provided the rich environment which nourished the ideas of the *Triregno*.

In his *Philosophia adamito—noetica* Costantino posits that God entrusted to Adam and Eve a divine and worldly philosophy which was passed to Noah and his three sons, Sem, Cam, and Japhet. When referring to Moses, Costantino believed that, given Moses' 'princely status and education' in Egypt, he could not have been directly inspired by the Hebrews (who were prisoners and then lived in the desert) to write the book of Genesis, and he states that 'the revelation of the creation of the world was made only to Adam'.[145] Costantino, therefore, considered *Genesis* to be a collection of traditions, not direct revelation, as were the other four books of the Pentateuch. Ricuperati gives a masterly account of Costantino's vast work.

G. made the following observations on reading Costantino's manuscript:

> The risk to which I see Fr Costantino exposed is a very dangerous one... If one has recourse to secular history and earthly knowledge to establish what is written in the books of Moses, the matter will be subject to human discourse and intellectual and rational investigation. And when that is done, it will be an easier and more expeditious task to prove a fable all that is written on the transmigration and population of the world solely by the three sons of Noah; and much more which relates to the religion and theology of other nations and peoples.
>
> We Christians in the meantime use the books of Moses as the base and foundation of what pertains to the creation of the world, the formation of men and animals, and the domination of them and the earth given to men. For the propagation of the human species and the religion of the Hebrews and that of the Christians we consider those books divine, as having been revealed by God to Moses. We cannot therefore dispute the creation of the world, the propagation of men on it, and the religion which God gave them.
>
> When we want to set aside revelation and seek help from human

144 Austrian National Library cod. 10408-10413: Ricuperati, 'Alle origini del *Triregno*', *RSI*, 77 (1965), 602-638, rptd. in *Nella costellazione del Triregno*, ed. Duccio Canestri (Foggia 2004), pp. 71-116, p. 73.

145 *Ibid.*, pp. 74-75.

> discourse and reason, grave difficulties are encountered, and no one certainly can be persuaded, solely by reason, that from nothing everything can be created, that there can be a universal flood, that the whole earth could be populated by one sole man or by only three. The philosophers then decry it. Secular history is completely contrary to it.[146]

Bertelli draws attention to the influence on the *Triregno* also of Aulisio's *Delle scuole sacre... ove s'ha d'origine mirabile progresso e sacrilego fine delle scuole sacre fra gli Ebrei* (Naples 1723), ed. posthumously by Aulisio's nephew Niccolò Ferrara with G.'s active involvement. Bertelli observes that G.'s review of Costantino's *Philosophia adamito—noetica* was astutely negative, and that G.'s efforts to follow orthodox Catholic views were only 'too obvious'.[147]

G.'s long work from prison, the *Istoria del pontificato del Gregorio Magno* also contributed much to the *Triregno* on the immense spread of Christianity, and not least the many myths of pagan origin which were absorbed into miracles. And as Ricuperati stated, G. surmised that the concept of Purgatory was the invention of Gregory.[148]

G.'s writing in the surviving manuscripts of the *Triregno* is verbose and unrevised. It is often written in the same way as the *Istoria civile*, with whole pages copied from a source. This is not true, however, of his final assessment of the subject. It would have made a powerful impression on the religiosity of the eighteenth century had it circulated in manuscript, as did his other writings.

Much of G.'s energy and courage went also into writing petitions for employment. From Naples even, Argento alerted his brilliant student to possible posts. All attempts failed, however, owing to G.'s defamation by the rabid ecclesiastics of Naples. Destructive also was G.'s lack of patrons powerful enough to override the all-powerful obstruction by the Church, through its inexorable papal nuncios. The most implacable was Domenico Passionei, who eventually had the cardinalate bestowed on him, and the post of Secretary of Briefs at the side of Clement XII. An infinite disturbance to G.'s research for, and writing of, the *Triregno* was,

146 'Parere di P.G. intorno al libro intitolato *Philosophia Adamito—Noetica...* del padre Antonio Costantino, Napoletano; TAS, Old Library *Mss. Giannone*: quoted in Ricuperati, 'Alle origini del *Triregno*', pp. 95-96.

147 *Giannoniana*, pp. 361-362.

148 Ricuperati, *L'esperienza*, p. 613.

therefore, the persecution by Rome in all its manifestations.

G. would have considered that his greatest tragedy was the loss to his contemporaries of the *Triregno*. What survives is revolutionary, and would have had a profound effect on the Enlightenment. It contravened completely the canons of the Roman Church. He had disputed the divine right of the Church over the secular power of princes. He denied the immortality of the soul, and denied 'Original Sin', which led logically to the denial of the existence of Hell, and, in particular, Purgatory, inferring that this was a corrupt ploy by the Church to enrich itself with indulgences. As Lia Mannarino states in the conclusion to her noble book, *Le mille favole degli antichi*, the *Triregno* depicts the 'historical limit of any religion which renounces its natural and universal state to institutionalize itself and become particular'.[149]

Giovanni Battista Dattino, in his famous bibliographical study of the *Triregno*, described it thus:

> The *Triregno* is the *Divine Comedy* of humanity in the visible world which aspires to the heavenly regions on the wings of faith...It is led by three great figures: Moses, Jesus and the pope...[It is] the sole work in Italian literature which assails and bombards the Roman Church on all flanks: on the origins of dogma, worship, miracles, and the final consequences. And in G.'s immortal pages there is enough doctrine and civil courage to eclipse the most eminent thinkers of the Republic of Letters, Italian and foreign.[150]

The dominant image of the *Triregno* is that of the soul and its corporeity. The work is a study of

> political and religious reform: the centre of power must be restored to the state and secular society, eliminating the Church as an intermediary.
>
> The theme is thus linked with the rejection of evil, the denial of Hell, the withdrawal of the Church from all tasks of mediation, and the consideration of Man's morality in optimistic terms, and in continuous accord with the progress of secular society. It asserts a new freedom and dignity of Man, by means, in fact, of an affirmation of his earthliness.[151]

G.'s *Triregno* is 'the most complex of all his works, and among the

149 Lia Mannarino, *Mille favole degli antichi* (Florence 1998), p. 238.
150 Dattino, *Il Triregno di P.G.* (Naples 1875), pp. 12, 18. Dattino is not in *DBI* or *IBBNH.*
151 Ricuperati, 'Il problema della corporeità dell'anima', in *Libertinismo in Europa*, ed. Sergio Bertelli (Milan 1980), pp. 369-415, p. 412.

most significant in European culture in the first half of the eighteenth century'.[152]

G.'s own judgement on the *Triregno* may be read in the conclusion of his *Istoria del pontificato di Gregorio Magno*, dated Ceva, 12 September 1742:

> I know well, and know by experience, that when it comes to consider present matters which will be subjected to the eyes of the world, they will create grave offence and give little pleasure. They nevertheless might keep firmly in their minds that wise admonition of the famous President Thou, who wrote to his friends, who were by way of comfort urging him to suffer patiently the persecution because of his history. He replied that he had certainly foreseen that persecution, but, by assuming the character of a historian, he did not have to take only the present century into account. All loyal and faithful historians devoted principally to the search for truth had to look to future centuries, to consign their own histories to posterity, where there would not be an envious eye to cast on them, or an evil tooth to bite into them. As Time is Father of the Truth, since it discovers and reveals it, so it defends it against the power of any jealous and poisonous slander, in the same way today as success confirms it in magnificent editions, ever more clearly and gloriously revered and commended by all. There was therefore no lack in me of spirit and courage to embark on it.[153]

Appendix (The *Triregno* and its Fate)

[62]

G.'s preface to the *Triregno*:

> To the Exalted, Potent, Sovereign Powers of Earth
>
> As this work has been extracted by dint of the grave reflections of sagacity from the darkest depths of the earth, where truth lies hidden and secret, it could not be addressed to anyone but You, in whose hands God placed the government of the world. It could not be placed anywhere safer and more appropriate than under Your great, powerful protection, since the realization of its aims depends wholly on You and rests in Your hands. The work itself will show why the Author could present it to You only after his death, which, having released him from all bonds and

152 *Opere di P.G.*, p. 581.

153 *Istoria del pontificato di Gregorio Magno* (Turin 2011), pp. 672-673, a passage adduced by Ricuperati, *La Citta terrena di P.G.* (Foggia 2004), p. xii.

delivered him from the troubles and fears of this mortal life, renders him now safe from suffering. He reposes in a sleep of dark oblivion, beyond all hatred or the envy and slanders of others, caring nothing, therefore, if with him also his name remains obscure and hidden. It is very clear proof that he undertook this labour solely for the love of truth, and in order that those who come after might understand that his time in this world was in no way spent slothfully and uselessly, but in doing his share while he lived, and at death leaving to posterity what little he could to make them aware of certain important and great truths. His aim is to deliver them from that spell which for such long years has kept their minds darkened, in order that finally for once, without mist or veil, they might look on the resplendent face of truth and honesty. And should this not happen and alone be not enough, he did not despair that perhaps others, by employing their sublime talents and directing themselves to this same end, might have the pleasure in their times of seeing fulfilled what in his lifetime could not be hoped for, much less promised.

The idea of holding firmly to their goal and nature should be considered men's main true study and purpose, to which they apply their talents over and above all other human concerns, since such studies can lead them to a sound morality, a safe rule for living, and a peaceful death.

Before dying, he entrusted into Your hands, as faithful repositories and wise dispensers, this legacy, and decided to do so on his deathbed, so that it be even more believed that whatever he had written had been dictated by sincerity and a firm resolve, maintained steadfastly until the last moment of his life.[154] The truths which men will discover are the most remarkable, important and momentous ever to be revealed to the human race. His purpose is nothing less than to make them aware of their condition and nature, so that, when they know themselves and for what purpose God made them, they may set out on safer ways for the path of virtue; and they may prescribe themselves a stable, firm morality to guide and lead their actions properly in this world, as long as God deigns to preserve in their bodies that spirit of life which gives them movement, sense and intellect.

The many men who for centuries down to our times have seen

154 Following the example of another scholar, the abbot Jean Meslier (see Ricuperati, 'Jean Meslier e la sua varia fortuna', *RSI*, 3 (1975), 553-556), G. as a personal safeguard used the pretext of posthumous publication to avoid a confrontation with the ecclesiastics. This is confirmed by Vernet, who had safeguarded the manuscript of the *Triregno* until then, who inserted as the first clause in the contract with Barillot of 12 July 1740 to publish it: 'that the author be referred to twice as being deceased. This is because, if he is believed dead, there will no longer be any fear in publishing it' (Ricuperati, *Nella costellazione del Triregno*, pp. 196-199).

the light of the sun and attentively read and observed this great book of the World understood the truths manifested in this work. Fearful, nevertheless, that to reveal them to everyone would cause greater confusion, disorder and depravity of customs among men and throw down republics and kingdoms from their foundations, individuals have decided to remain silent, so as not to expose themselves to certain and inevitable danger. And the Princes not only remain silent, but oppose with the most unprecedented cruelties and severity the revelation of such truths, for fear that the peoples subject to them will become impatient with restraints, and that no barrier will be able to check sedition, riots, rebellions, impiety and wickedness. They have come to believe that it would be the same as letting their kingdoms and empires collapse from the foundations.

They thus have preferred to establish peace and quiet in their republics on vain superstitions, dreams and fanaticism rather than on truth and true virtue. They did not realize that their imagined fears were all vain and based on panic; that to found their kingdoms on vain superstition was to produce much more vice in men than virtue. They did not realize that often false Religions had taken their kingdom away, and given others absolute power to withdraw from them the devotion of the people and drive them to treason and rebellion and disobedience to their magistrates.

If, therefore, I shall make You understand down to the final proof that the pure unadulterated, simple Religion which God gave to all men and which is sufficient to impose a check on subjects and render them obedient to princes and magistrates, and give peace and quiet to the State, and if it will make wiser, more prudent and better... [an unexplained lacuna, Ricuperati, 'Dopo la Giannoniana', p. 197].

Since it is possible to rid the world of such empty shame and the many monsters full of deceit and horror congesting human minds with vain superstitions and fears, is it not slothful and cowardly not to eradicate them firmly and magnanimously, to free men from the shameful yoke and lead them to true virtue, rendering them not vile and wretched, but strong and magnanimous? Can we not transform servitude into freedom, evil into good, folly, superstition and ignorance into awareness, wisdom, and intelligence; and from being useless as people generally are to the world, where it seems they have come merely to make dung, to render them industrious, diligent and committed to those professions and arts which lead to greater culture, profit, and convenience in living, and to greater peace, quiet and abundance in kingdoms and empires.

All this down to the final proof is demonstrated in this work, where the Author makes men aware of the many vain errors and prejudices by which they are tricked and wretchedly agitated and shaken; that

the charm which until now has kept their minds darkened, and the veil which has blinded them, are truly prodigious and magical, because they have distorted the brain with the same tools which should have corrected it. And men are so blind, that in the brightest of light they prefer to close their eyes not to see, rather than to open them to the splendour of truth and virtue.

After the Author has uncovered the errors and deceptions and revealed the truth, he does not, however, claim that by clamorous and violent means the abuses and empty rites and customs can suddenly be removed. Prudence and actual experience condemn and reprove that. And often, although truth and the greater benefit indicate and demand action, it must only be attempted in a legitimate, natural way; that is, the path should not be made by force, sudden change and disorder, but by reason and persuasion. One must conquer human intellects without doing violence to bodies by external remedies, and such a task will be easier, because in that way men will spontaneously take hold of what is true and good. And a good education for youth is necessary, providing them with good Educators and Teachers who are suitable and adequate for the task, and apply themselves in well-ordered public colleges to giving them a thorough education.

It is necessary, therefore, to devote much attention to public Universities, and provide them with expert teachers who know how to instil in youth sound maxims and learning, and teach them sciences which are serious and useful to the Republic; to keep them away from vain, useless studies which serve no other purpose than to make them lose natural discourse, bore the mind, and render them worse than the very beasts. This brief human life, therefore, must not become uselessly immersed in futile matters. There is not even enough time to study genuine sound sciences which can direct men to a sense of morality, which should be the aim of all study.

The Author also does not expect blind credence in what he writes. On the contrary, he asks and exhorts everyone to take the trouble to read this his work and submit all of it to a rigorous examination; that research be done on it to see if the evidence submitted is what they expect, and if it will support more precise and diligent scrutiny. If it does not, let it be discarded. *Omnia probate, quod bonum est tenete*, St Paul used thus wisely to say: Examine everything, keep what is good.[155] Lucretius also asserted the same in Book Two.[156] Men are subject to error and carelessness and therefore commendable are those who by reasoned examination emend the whole, remove and add what, after mature reflection, they consider

155 St Paul, 1 *Thess.* 5.2.

156 Lucretius, *De rerum natura* 2, 1039.

more appropriate and more in conformance with the truth.

The Author only suggests these studies and considerations to men. It is the duty of the princes to have them examined by learned and sincere persons whose only aim is to discover the truth. If they happen to find it, they should not be afraid to manifest it also to those who either do not themselves know how to undertake such labour, or whose occupations prevent it.

They should still not delude themselves that in their times and states and dominions so much change and innovation can be achieved. They must be content to begin by reforming colleges and universities to teach the young and educate them with other maxims and principles. With men already grown old in the old prejudices drunk in with their mother's milk, no change can be hoped for, and they can be left to die as they lived. Of one million people who left Egypt with Moses and wandered around for forty years, few and rare were those fated to set foot in the promised land, and only their children were able to do so (even Moses himself was able to see it only from afar and not enter it). They should not, therefore, be daunted if the desired change cannot be seen in their own lifetime, but be content to leave it to their descendants and successors. And they should not envy their being part of a change so beneficial and advantageous for the human race, when they will have been its prime movers and motivators, which will render them glorious and worthy of eternal and immortal memory.

Many will be frightened by the difficulty and arduousness of the task, but they should reflect that virtue lies in the arduousness. For this reason the Author did not dare advance a single proposition, in itself irrefutable, without reinforcing it with obvious proofs, so that contesting it necessitates having recourse not to reason but to force and violence. And he yields, therefore, to those bandits and tyrants who hide every law and right solely in fraud, threats and oppression. He wishes to contend only by way of reasoning and convincing and manifest evidence. If they are proved false, much greater glory and pride are due to those who have refuted them with such legitimate methods, rather than by using force and violence to the human intellect to reduce it to vile bondage and a wretched condition. Such cases often make him think that it would have been better for such individuals to have come into the world as oxen rather than men.

The Author deserves every indulgence, if, in the midst of the superstitious, proud and malevolent, he nevertheless dared to risk putting on paper those ideas which he should have hidden in the darkest reaches of his mind.

How many other insights and reflections would have come to him, if he had lived in a free country where it had been lawful for everyone to listen to reason, and to say and write what the mind had conceived. He did not

> have this good fortune. He wrote amid so many fears and suspicions, so many snares and dangers. When expressing in writing his ideas, often a longer sequence of inductions and corollaries was interrupted by baneful visions of there being poised over his head a sword which, if it fell, would have cloven his skull, or an axe which would have cut off his head. With what freedom or courage, therefore, could one write in such a wretched state and condition? He was, however, covered by a shield so great and strong as that of the books of the Old Testament, on which he has based and founded his discourses and reflections.
>
> To make his way, he has not taken up any arms other than those given him by Holy Scripture. Reason would therefore require that he deserve much more authority and belief among Christians who consider those books divine, rather than among Pagans, Mahommedans and other nations who profess other religions.
>
> 8 July 1735 in the Villa Pisani at Rovere di Cré near Rovigo.[157]

This precious text, the preface to the *Triregno*, was discovered by Giuseppe Ricuperati through the late lawyer Enrico Werthmüller, a parish priest Fr Sandrone, the archivist of the diocesan Archive Giuseppe Tuninetti, and the State archivist Isabella Massabò Ricci. It was part of a file of papers relating to Giannone, sent to Palazzi di Selve between 1737 and 1755, which he did not return to Ormea or the appropriate official.[158]

[21

Comments of Palazzi di Selve on G.'s Preface to the *Triregno:*

On discovering, with the successive finds of G.'s papers, the Preface of the *Triregno*, which G. wrote at Rovito, Palazzi di Selve wrote:

> From various pages of the draft written in the hand of P. Giannone, it can be deduced that he was working on a new work which is entitled: *Del Regno terreno e celeste libri due. Dove ampiamente si ragiona della natura e dello stato delle anime umane separate da loro corpi, e della resurrezione degli stessi corpi nel fine del mondo. Ai quali sono aggiunti altrettanti periodi del nuovo e agli antichi incognito Regno papale. Nunc Reges intellegite erudimini qui indicatis terram* (On the Earthly and Heavenly Kingdoms in two books, where the nature and state of human souls separated from their bodies

157 TAS, *Biblioteca Antica*, Carte Giannone; for Ricuperati's erudite commentary as well as the text see his 'Dopo la *Giannoniana*', pp. 47-88, reprinted in *Nella costellazione del Triregno*, ed. Duccio Canestri, pp. 169-202.

158 Ricuperati, *Nella costellazione del Triregno,* pp. 185-194.

> are extensively discussed, and the resurrection of the said bodies at the end of the world. To these are added in as many periods the new Papal Kingdom, unknown to the ancients. "Be mindful then, you kings; learn your lessons, rulers of the earth" [Psalms 2.10])... These impressions give us reason to believe that this man is intent on shaking religion to its foundations, and bases himself on the principles of Spinoza and the other deists of England and Holland. This Preface, therefore, can have no other aim, in particular because, on a separate page, he has put together those verses of Lucretius the Epicurean, which encourage the impious to deny the immortality of the soul and divine Providence.[159]

See Ricuperati's comments, *Carte torinesi*, p. 7, and his illuminating analysis in *Nella costellazione del* [*Triregno*], pp. 169-202.

[30]

A summary of the *Triregno* was prepared and read to the Sacred Congregation on 28 October 1737 by the Dominican priest Vincenzo Elefante, who had already qualified it as heretical: *Ristretto della Censura del Manoscritto di Pier Giannone, intitolato del Regno terreno, e celeste, ove notansi gli errori più notabili del detto Manoscritto* (Summary of the Manuscript of Pier Giannone, Entitled *Earthly Kingdom, and Heavenly*, Wherein Are Noted the Most Notable Errors of the Said Manuscript):

1. The aim of this work is the vigorous destruction of the dogma of the immortality of the soul, which he calls a common belief, a false and erroneous prejudice introduced over the last centuries. He strives to convince, with arguments taken especially from the Sacred Pentateuch, that the soul of man is physical and vanishes at the point of death; and that the said dogma of immortality has come to the Christians from the Pagans, especially the Egyptians. To prove then such an impiety:
2. He asserts that God has created man only to possess and enjoy the things of this earth; and, moreover, that he did not later promise Abraham and his descendants any kingdom other than that of earth. With the coming of Jesus Christ, however, mankind began to await the Kingdom of Heaven, which He was the first to promise, but this was not to take place before the Resurrection of the bodies at the end of centuries, since it had been promised not to the soul alone but to the whole man.
3. He writes that God has never threatened men with any eternal punishment, or condemned them to suffer eternally, there being no Hell mentioned in the Sacred Letters, other than the sepulchre or the actual

159 TAS, *Mss. Giannone*: *Il Triregno*, 3, pp. 195-197.

depths of the earth, and the feeling of the ancient Hebrews is right. In the Universal Deluge, therefore, those unfortunates who perished had no other punishment than to be drowned in the water, changing back, in the view of our Author, to how men were in their origin; that is, what was earth and water was reduced to earth and water; what was breath or vital spirit evaporated and flew on high to the four corners of the World, called by Ezechiel the four winds, and mingled with the spirit of lives (given that the spirit which God infuses in man is called in the Hebrew text *spiraculum vitarum*). With this God animates and vivifies not only the flesh of men but also that of the beasts.

4. He expressly denies the existence of Original Sin, as God passed no other sentence on man after Adam's transgression than that he was to live his wretched life in labour and anguish; that the earth would produce only thorns and briars for him; that by the sweat of his brow he would eat his bread; that finally he must die and be reduced to the dust whence he came. Our inauspicious and foolhardy soothsayers (these are the theologians) are thus wrong, as he adds, who have depicted the posterity of Noah reconciled with God as a lost, damned mass, and that all men after the sin of Adam were destined for perdition by their own nature and original vice; that some have been delivered from the common scourge, such as the ancient patriarchs Noah, Abraham, and all those who were dear to God, which transpires because of special grace and privilege. No one, therefore, is right in grieving for having been placed among the infinite number of reprobates, and not in that very small group of the elect. Everything is contrary, according to our Author, to the first chapters of *Genesis*, and to deny this is not in any way contrary to St Paul, who writes: 'All have sinned in Adam, and because of that sin, death has entered the world' [*Epistle to the Romans*, 5.12-13].

5. That God did not impose on Noah any other precept than that of his cult, and that he not abandon himself to idolatry, serving only the laws of nature, which dictate to do to others what you yourself would wish or not wish. This alone, he states, is now enough to please God; that there had not been handed down to posterity any Religion with ceremonies and priests, temples and altars (which would have been very onerous and difficult), since God is invisible, eternal and immense, without bounds or limits. There is thus no need of temples and altars in which to enclose and place Him, when the sky, earth and the whole vast universe are his altars and temples. He thus infers that the pure law of nature, always constant and invariable, is restricted to very concise and narrow limits, and all which remains is subject in large part to the variety of human customs, and much more to the economy and wise will of the Great Powers, whom God has placed in

the world to govern it.

6. He therefore comes to concede that not only polygamy is licit, but also every kind of carnal union between male and female, even brothers and sisters, father and daughter, mother and son, when it is considered necessary to prolong the life of some family, or for some other motive approved by the Great Powers; that customs and laws, therefore, do not have to be condemned and considered unjust and dishonest, in relation to how they seem later and seem at present; his approving even of the custom of many nations practised carnally in public life, whereby their women were permitted to earn with their bodies, because by accumulating money, they could make better marriages.
7. To remove all authority and belief in Holy Scripture, he not only denies the genuineness of the Mosaic Pentateuch, which we now have, but also states that the divinity and inspiration of our Sacred Books have never been proved, except by arguments which excite rather laughter and indignation. He thus refutes the most certain proofs with which Christians universally maintain the truth of their Religion, without his proposing others more efficacious, on the pretext that to do so is not his aim.
8. When he wishes to explain the resurrection of the body, by which the doctors of the Church have been similarly entangled, he marvels at how unnecessary it is to pledge the whole of Divine Omnipotence for the resurgence of men's bodies; how it is enough that from the abundant matter of the universe some parts arrange and order themselves in such a way as to represent the figure and form of the body which each left on dying, without joining to it any spiritual substance not physical which exists after the death of man.
9. When referring to a third Kingdom, which he states is the Papal, he begins to describe the Republic of the Hebrews. He states that it has never been seen in greater disorder, confusion, or wickedness than when to the Great Pontificate was joined the Principate, and when the Pontiffs, by affecting also the term Royal and Regal insignia and prerogatives, attempted to draw all to themselves. At that time, he continues, the Law had been entirely violated, and everything became completely subject to their ambition and tyranny. He concludes, therefore, that this idea of the state of the Hebrew Republic has much in common with, and is similar to, that of the Pontificate of Rome and the Papal Kingdom.

He finally scatters throughout the work very insulting propositions referring to the Holy Patriarchs and Prophets of the Old Testament, representing the former as men who were usurers and thieves, lewd and homicidal. In short he is convinced that there is nothing to hope for or fear after death; and he describes the others [the Prophets] as men given

> to fantasy and story-tellers in the guise of Pagan Priests. On the contrary, then, the most impious writers of our time are raised by him to the stars.[160]

Bertelli attributes this summary to the Dominican priest Vincenzo Elefante.

Other candidates are the copyist of the Corsiniana Library, or Palazzi di Selve, when preparing G.'s confiscated manuscripts from Geneva. G.'s manuscript of the *Triregno* was then referred to as the 'Third Manuscript'.

More positive moves were then made to have G. sent to Rome.

> After he [Elefante] was heard... an extract of the same censure was ordered, and that it be sent to Cardinal Alessandro Albani, with the aim of arranging to have Giannone consigned to this Holy Office...[161]

In the Biblioteca Marciana in Venice is a manuscript of the *Triregno*, to which is prefaced another unsigned, undated (but obviously later than 1753) text, entitled *Advice to the Reader*:

> In the edition of the *Civil History* of Pietro Giannone, published at The Hague in 1753, there is information on the author's life and all his works, in which is the following article: The author, however, was planning a great project chosen by him and engaging all his time, entitled *Earthly Kingdom, Heavenly Kingdom, and Papal Kingdom*. The first part was to represent man in a state of nature, having no other government, philosophy or religion than that conducive to temporal happiness. The second part depicts man in a state of grace, and called to spiritual and eternal happiness by means of the Gospel. The third part, which was also the most extended, showed how, on the foundation of the Christian Religion, there arose, under differing circumstances and with the abuses continuing, a singular monarchy under the name of the Papal Kingdom. The author claims that this Kingdom is to be distinguished from the Catholic Church, the Roman Court from the Apostolic See, and the Roman Papacy from the Bishop of Rome, matters which are astutely confused, so that the Temporal realm, originating from the liberality of the Princes, is maintained and retained as an accessory, overshadowed by the spiritual, sacred and inviolable, and deriving from Divine institution.
>
> Given the confusion, it happens that, if there is the slightest impairment of the Papal Kingdom or the privileges of the clergy, which are in common dependent on the Roman Court, it protests and employs spiritual weapons. And as though the Church and Religion were

160 Rome, Biblioteca Corsiniana of the Accademia dei Lincei: *Giannoniana,* pp. 175-177.

161 Petition: 'Memorie recavate dalla posizione di P.G., che è nel Sant' Ufficio': Archivio della Congregazione; BAV, *Rossiano 1180*: Ricuperati, *Città terrena di P.G.*, p. 52.

> overturned, it obstructs the timid and opposes the most pious princes.
>
> Our jurisconsult believes, therefore, that he renders himself useful to Christianity by developing these two matters and noting to what degree, on what occasion, and with what artifice this mixed Monarchy has little by little been formed. It [the monarchy] was greatly esteemed by Pope Gregory VII and firmly upheld by his successors, to the point of attributing to itself the right of sovereigns to dispose of all the kingdoms and countries in the world.
>
> This learned and curious work was to be divided into ten periods in which would immediately appear the aggrandisement of the clergy in general, and later the various degrees by which in different times the Bishops of Rome raised themselves even over mankind. It is not known whether such a work has ever been finished, but certainly the three first periods, which extend to the ninth century have been written.[162]

A brief warning to readers precedes the copy of the *Regno celeste* in the library of the Archiepiscopal Seminary in Naples:

> In order that those who have to read this book be not offended in their belief in the Christian Religion, they should begin with the preconception drawn from the Author's biographer: that with this book the Author manifests a total aversion to the dogmas of the Roman Catholic Church, and especially those of the Eucharist, Penance, Purgatory, the cult of Images and Relics, and the authority and infallibility of the Church. In reference to the resurrection of the dead, he supports the thoughts of Dr Burnet, as published in his treatise 'De statu mortuorum et resurgentium' (The Status of the Dead and Resurrected). He disagrees only in detail with the sentiments of that English theologian in reference to the immortality of the soul, the eternity of the punishment, and other similar matters, and is also mostly in accord with the Armenians, of whose indifference, in fact, to dogmas and discipline, it seems, he totally approves.[163]

In 1781, Francesco Antonio Soria described it as that 'detestable work of the *Triregno*'. Since G. in Vienna 'had applied himself to reading books of corrupt doctrine, they had considerably corrupted his mind; and the result of such execrable study was the foul book entitled the *Triregno*'.[164]

All this reveals that the execration which G. would have had to expect following the publication of the *Triregno* would have exceeded that following the *Civil History*.

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162 Venice, Biblioteca Marciana: *Giannoniana*, pp. 383-384.

163 Naples, Biblioteca del Seminario archivescovile; *Regno celeste di P.G.*; Observations of copyist: *Giannoniana*, p. 92.

164 *Memorie storico-critiche degli storici napoletani* (Naples 1781), 1, pp. 286-287.

The Fate of the *Vita*

On the death of G. in 1748, his writings could be divided into four parts: those written in Naples, those written in Vienna, the five vast works written in prison, and the great *Triregno*. Only some were the works of the 'public' G., as Andrea Merlotti characterizes them in his fundamental article on the prohibition from reading G.'s works.[1] These were the *Civil History*, *Profession of Faith*, and what are now known as G.'s *Opere postume* (*Posthumous Works*), which circulated for over a century in Europe. Thanks to Giovanni Giannone and Leonardo Panzini, there was, most importantly, a noteworthy circulation in manuscript of the *Triregno* in northern and southern Italy, with the exception of Savoy. G.'s writings from prison, however, including his *Vita* and the *Discourses on Livy*, which were mentioned by Panzini, remained under lock and key in the archives of Savoy's Royal Court until at least 1839.

At G.'s death the works from prison were taken to the Royal Archives, and an inventory was compiled by Lodovico Dani,[2] lawyer of the Senate of Piedmont. With the *Vita* were the *Discorsi sopra gli Annali di Tito Livio, L'ape ingegnosa,* the *Apologia de' teologi scolastici*, and the *Istoria del pontificato di Gregorio Magno*. There were also those entitled by Dani 'Trattato sull'origine del tribunale di Sicilia' (Treatise on the Origin of the Tribunal of Sicily), 'Trattato sulla disciplina ecclesiastica' (Treatise on Ecclesiastical Discipline), and 'Compendio della traduzione fatta da M. [Humphrey] De Prideaux sulla storia de' Giudei' (Summary of the Translation Made from M. De Prideaux on the History of the Jews).[3]

1 Merlotti, 'Negli archivi del re. La lettura negata delle opere di P.G. nel Piemonte Sabaudo 1748-1848', *RSI*, 107 (1985), 332-386, p. 335. The following sensational narrative relies almost entirely on this amazing work of historical detection and reconstruction.

2 Dani is not in *DBI* or *IBBNH*.

3 Prideaux, *The Old and New Testaments, connected in the history of the Jews and neighbouring nations* (London 1716-1718); *Histoire des Juifs et des peuples voisins*, trans.

The collection also contained letters written and received by G. from 1738 to 1745, which arrived at the Royal Archives only in 1756 after the death of Count de Saint Laurent. The death in 1764 of Palazzi di Selve also yielded many papers sent to him for examination between 1736 and 1738, which were not then sent to Rome. They included the precious copy which he had made of the fatal Preface to the *Triregno*, discovered only 250 years later in 1992 (see 'The *Triregno* and its Fate', above).

For almost a century, because of the *Vita*'s incriminating details on G.'s arrest and imprisonment, Savoy relegated G.'s manuscripts to total oblivion. They were simply left unguarded against theft in a disordered pile in the Archives awaiting attention, even though Savoy's ambassadors assiduously gathered any material on G.; for example, Bernardo Tanucci's official text granting a pension to Giovanni.[4] Interest revived when, with the permission of the Bourbon government, Giovanni Gravier in 1763 reprinted the fifth volume of the *Civil History* as the first volume of the *Opere postume*, and Panzini's biography, *La vita di Pietro Giannone*, was published in 1766 in the second volume of the *Opere postume*.

The ambassador of Charles Emanuel III in Naples, Francesco Giuseppe Lascaris di Castellar (1729-1793),[5] in a letter addressed to the Piedmontese government, referred to a visit from Panzini, who sought approval to publish G.'s autobiography, which included also G.'s last years in the prisons of Savoy.[6] Lascaris announced also the publication of another biography of G., that of Michele Maria Vecchione (1737-1801),[7] a Neapolitan lawyer. In Turin's State Archives are found Vecchione's biography, printed anonymously in 1765, and the last pages of that of Panzini. Of them, the Sardinian secretary of state at the time (1764-1765), Francesco Giuseppe de Viry (1690- c.1766),[8] wrote in a letter to Lascaris in Naples that 'both one and the other are nothing but a tissue of lies', and advised Lascaris to inform the authors 'amicably and by way of

from the English, 5 vols (Amsterdam 1722).

4 Merlotti, 'Lettura negata', pp. 337-338; *Memorie* (above, p. 817).

5 Castellar is not in *IBBNH*.

6 Naples, 7 May 1765; TAS, Sezione prima Corte, *Lettere ministro, Due Sicilie*, mz. *17*: Merlotti, 'Lettura negata', p. 339.

7 Vecchione is not in *DBI*. A lawyer, he became a member of the Council of Santa Chiara. His cases were famous, and much published: Camillo Riccio, *Memorie storiche degli scrittori nati nel Regno di Napoli* (Naples 1844), p. 366.

8 *DBI* 99, pp. 520-522: Paola Bianchi.

advice' (Panzini only, in fact, because Vecchione's biography had not yet appeared) not to publish them. The correspondence between De Viry and Lascaris then went into cipher, which indicates the estimation of the importance of the matter. Turin was astounded that the government of Naples had not blocked the publication, but it decided finally to remain contemptuously silent: 'All that can be done is to treat it with contempt and ignore it'.[9] Its silence was preserved also when it learnt of the pension granted to Giovanni in 1769 in recognition of his father's greatness and persecution, which could also be interpreted as a rebuke to Charles Emanuel. Lascaris observed in a letter to the new secretary of state, Alberto Flaminio Raiberti (d.1771),[10] that, in fact, it had been the government of Charles VI, 'grandfather of the then queen of the Two Sicilies', which had begun the persecution of G.[11]

On the attitude to G. of discerning Piedmontese, nevertheless, Carlo Calcaterra (1884-1952)[12] in his book *Il nostro imminente Risorgimento* (Turin 1935), wrote: 'it was the opinion of the best Piedmontese of the second half of the 1700s, that the ideas and material expounded by Giannone could be discussed and also refuted, but [were] not grounds for persecution'.[13]

Although G.'s manuscripts in Turin escaped the plunder of Bonaparte, they remained in piles untouched until rediscovered in the reorganization a century later of the archives in 1848. That led, however, to 'a complex succession of disappearances, thefts, rediscoveries, transfers and acquisition'.[14] The archivist, Count Luigi Nomis di Cossilla (1793-1859),[15] who entered the Royal Archives in 1814 and retired only in 1850, was the courageous and indefatigable central figure and guardian in their preservation.

The bane of Nomis' life in the Royal Archives was Francesco Sasso, an appointee and favourite of the Royal Court, whom Nomis suspected of theft. Nomis records in his journal in July 1833 that there were found

9 Letter of De Viry to Lascaris of 15 June 1766: Merlotti, 'Lettura negata', pp. 340-341.
10 Raiberti is not in *DBI*.
11 Merlotti, 'Lettura negata', p. 342.
12 *DBI* 16, pp. 509-512: Piero Treves.
13 Calcaterra, *Il nostro imminente Risorgimento*, pp. 6, 22, 142-143 and 172, quoted by Merlotti, 'Lettura negata', p. 343.
14 *Ibid*., p. 345.
15 *DBI* 78, pp. 704-707: Merlotti.

in Sasso's possession, within the Royal Archives, many weighty official documents, 'and what is more important, *manuscripts of Pietro Giannone in part originals, and among others his Vita* [Nomis' underlining], written in the fortresses of Miolans and Ceva...'.[16] Nomis, however, could only attempt to convince Sasso's patron and his superior, Count Gaspare Michele Gloria (1763-1839),[17] that Sasso was suspect and should be deprived of access to the manuscripts.

Nomis then records in his *Giornale* that Gloria happened to read G.'s *Professione di fede*, and that 'he found it so wicked, he did not want to keep it and said to annul (burn) it'.[18] Andrea Merlotti notes the incredible fact that, as the head archivist, Gloria was one of the proposers of the unconscionable policy, the 'Annulment of Documents', fostered in the early years of the reign of Charles Albert (king 1831-1849, when he abdicated). That copy of the *Professione di fede* may, therefore, have been burnt.[19] Endangered or burnt were documents which reflected badly on the royal family, because of the plan to exalt Savoy in the history of Italy. Documents in the Royal Archives, therefore, were to be only those relating to the administration and not intended for scholarly research.

In view of continued requests to read such documents, Gloria sought official advice. The official reply, after consultation with Charles Albert, was that not only material compromising to the royal family or the government, but also material contrary to good customs was to be listed and either strictly safeguarded or burnt.[20] The official ruling applied automatically to G.'s manuscripts, including the *Vita*, and papers. Nomis himself, moreover, was a committed official, whose activities were

16 Nomis, *Giornale de' fatti accaduti ne' Regi Archivi*, 2.104. Nomis kept this journal from 1822 to 1850, in four volumes. Merlotti, 'Lettura negata', p. 347.

17 The archivist, Count Gloria (not in *DBI*) was a graduate in law. He had been president of the senate of Savoy, and from 1832 was first president of the Royal Archives. Merlotti, 'Lettura negata', p. 348. On his death, Nomis became acting archivist. In 1844, Count Stefano Gallina was appointed archivist, but never appeared in the archives. In the same year Nomis was appointed 'President'.

18 Nomis, *Giornale* 2.104; Merlotti, 'Lettura negata', p. 350. The proposal to burn the *Professione* was in connection with a request (successful!) by Pietro Giordani to read the *Vita*: see G.P. Romagnani, 'Di un soggiorno torinese di Pietro Giordani, e di alcuni manoscritti del Giannone', *Studi piemontesi*, 11 (1982), 181-187. Nomis writes also (*Giornale* 10 July 1837, 2, p. 172) that the royal librarian, Carlo Promis, referred to a rumour that G.'s *Vita* was burnt at the Royal Archives.

19 Merlotti, 'Lettura negata', pp. 351, 379.

20 Nomis, *Giornale*, 2, p. 100; Merlotti, 'Lettura negata', pp. 352-353.

dictated by governmental policy and not his responsibility to scholars. Panzini's biography of G., published in 1766, had already endangered Charles Albert's vision of Savoy. The consultation of G.'s papers would undermine Savoy's official indifference to Panzini's biography.[21]

Members of the Deputazione Subalpina di Storia Patria (Subalpine Committee for National History), which proposed such a policy of 'annulment', recognized the political significance of such documents. Archivists, nevertheless, were apprehensive about the 'fury of scholars' ('la rabbia dei dotti', Nomis' own expression), who demanded access to them for research.[22] Nomis observed:

> To go as far as burning papers which could reflect on the honour of the Royal Family *would not be my opinion: history must be known, and known to be genuine. If everyone did that, there would be no history; to publish it as the learned would wish: no; to keep it aside: yes*. The time will come when those papers will be made public, and their contents revealed as they truly are.[23]

In 1834, however, the secretary of the Academy of Science, Abate Costanzo Gazzera (1778-1859),[24] scholar and important figure in the cultural life of Charles Albert's reign, requested permission to read G.'s *Vita*. Nomis anxiously recorded the ominous reply in his journal: 'Cavaliere Gazzera requested the *Vita* of Giannone, and was told that His Excellency Count Gloria has had it withdrawn, as well as all the papers relating to his arrest and his numerous writings, to be retained by himself (Gloria)'.[25]

Given, therefore, the serious danger that G.'s *Vita* could be burnt, the courageous Nomis, taking advantage of a brief holiday of Gloria, began to make a copy of it on 2 July 1837, which he was still doing on 9 October 1840.[26]

On 29 October 1838, Nomis wrote: 'I continue to copy the *Vita* of Giannone, which is truly necessary, because on certain pages the ink is so white it is almost no longer legible'.[27]

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21 Merlotti, 'Lettura negata', p. 354.
22 *Ibid*., p. 351.
23 Nomis, *Giornale*, 2, p. 100 (Nomis' italics); Merlotti, 'Lettura negata', p. 352.
24 *DBI* 52, pp. 764-766: Gianluca Schingo.
25 Nomis, *Giornale*, 2, p.103: Merlotti, 'Lettura negata', p. 350.
26 *Ibid*., p. 355.
27 Paolo Romagnani, 'Di un soggiorno torinese di Pietro Giordani, e di alcuni manoscritti del Giannone', *Studi piemontesi*, 11 (1982), 181-187.

Another remarkable figure in the imperilled preservation of G.'s writings and the documents relating to his tragic fate was an archivist in the Royal Archives, whom Fausto Nicolini identified, without giving a source, as Filippi.[28] Merlotti's vigorous scholarship, however, identifies Filippi as Pietro Luigi Datta (d.1875).[29] Datta had graduated in law and then studied palaeography before working in the Royal Archives.

Although Nomis before long had strong evidence that Datta was selling archival material on the antiquities' market, Gloria entrusted this favourite with the task of preparing, secretly from Nomis, a report on G.'s writings and papers to assist the authorities in establishing the official view on the 'Giannone case.'[30] Nomis discovered only later that Datta had compiled it. Merlotti relates that Nomis, because of Datta's prestige, 'had to prepare a genuine and appropriate trap, a spider's web, into which the ambitious young man would fall'.[31]

The first report in Datta's review is dated 31 October 1834, and addressed to Charles Albert on the discovery of the *Vita* of 'Giampietro [sic] Giannone':

> In the *Vita* the author gives vent to his bile against the court of Rome and the Society of Jesus, which he believes were the prime movers in his persecution, but he is silent about how he was treated in the fortresses of the King of Sardinia. Since this author is much respected by modern reformers, it seems to the reviewer, given that the *History of the Kingdom of Naples* is read with much avidity, even more so would be the *Vita*, written by himself, and it could produce damnable sentiments in a matter so delicate. For this reason the reviewer thinks it would be appropriate to keep this manuscript under strict surveillance, *and never communicate it to anyone*.[32]

In Datta's next report soon after, on 12 December 1834, he explains the motive for such a stern review, and also obliquely identifies himself as the archivist Filippi:

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28 Nicolini, *Scritti,* pp. 56-57. Filippi's 'Notizia intorno all'avvocato Pietro Giannone Napolitano' (Note on the Neapolitan Lawyer P.G.) was used without acknowledgement by Pio Occella in his 'Pietro Giannone negli ultimi dodici anni di vita'.

29 Datta is not in *DBI* or *IBBNH*.

30 Merlotti, 'Lettura negata', p. 364.

31 *Ibid*., 359.

32 Datta, 'Relazione', 2, p. 329 (my italics); quoted by Merlotti, 'Lettura negata', p. 362.

> The work has given rise to the wish of the reviewer to have a clear account of Giannone's arrest and subsequent detention in Piedmont. It is known that, after Giannone had been sorrowfully drawn away from Geneva into Savoyard territory, he was imprisoned by order of King Charles Emanuel III. Perhaps such a matter could dim the memory of so great a prince, if such an arrest were to be mentioned or Giannone's works published.[33]

A short time later, on 19 December 1834, Gloria sent Datta's 'Notizia' to Charles Albert. The king gave his complete approval to the policy of not allowing anyone to consult the *Vita*. G.'s greatness in the fields of history and law is never questioned, but Datta continues:

> Giannone was a man celebrated not so much for the importance of his work, as for the evil to which he was subjected, because of the erroneous and injurious propositions professed in it, addressed to the Holy See and redolent of heresy.[34]

Datta's task was primarily to help formulate the official view on G.

Gloria's professed intention in having Datta write the report was to keep G.'s writings away from scholars requesting them in the interests of research. It was, in fact, to avoid, as Merlotti states, 'casual and arbitrary considerations' of them for political reasons by members of the Deputazione Subalpina di Storia Patria, the seat of which at that time was in the same building as the Royal Archives.[35] The report tacitly exonerates Charles Emanuel from the charge of using G. as a pawn to obtain political favour from the pope in negotiations for the Concordat. G. might, in fact, Datta suggested, be considered fortunate in having been arrested by such a pious and enlightened monarch! All responsibility for G.'s arrest and imprisonment was therefore to be removed from Charles Emanuel and attributed to the sinister figure of Carlo Ormea.[36] The king Charles Emanuel by contrast was essentially the one who had refused to consign G. to the Inquisition. And his conduct contrasted favourably also with that of the cardinals of the court of Rome. G.'s perpetual imprisonment was, in fact, a lesser evil!

During Giannone's long imprisonment he was treated with every

33 Datta, 'Relazione', 2, p. 380: Merlotti, 'Lettura negata', p. 363.
34 Datta, 'Relazione': Merlotti, 'Lettura negata', pp. 363-364.
35 Merlotti, 'Lettura negata', p. 363.
36 *DBI* 79, pp. 562-567: Andrea Merlotti.

gentleness by the Piedmontese government, and it was similarly the King's intention that he be shown every possible regard. And Giannone did not ever have to complain of the way in which he was treated.

The 'Relazione' stresses that 'all the books which he requested were granted to him', that he could correspond with relatives, and that at Ceva he could 'even give legal opinions'.[37]

The archival material on G. was divided into two parts: one covering the period from his abduction from Venice to his death, and the other comprising a detailed list of his manuscripts or those relevant to him, and, moreover, often with Datta's own comments on them, in order to clarify the 'official' view. The *Profession of Faith* and the *Account of G.'s Abduction from Venice* were described as 'animated and scandalous writings', whereas G.'s defence of the Court of the Monarchy in Sicily, Datta writes, had given much food for thought to Victor Amadeus II (G. wrote it in 1731, but Victor Amadeus II had abdicated, in fact, in 1730!). G.'s works from prison, moreover, were thought to reveal the gradual process of his return to orthodox religion. The major work exempted from all praise, however, remained G.'s *Vita*, despite G.'s fundamental incrimination of the Roman court, because, above all, 'it reveals emphatically the way in which he was drawn away from his sojourn in Geneva to enter Savoy's territory and made a prisoner, and it imputes everything to the Court of Turin'.

G.'s fate would have been crucial in the *Istoria della relazione della Real Corte di Savoia colla Corte di Roma sino all'anno 1742* (History of the Relations between the Royal Court of Savoy and the Court of Rome down to 1742). The author was Abate Ottavio Moreno.[38] The account ceased, however, between 1732 and 1740, and resumed with the 'felicitous election' of Lambertini as pope in 1740 and the signing of the Concordat in 1742! The omission of such an integral part of the official relations between Turin and Rome as G.'s arrest and imprisonment would nevertheless have been the logical result of the policy to shield Charles Emanuel from criticism, as was Datta's 'Relazione', which ensured silence on a decade of Piedmont's history.[39] Moreno quoted extensively from the *Civil History*, but 'twisted

37 Datta, 'Relazione'; Merlotti, 'Lettura negata', pp. 364-365.

38 Moreno is not in *DBI* or *IBBNH*, and his book is in neither the American NU Catalogue nor the British Library

39 Merlotti, 'Lettura negata', pp. 371-372.

and subjected it to his own purposes'.[40] Given the fact that between 1832 and 1834 new material on ecclesiastical matters would have certainly revealed the significance of G.'s arrest and perpetual imprisonment, Moreno's omission could be explained also by his purpose in writing this history, namely, to obtain more prestigious employment. Since he had not recounted the events culminating in the signing of the Concordat, in spite of having at his disposal, in fact, the primary source for it in G.'s *Vita*, the official position of Piedmont in relation to the court of Rome thus remained as represented in Datta's view.[41]

Another apologist for Charles Emanuel 'the Great' was the priest Giovanni Battista Semeria (1779-1843),[42] in whose *Storia di Carlo Emanuele 'il Grande'* (Turin 1831) both the king and Ormea are exonerated, and the real villain is the opportunist Guastaldi. In another work by Semeria: *La storia della Chiesa Metropolitana di Torino* (Turin 1840), he records famous preachers in Turin of the eighteenth century, and devotes fulsome praise to the fame of Prever for the 'conversion of Giannone'.[43]

Merlotti was able to trace the history of G.'s manuscripts. They remained in the Archives from 1748. Between 1804 and 1814 they had been transferred to the Hospital of the suppressed Mauritian Order; they were then returned at the end of the French occupation, and lay 'dusty and neglected' until 1833 or 1834, when Francesco Sasso[44] had found them.[45] At Sasso's death in November 1841, Nomis remembered the discovery on a shelf near Sasso's door of *all* G.'s manuscripts, including the *Vita*, which had evidently been gathered by Sasso, waiting for the right moment to purloin them. Since the manuscripts then had been refound, and as Sasso had been already under suspicion, he had not continued removing them. Those which he already had in his possession he did not sell, and they were hidden by his heirs and sold at the auction of his effects to a bookseller, who then sold them to Domenico Promis, the librarian of the Royal Library![46] Among them was also the precious

40 *Ibid.*, p. 374.
41 *Ibid.*, p. 371.
42 Semeria is not in the *DBI*; a very basic entry can be found in Luigi Grillo, *Elogi dei Liguri illustri*, 4 vols (Geneva 1848-1857), 3, pp. 50-51.
43 Merlotti, 'Lettura negata', p. 374.
44 Sasso is not in the *DBI*.
45 Nomis, *Giornale*, 3, p. 67 (12 March 1842): Merlotti, 'Lettura negata', p. 377.
46 L.Tettoni, *Della vita e delle opere del comm. Domenico Promis* (Turin 1874).

L'ape ingegnosa (The Ingenious Bee).[47] Given the unnerving history of theft, displacement, and then rediscovery of G.'s manuscripts, Charles Albert and Nomis became ever more intransigent in refusing permission to consult them.[48]

Nomis' appointment as head archivist in 1844 enabled him steadily to acquire more of G.'s manuscripts from Turin's antiquities' market. These included another copy of the *Professione di fede*, the *Trattato contro le scomuniche* (Treatise against Excommunication) and *Del concubinato de' Romani* (The Concubinage of the Romans). There were constant requests to read and consult them, since G. was made even more celebrated because of his unjustified imprisonment. Nomis inevitably relented and wrote to King Charles Albert that, because many of G.'s writings are 'indifferent' (with the grave exception of the *Vita* and the letters) and 'one cannot deny having them, they could be consulted, if need be, prudently and according to the person's rank'.[49] Charles Albert therefore approved Nomis' plan to grant permission to consult G.'s general works as distinct from his autobiographical writings: the *Vita* and the letters relating to his arrest and imprisonment, for which only Charles Albert could grant special permission.[50]

At that time, at the end of the 1840s, there was a plan to publish some text of G., as evident from the notes made by the Piedmontese scholar Costanzo Gazzera.[51] With the return of *L'ape ingegnosa* to the Archives after the plunder of Sasso and his heirs, Gazzera had again requested permission to read G.'s manuscripts, but, as he was old, asked that they might be sent to the Academy of Science. Between November and December of 1844, therefore, Nomis, with Charles Albert's permission, reluctantly allowed all G.'s manuscripts to be sent to the Academy, with the exception, nevertheless, of G.'s *Via*, which Gazzera had most wanted to read.[52] Gazzera, however, filled seven notebooks with useful notes on the manuscripts. In 1844, he copied extensively from the *Apologia de' teologi scolastici* and in particular from the *Istoria del pontificato di Gregorio Magno*. Gazzera was motivated by a resurgence

47 Merlotti, 'Lettura negata', p. 377.
48 *Ibid.*, p. 378.
49 Nomis, 'Relazione', 3, rel. 736: Merlotti, 'Lettura negata', p. 379.
50 Merlotti, 'Lettura negata', p. 380.
51 Above, p. 887.
52 Merlotti, 'La lettura negata', pp. 382-383.

of interest in Gregory the Great because of the attention directed at the temporal power of the Church, but the plan to publish G.'s work came to nothing.[53] Merlotti observes that Gazzera, before returning G.'s manuscripts to the Royal Archives, must have shown them at least to such intellectuals and colleagues as Carlo Bon Compagni di Mombello (1804-1880),[54] destined for great eminence with Cavour and d'Azelio. Mombello gave a lecture at the Academy on the life of Gregory the Great. Aurelio Bianchi-Giovini (1799-1862),[55] who was to become one of Cavour's most trusted collaborators, had in fact published his own *Pontificato di Gregorio il grande* (Milan 1844). Its main tenets were to appear years later in his monumental work: *Storia dei papi da San Pietro sino a Pio IX*, 12 vols (Capolago 1850-Turin 1864),[56] which was criticised for its anti-clericalism and, as Merlotti observes, is most undeservedly forgotten.[57] The influence of such intellectuals on the resurgence of interest in Giannone must have been considerable. Although interest in G. was raised also by Alessandro Manzoni's unjust criticisms in his book *Storia della colonna infame* (Naples 1843),[58] they could not be refuted by Piedmontese scholars because of the refusal to grant access to G.'s writings. After Gazzera received permission to read G.'s manuscripts, always with the exception of the *Vita,* in 1844, no one else received that permission again until 1850.

At last, in 1850, the distinguished Pasquale Stanislao Mancini (1817-1888),[59] who had fled from Naples to Piedmont, gained permission to read the *Vita*. Nomis then finally allowed Gazzera to read it. This was the last provision made by archivist Count Nomis di Cossilla. It is thus entirely due to Nomis' uniquely courageous vigilance and

53 *Ibid*., pp. 383-384.
54 *DBI* 11, pp. 695-703: Francesco Traniello.
55 *DBI* 10, pp. 60-63: Piero Treves.
56 Near the end of an amazingly extensive bibliography: *ibid*., p. 63.
57 Merlotti, 'Lettura negata', p. 384.
58 See Bertelli, *Opere di P.G.*, p. 359.
59 Mancini, lawyer and statesman, was born in Avellino in the kingdom of Naples. He had been instrumental in persuading Ferdinand II to enter the war against Austria. When reaction set in, Mancini undertook the defence of political prisoners. He was himself threatened with arrest and fled to Turin, where a chair of International Law was established for him (1850). His lectures became the blueprint for the Risorgimento. He entered Parliament, and was briefly Minister of Education (March 1862), Minister of Justice (1876-1878) and Foreign Affairs (1881-1885), when he formed the Triple Alliance (1882). *DBI* 68, pp. 537-547: Paola Mattera.

dedication that we owe the preservation of G.'s legacy. When the *Vita* itself was endangered by the grotesque policy of burning documents which compromised Savoy's royal house, Nomis personally undertook the responsibility of secretly copying the precious manuscript. It was he who rescued and recovered G.'s papers and manuscripts from theft, and, as head-archivist, steadily acquired them when they appeared on the antiquities' market of Turin.

A dramatic change in the fate of G.'s manuscripts written in the prisons of Savoy was envisaged on 1 August 1851, when the Council of the Secretaries of the Kingdom of Savoy, presided over by Marquis Massimo d'Azeglio,[60] announced its decision to publish them. The plan, astonishing to relate, was to be financed by Victor Emanuel II (king of Savoy 1849-1861, king of Italy 1861-1878). Once again we are indebted to the scholarship of Andrea Merlotti for his study 'Pasquale Stanislao Mancini e l'edizione mancata delle opere di Giannone nel Piemonte del Risorgimento' (Pasquale Stanislao Mancini and the Failure to Publish the Works of G. in Piedmont of the Risorgimento).[61]

The editor was to be Pasquale Mancini, and the publisher was to be Luigi Pomba, assisted by his relative Stefano Pietro Zecchini. Two years later d'Azeglio's successor, Count Camilio Benso Cavour, voted a further grant for 'the publication of the manuscripts of the great philosopher Pietro Giannone'.[62] Mancini on 23 March 1850 was authorized by d'Azeglio to consult the manuscripts in the Royal Library and the Royal Archives. There he worked almost daily, copying G.'s manuscripts until at least the end of July 1850.[63] His plan to publish G.'s manuscripts was motivated also by the fierce tension between Church and State in those turbulent years in Piedmont and elsewhere.

When the archivist Nomis was informed of the project, he wrote regretfully in his *Giornale*, 'the time will now come to publish what concerns our most secret relations with Rome, to reveal matters which, for many reasons, it was and would be better to have kept prudently hidden, if not to all at least to many'.[64] Nomis resigned some four

60 See also his wonderful memoirs, *Things I Remember*, trans. Eric Vincent (Oxford 1966). *DBI* 4, pp. 746-757: Narciso Nada.
61 In *Annali della Fondazione Einaudi* 33 (1999), 241-265.
62 Merlotti, 'L'edizione mancata', p. 242.
63 *Ibid*., p. 244.
64 Nomis, *Giornale*, 4, pp. 178-79; Merlotti, 'L'edizione mancata', p. 245.

months later on 31 July 1850.[65] D'Azeglio, however, did accept Nomis' prediction that permission to publish the *Vita* be refused because of its compromising nature. The decision was a disappointment for Mancini. He had, however, already made a complete copy of it. Mancini planned, therefore, to publish his own biography of G., entitled *Della vita e delle opere di Pietro Giannone*.

G.'s manuscripts from prison were then to be published: the *Discorsi sopra gli Annali di Tito Livio* (Discourses on the Annals of Livy), *Apologia de' teologi scolastici* (Defence of the Scholastic Theologians), *Istoria del pontificato di Gregorio Magno* (History of the Pontificate of Gregory the Great), and *L'ape ingegnosa* (The Ingenious Bee).[66] As well as the autobiography of G., Mancini hoped to publish G.'s works which questioned, as had those of Machiavelli, the idea of the supremacy of Church over State.[67] He planned to complete the project by 1852. It was to be dedicated to 'My companions in exile', and there was also to be a statue of G. erected in Turin, financed by the Neapolitan exiles.[68] In less than two years, however, Mancini's commitment to publishing G.'s manuscripts failed, and the project completely foundered.

The grand project to publish G.'s manuscripts from prison, sponsored by the Piedmontese government, was declared a failure by Pomba to Mancini on 17 January 1854, solely because of the attitude of Mancini, who continued to ask for money but sent nothing to his publisher.[69] Between 1854 and 1859 the publishers sought in vain to persuade Mancini at least to write the preface for the first two volumes, and G.'s biography. Mancini, however, had become an established lawyer in Piedmont and had no further need to depend on the publication of G.'s manuscripts for his own interests. The director of the Archives, however, enlisted the aid of Cavour, and the ministry of Internal Affairs ordered Mancini to return the manuscripts, which he finally did in February 1856.[70]

In contrast to the leaden procrastination of Mancini, Catholic circles organized the publication of the new edition of *Della podestà della politica*

65 Merlotti, 'Lettura negata', p. 386. Nomis died nine years later.
66 Merlotti, 'L'edizione mancata' p. 247.
67 *Ibid*., p. 250.
68 *Ibid*., pp. 249-250.
69 Rome, Museo Centrale del Risorgimento, Archivio Mancini: Merlotti, 'L'edizione mancata', p. 257.
70 *Ibid*., p. 258.

della Chiesa contro le nuove opinioni di Pietro Giannone, by Giovanni Antonio Bianchi, in six volumes (Rome 1748-1751).

G.'s fate was again brought to the attention of scholars by Antonio Gallenga (1810-1895)[71] in his *Storia del Piemonte dai primi tempi alla pace di Parigi* (Turin 1856). Gallenga presented the official view, as stated by the unfortunate archivist Pietro Datta in 1834 in his 'Notizia', that Marquis d'Ormea was solely responsible for G.'s arrest, whereas Charles Emanuel had intervened to prevent his being handed over to the grim hand of the Inquisition. Gallenga then took a more forthright position and attributed G.'s fate uniquely to Charles Emanuel. He denied that the elderly G. would have been worse treated by the pope than in 'the benevolent refuge of the monarch of Savoy'. Gallenga wrote: 'to speak truly, no State ever compromised more basely in every sense of duty and justice, ever sacrificed every principle of humanity more deplorably for cowardly self-interest'.

He ended with a chilling condemnation of the king, Charles Emanuel:

> O Charles, our Charles! And for the whole of your life you had to feel a terror of prisons and the imprisoned; and you had to be satisfied with the punishment to which Reasons of State had damned your father [Victor Amadeus], that old man whose lunatic cries you could have heard as you hunted below Rivoli [where Victor Amadeus was kept a prisoner], as also the groans of Giannone could have reached you when you passed reviewing your troops in the piazza of the Citadel.[72]

Pomba resumed his correspondence with Mancini in 1858 and secured yet another false promise to send back the autobiography.

Ferdinando Petrucelli in *I moribundi del palazzo Carignano* (Milan 1862) drew the following portrait of Mancini:

> Mancini embodied the concept of rubber, of a rubber-man, flexible, profuse, colourless, saying everything, not saying anything, good at prose and verse, good at everything, justifying everything... 'No' from his lips will be unheard of and impossible to utter. Be on guard, however, of being sent to sleep with his 'Yes', accompanied by a generous handshake.[73]

71 Gallenga had the most tumultuous career: politician, academic, journalist, finally taking English citizenship and being a political correspondent for *The Times*. *DBI* 51, pp. 534-538: G. Monsagrati.

72 Gallenga, *Storia del Piemonte*, 2. p. 358; Merlotti, 'L'edizione mancata', p. 259.

73 Petrucelli, *I moribundi*, ed. C. Fonterossi (Rome 1960), pp. 228-229; Merlotti, 'L'edizione mancata', p. 262.

Fausto Nicolini, Sergio Bertelli, Giuseppe Ricuperati and Andrea Merlotti have all deplored Mancini's work. As Merlotti writes, 'Mancini did not possess the historical competence or the necessary erudition for such a labour'.[74]

Domenico Carutti (1821-1909),[75] a Piedmontese statesman and historian, published the *Storia del regno di Carlo Emanuele*, 3 vols (Turin 1859), in which he adopted the official view on the 'Giannone case'. He devoted to it, in fact, a whole chapter, since he had obtained permission to consult hundreds of manuscripts, including G.'s *Vita*. Thanks to the direct intervention of Cavour, moreover, Carutti was able to publish excerpts from the *Vita*, which he believed deserved to be published more than any other work of G.[76] He also rejected totally the smear of plagiarism levelled at G. by Manzoni and later the Catholic cabal. For Carutti, however, G. was not a historian but a politician who challenged the supremacy of the Church over the State. G.'s material, therefore, did not have to be original.

Giuseppe Ferrari,[77] was the author of a series of celebrated public lectures in Milan in 1863. As he expected that G.'s *Vita* would shortly be published, he did not dwell so much on G.'s life, the bitter vicissitudes of which he knew also from Panzini's biography and Domenico Carutti's chapter in his *Storia del regno di Carlo Emanuele III* (Turin 1859), as well as from the wealth of letters in Turin's State Archives. Ferrari's rewriting of the story of G.'s end reveals his assiduous study of such sources in the archives. He places responsibility firmly on the shoulders of Charles Emanuel, as Merlotti observes, 'in a course of lectures held in a university of the kingdom at the invitation of a minister of a Savoyard sovereign, which makes for a striking comparison with the pages of Carutti'.[78]

Ferrari's contributions on G.'s life were, however, enlightening. He sensitively reconstructed G.'s life, emphasizing the importance of philosophy and the history of law in the evolution of the *Civil History*. He refers to G.'s perpetual humility. When there was no acknowledgement in Turin even of the reception of the manuscript of the *Discorsi*, prepared

74 Merlotti, 'L'edizione mancata', p. 261.
75 *DBI* 21, pp. 21-28: Fubini Leuzzi.
76 Merlotti, 'L'edizione negata', p. 265.
77 Above, Chapter Twelve, n.93.
78 Merlotti, 'Settecento', 347. Carutti (above) had completely exculpated Charles Emanuel.

finally with such care at Ceva, and sent reverently to Turin in a copy made by the commander of Ceva, Count Giuseppe Amedeo De Magistris, G. turned to philosophy. While humbling himself before the piety of Fr Prever, he had nevertheless written the *Apologia de' teologi scolastici*, in which the Church Fathers are revealed in all their frenzy.[79] Ferrari wrote of the *Storia del pontificato di Gregorio Magno*:

> As though by magical intuition he hears through the walls of his prison the voices of Freret, Voltaire, Rousseau and the Encyclopaedists, whom he left young and unknown, redouble the progress of English liberty. And it was true desolation to find himself alone, without books, without ephemera, at the moment when China, India, Tartary and America were revealing to an astonished Europe the repetition on one side of the Egyptian metempsychoses, on another the mysteries of Pythagoras, elsewhere the conquests of the Romans, and elsewhere also the Middle Ages of the Church.[80]

Ferrari's reading of G.'s works from prison revealed to him that G.'s Abjuration was a formality and his ideas remained unchanged. He was also the first to publish passages from G.'s petition on the treatment meted out to him by the adjutant Caramelli, sent by G. on 14 May 1746 to the marquis di Cortanze (1661-1747).[81] Ferrari's last lecture was entitled 'The agony of Giannone', and in it he compared the deaths of G. and his persecutors.

G.'s *Vita* was finally to be published in 1890 by Mancini's son-in-law, Augusto Pierantoni (1840-1911),[82] and ironically dedicated to him. This edition was strongly criticised for inaccuracy by subsequent scholars.[83] The standard edition is now that of Sergio Bertelli.

Giuseppe Ricuperati concludes his uniquely rich study of the *Triregno* with the observation that in Vienna, under the erudite influence of his friends, G. had turned to Spinoza and Toland, and to the whole culture of the European Enlightenment, in particular that of England, Holland and Germany. He was no longer only a jurisdictionalist: 'His

79 See also Ricuperati's eloquent observations (*L'esperienza*, pp. 566-573) on G.'s 'intelligent ferocity', truly reflecting the thought of the Enlightenment, also in relation to his predecessors and contemporaries.
80 Ferrari, *La mente di P.G.*, lecture 9, p. 113.
81 *Ibid*., lecture 10, p.121.
82 Above, 'The *Triregno* and its Fate', n.107.
83 Merlotti, 'L'edizione mancata', pp. 245-246.

arrest broke off all that. Imprisonment was not only the solitude, but also the desperation of the void. In Miolans the autobiography thus became the only rewriting possible, a dialogue with his own past, a way to recover, in consolatory writing, not only an identity, but also spaces, environments, references…'[84]

Against this very dark reaction, however, in the *Vita* are also perpetuated G.'s beautiful lines on the *Triregno*.[85] And not only the *Vita*, but also the four works written during his years in prison at Ceva must have been a deep solace.

The author of the *Vita* is no longer viewed as only 'a prisoner, a true victim of reasons of state, of that absolutism of which he had made himself the defender and champion',[86] but revered also as a historian. Bertelli observes, however, that G.'s subsequent 'historical research was always more contorted, from trying to convince himself that he was orthodox in heterodoxy'.[87]

The impassioned self-defence in his *Ragguaglio*, his expulsion from Venice, given G.'s brilliant vehemence, is a brutal condemnation of that expulsion. This is, however, an exception. Not even in his letters does G. succumb to rage or indignation against his persecutors, or to personal reflections which usually characterize an autobiography. Bertelli, with his usual sensitivity, detects this classic trait, present in the tragedies of great literature, in the *Vita*:

> And the accents of sorrow at his separation from the family of Ernestine, his desperation at being unable to help her and her mother abandoned in Vienna, reflect such humanity that they dissuade us from trying to penetrate into the secret of what is home to him. They counsel us to respect his courageous affirmation of having referred to what is private…[88]

G. wrote his *Vita* with extraordinary clarity and energy and completed it in January 1737. The strain of his imprisonment is revealed, however, in the constant reports of his sickness. They occur significantly in the months in Ceva following his abjuration, one bout lasting from November 1738

84 *La citta terrena di P.G.* (Florence 2001), p. 121.
85 B., pp. 218-228: above, Chapter Eight, pp. 388-399.
86 B., intro. p. xv: the irony of G.'s being so poorly treated by Vienna and then imprisoned by Savoy.
87 *Ibid*., p. 353.
88 *Ibid*., pp. ix-x.

until the end of February 1739. In the Abjuration, referred to in the last pages of the *Vita,* Bertelli, on close examination, states that G. 'had again denied nothing, absolutely nothing, or very little'.[89] G.'s salient trait was perhaps daring. He dared so much.

Bertelli ends his own edition of G.'s vast life with the most moving document of all: the laconic register of his death in the Citadel's Book of the Dead.[90]

89 *Ibid*., p. 355.
90 Above, Chapter Twelve.

Index

Acta eruditorum (Leipzig) 2, 7, 248, 279–281, 295, 301, 366–367, 369, 442, 447, 519, 557–558, 586, 661, 680, 750

Agustin, Antonio 44, 75

Ajello, Raffaelo 18, 21, 83, 88, 98, 126, 294, 350, 363, 454, 463, 476–478, 750

Albani, Alessandro 23, 64, 66, 110, 169, 234, 437, 505, 531, 533, 578, 599, 601–603, 629, 631–632, 641–644, 652, 657, 662–669, 682–683, 705–708, 722, 728, 819, 822–825, 828, 838, 844, 847–849, 852–853, 856, 879

Albani, Annibale 232, 252, 578

Alexander III, Pope 49, 142, 458–459, 556–557

Alfonso V of Spain 464

Almenara, marquis of 283

Almenara, Marquis of 242, 296, 588

Althann, Friedrich Michael 10, 14, 17, 111, 116, 127–128, 137, 139–140, 142, 147, 150–152, 160, 172, 177, 183, 186, 201–202, 242, 253–254, 282–283, 350–351, 430

Andrea, Francesco D' 12, 14, 34, 48, 73, 78, 98–99, 102, 230

Angelis, Filippo de 11, 56–58, 60, 590

Argento, Gaetano 8, 10–12, 14, 23, 73–74, 76–79, 81, 83, 89, 96–98, 107–115, 118, 122, 126, 132–133, 136, 139, 141–142, 148, 150–151, 154, 156, 158, 162–163, 165, 167–168, 170, 173, 175–177, 184, 186–187, 201, 234, 287, 289–293, 300, 312, 314, 318–320, 335, 338, 354, 405, 467, 492, 720, 776–777, 868

Augustine 33, 46, 77, 86, 337, 366, 383–384, 391, 393, 587, 645, 750, 753, 756, 760–761, 774, 821

Aulisio, Domenico 7–8, 11, 14, 23, 39–41, 44, 46, 48, 50, 55, 66, 82, 96, 107, 121–122, 126, 136, 141–142, 156, 162, 378, 589, 591, 725, 762, 866, 868

Aulisio, Nicolo Ferrara 8, 11

Austro-Ottoman wars 113, 797

Azeglio, Marquis d', Massimo Taparelli 892–893

Banduri, Anselmo 47

Barberini, Maffeo, Duke of Corese 258

Barillot, Jacques 610–613, 615, 633, 820, 825, 829, 832–834, 836–837, 839–841, 845, 848–849, 852, 855, 871

Bayle, Pierre 10, 16, 23, 357, 467, 711

Belgrade 179, 797–801, 803–804, 808

Benedict XIII, Pope 14, 24, 171, 174, 189–190, 227, 229–231, 235, 261–262, 267, 279, 289, 294, 323, 335, 365, 454, 486, 531, 533–534, 577–578, 644, 647, 715, 845

Benedict XIV, Pope 25, 54, 232, 262, 302, 324, 342, 531, 534, 647, 702, 715, 720, 722, 811, 844–845

Benedikt, Heinrich 20, 41, 259, 320, 648

Bensano, Stefano 6

Bentivoglio, Giovanni (Jean) 521, 585, 596, 825, 828, 832, 834–837, 839–841, 844–849, 852

Bertelli, Sergio 3, 12, 14, 18–21, 27, 37, 62, 67, 95, 118, 122–123, 126, 135, 140, 142, 144, 147, 167, 173–176, 181, 183, 233, 240, 259, 262–263, 267, 285, 293, 300, 320, 323, 332, 335–337, 339, 356, 360, 384, 393, 425, 428, 446, 455, 458, 483, 496, 512, 533, 535, 540, 550–551, 578, 582, 587, 590, 592–593, 610–612, 631, 633, 640, 642–643, 648–650, 696–699, 702, 705, 711, 721, 724, 731, 769, 779, 782, 818, 824–825, 837, 839–841, 843, 847, 849–852,

855–857, 859, 861, 868, 879, 895–898
Bettoni, Francesco 455, 480, 491, 496, 515–516, 555, 560, 562
Bianchi, Giovanni 231, 285, 293, 418, 721–722, 751, 754, 894
Bianchi-Giovini, Aurelio 891
Biscardi, Serafino 10, 12, 73, 78, 107, 333
Bitonto 429–430, 782
Bochat, Charles-Guilllaume Loys de 310, 368–369, 497, 536, 557, 613, 624, 820, 829–830
Boisy, Isaac de Budé de 652, 659, 668, 754, 821, 823, 830, 836–837
Bonaparte, Napoleon 696, 838, 841–842, 859, 883
Bon Compagni di Mombello, Carlo 891
books, burning of 7, 76, 144–145, 170, 214, 219–220, 253–254, 274, 284, 292, 332, 389, 391, 397–398, 401, 451, 474, 477, 492, 572, 829, 835–836, 884–885, 892. *See also* censorship: banned books
Borgia, Giuseppe 808, 812
Bousquet, Marc Michel 8, 310, 368–369, 413–414, 497, 526, 529, 536–537, 539–541, 546, 557, 606, 608–613, 619, 634, 820, 829
Brancaccio, Francesco 55
Breglio, Roberto 165, 532, 635, 732–736, 753
Buckley, Samuel 307, 309
Burnet, Gilbert 10, 102, 112, 880

Calaprese, Gregorio 87, 230
Caloprese, Gregorio 10, 87–88, 100
Cantù, Cesare 758, 864–865
Capasso, Nicola 7, 14–15, 82–84, 86–87, 102, 121, 126–127, 138, 141–142, 166, 177, 290, 295, 300–301, 303, 317, 326, 331, 369, 412, 589
Caracciolo di Torella, Antonio 466
Caracciolo, Galeazzo 81, 544
Carafa, Marzio, Duke of Maddaloni 165, 259
Caramelli (G.'s gaoler) 733, 737–738, 740, 743–749, 769, 810, 896
Cardona, Joseph Folchi de 163, 191–192, 243, 277
Carduino, Cesare 544
Carlos, Infante Don 23, 25, 239–240, 372, 407, 423, 425–426, 428–429, 437, 452, 462–464, 468–469, 493, 501, 579–580, 672
Carutti, Domenico 631, 654, 895
Castelli, Domenico 290, 294, 303, 316, 364, 455, 476
Castelli, Elisabetta Angela (mother of G.'s children) 15, 114, 123, 136, 152–153, 177, 770, 782
Castelvi, Juan Basilio 241
Catalans 191, 240, 257–258, 310, 315, 320–321, 372, 425, 432–433, 478, 490
Catholicism 75, 93, 159, 166, 200, 344, 485, 511, 540–541, 548–549, 596, 636, 667, 669, 685, 700, 706, 720, 840
  Roman Church 4, 13, 210–211, 338–339, 390, 518, 573, 690, 693–695, 722, 869
Cato the Elder, M. Porcius 398, 560
Cavour, Camillo 891–893, 895
censorship 54, 123–124, 136, 303, 399, 424, 482, 499, 514, 617, 698
  banned books 51, 151, 170–173, 200, 211, 223, 229–230, 252, 285, 330, 476, 481, 485, 528, 558, 577, 677, 690, 697, 704, 711, 759, 823. *See also* books, burning of
Ceva 1–2, 8, 12, 15, 17, 25, 29, 206, 419, 605, 639, 642, 645–647, 660, 665, 679, 681, 709, 716, 723, 727–733, 735–736, 738–742, 747, 750–758, 761, 764, 766, 768–769, 771, 774–775, 832, 870, 884, 888, 896–897
Chambery 1, 25, 364, 538, 605, 616–619, 624, 627, 629–630, 633–635, 637–639, 657, 659–660, 675, 677–678, 717, 733–734, 751–752, 769, 791–792, 829
Charles Albert of Savoy 884–887, 890
Charles Emanuel III of Savoy 4, 343,

400–403, 419, 436, 532–533, 538, 586, 617–618, 625, 628–631, 635, 638, 641, 645, 648, 651–656, 660, 671, 678, 680, 706, 709, 711–713, 718, 723, 728, 733–734, 749–750, 757, 778, 788, 819, 821–822, 825, 864, 882–883, 887–889, 894–895
Charles VI, HRE 4, 10, 14, 16, 24, 105–106, 113, 127, 129, 139, 150, 182, 324, 372, 468, 648, 777, 779, 841
Charles VII of Naples 25
Chénevé, Charles 540, 618–626
Cienfuegos, Alvarez 172, 174, 235–236, 251, 261–262, 264, 266, 273, 285, 293, 330, 362, 423, 437
Cifuentes, Fernandez di Solera y Meneses, Count of 161, 400
Cirillo, Nicola 6–7, 14, 19, 83, 85–88, 102, 104, 121–122, 126, 134, 141, 159, 190, 192, 207–208, 314, 367, 369, 371, 411, 415, 442, 454, 467, 474, 479, 587, 725
Collateral Council 16, 73, 97, 109, 112, 125, 127, 132, 138–140, 144–145, 150, 155, 175–177, 184, 186, 199, 201–202, 204, 215, 217–218, 223–225, 230, 247, 283, 289–293, 296, 300, 303, 314–315, 329, 351, 359, 361–364, 404, 486, 558, 687
Comacchio 10, 14, 16, 167, 250–251, 304, 579
concubinage 143, 145–146, 182, 201, 256, 286, 379, 399, 569, 688, 692, 695, 782
Constantine I, RE 13, 42, 44–45, 50–54, 60, 67, 91, 146, 202, 209, 231, 262, 394, 458, 759
Contegna, Pietro 7, 107, 126, 141, 159, 162, 165–166, 193, 208, 259, 347, 364, 454, 477–478, 501, 817
Conti, Antonio 24, 137, 169, 284, 302, 455, 480, 496, 515–516, 554–555, 562, 584, 715, 787
Cordoba, Francesco, Marquis of Aguilar 242
Corner, Antonio 455, 480, 524, 527
Cortanze, Ercole, Marquis Rosario di 8, 17, 723, 732, 734, 736–737, 749–750, 754–755, 761, 768, 896
Coscia, Niccolò 190, 235, 261, 263, 273–274, 291, 323–324, 328, 358–359, 361–362, 472, 533, 647, 723
Costantino, Antonio 866–868
Costanzo, Angelo di 13, 93
Crivelli, Giovanni 325, 456, 483
Cujas, Jacques 46, 48–49, 75, 229, 307, 542
Cusano, Marcello 442

Dani, Lodovico 881
Dante 50, 59, 68, 87, 193, 416, 581, 640, 679, 847
Datta, Pietro Luigi 723, 886–889, 894
Daun, Lorenz Wierich von 14, 105–106, 110, 112–113, 122, 130, 132, 151, 249–250, 358, 402, 406, 421, 426
Decretales 49–50, 52, 94, 103, 269
Descartes, René 3, 12, 16, 56, 58, 67–68, 78, 83, 85–86, 91, 96, 111, 180, 193, 357, 715
Doujat, Jean 55
Dupin, Louis Ellies 10, 176, 357, 588, 675, 715, 722, 762

Elefante, Vincenzo 633, 767, 802, 823–824, 876, 879
England 20, 23, 90, 101, 106, 178, 205, 239–240, 280, 301, 306, 347, 403, 407, 420, 480, 496, 525–526, 530, 543, 546, 548, 557–558, 572, 581, 714, 838, 876, 896
Enlightenment 20, 57, 294, 347, 479, 482, 723, 779, 854, 857, 860–862, 869, 896
Eugene of Savoy, Prince 16, 95, 150, 159, 177, 180–181, 183, 187, 194, 205, 208–209, 236, 243–244, 246, 267–268, 271, 283, 287, 291–292, 294, 307, 316, 321, 349, 354, 372, 420–421, 424, 437–438, 443, 528, 625, 634, 650, 718, 767, 779, 801, 829, 865

Eusebios 46, 54, 356, 383, 393
excommunication 5, 14, 24, 59, 112–113, 115, 128, 130, 132, 145, 147–148, 151, 155, 157–158, 170, 174–176, 182, 200, 212–213, 216–220, 222, 224, 324, 326, 364, 399, 511, 568, 571, 688, 690, 692–693, 695, 697, 700, 720
exequatur 113, 130–131, 134, 212, 215–216, 220, 222–223, 358–361, 363, 486, 589, 710
exile 241, 292, 357, 425, 430, 432, 454, 476, 488, 539, 582, 808, 893

Fausto Nicolini 19, 26, 29, 112, 230, 424, 631, 654, 850, 886, 895
Ferrante, Matteo 479, 817
Ferrara 8, 10–11, 75, 136, 141, 220, 250, 450, 473, 497, 518, 520–522, 527, 530, 564, 566, 576, 585–586, 589, 596–598, 643, 673, 836, 868
Ferrari, Giuseppe 19, 342–343, 778, 861–865, 895–896
Filangieri, Riccardo 860
Flanders 179, 191, 205, 213, 216, 240–241, 243, 249–250, 303, 358, 427, 434, 439, 487, 507
Fleury, André Hercule de 372, 400–402, 448, 528
Forlosia, Nicola 7, 159, 180, 205, 236, 245, 259, 303, 357, 375, 412, 440, 443, 615–616, 634, 648, 657–659, 841
Fraggianni, Nicolo 6, 79, 155–156, 285, 290, 292–294, 317, 319, 558, 700, 702–703, 798, 808, 810, 813
Fraggianni, Saverio 798
Frederick II, HRE 53, 67, 280, 605, 615, 720
Frederick I of Aragon 464
Frederick of Hesse-Kassel 605, 829
friendship 6–8, 11, 82–83, 137, 142, 167, 239, 250, 280, 290, 319, 350, 420, 439, 447, 532, 571, 575, 606, 620, 622–623, 704, 723, 766, 777, 789–790, 807, 809, 828
Froullay, Charles 448, 454, 467, 497, 541, 595–596
Fuenclara, Pedro 446–448, 453–455, 462, 466, 475, 487, 489–491, 501, 549, 596

Gallenga, Antonio 631, 654, 894
Garelli, Niccolò 6, 62, 83, 141, 159, 161–162, 167, 174, 177, 180–182, 184, 187, 192–194, 205–208, 245–246, 250, 253, 259, 274, 283, 291, 301, 307, 318, 328–329, 350–351, 354–355, 357, 367, 418, 438, 443, 611, 616, 625, 634, 644, 648–650, 658, 698, 865
Garofalo, Biagio 7, 83, 111, 201, 262, 290–291, 295, 300, 302, 316–317, 328, 348, 351, 361, 363, 367, 454, 458, 477, 552
Gassendi, Pierre 3, 16, 56–58, 76, 83, 86, 134, 715, 719, 866
Gazzera, Costanzo 885, 890–891
Geneva 1–2, 8, 25, 46, 75, 218, 307, 309–310, 364, 368, 402, 413, 495, 497, 526–527, 529–531, 536–537, 539–541, 543–547, 550, 557, 559, 601–603, 605–606, 608–620, 623–625, 627–629, 632–636, 643–644, 651, 655–657, 659, 662, 665–669, 674–677, 679, 683, 685, 689–690, 692, 695, 704, 708–709, 712, 718, 734, 736, 754–755, 766, 769, 774, 788–790, 793, 819–826, 828–831, 833, 835–837, 839–841, 844–845, 848, 850, 852, 856, 865, 879, 887–888
Giannone, Carlo (G.'s brother) 3, 8, 12–13, 38, 62, 76, 81, 119, 121, 124, 126, 135, 137, 141, 145, 147, 150, 152–158, 161, 163, 165–166, 175–177, 179–181, 183–184, 190, 193–194, 196, 200, 207, 229, 232–236, 243, 245–250, 254–256, 258, 261, 279, 283–285, 289–290, 294, 297, 303–304, 310, 317, 319–320, 347, 354, 364–365, 367, 369, 379, 388, 400, 405, 412, 414–415, 436, 442, 447, 453, 467, 474–475, 478–479, 501–504, 507, 527, 529, 608, 715,

732, 764, 772, 782
Giannone, Fortunata (G.'s daughter) 15, 17, 124, 770, 782, 817
Giannone, Giovanni (G.'s son) 1, 3, 16, 31, 114–115, 123–124, 136–137, 142, 152, 156, 179, 262, 317, 374–375, 388, 501, 503–504, 538, 546, 608, 612, 620–621, 624, 635, 638, 641, 644–645, 670, 718, 724, 732, 736, 760, 764, 766, 769–770, 781, 805–806, 811, 881
Giannone, Pietro
for his life, see especially 23–26
principal works
Ape ingegnosa 26, 42, 180, 205–206, 357–358, 532, 639, 645–646, 750, 764, 767, 862–863, 881, 890, 893
Apologia de' teologi scolastici 26, 639, 643, 645, 753–754, 756, 760, 764, 776, 863, 881, 890, 893, 896
Consigli e dicasteri della città di Vienna 140
Discorsi sopra gli Annali di Tito Livio 6, 586, 647, 730, 754, 756, 760, 881, 893
Istoria civile/Civil History 1, 4–7, 12–15, 17–18, 23, 36–37, 39–40, 56, 59, 71, 73–74, 76, 90, 92, 94, 99, 103–104, 112–114, 118, 122, 124–128, 130, 133, 135, 138–142, 144–148, 150–152, 156–158, 160–163, 165–167, 169–170, 172–174, 176, 179, 181–184, 196–197, 199–202, 205, 207, 209–210, 212, 214, 217, 225, 227, 229–234, 241, 248, 253, 260, 279–282, 284, 286–287, 289, 291–292, 294, 297, 302, 304–307, 309–310, 314, 317, 325–326, 329–331, 334–339, 343, 345–348, 355, 365–369, 396, 399, 401, 411, 413, 417–418, 424, 442, 447, 450, 458, 461, 463, 467–468, 474–475, 479, 481–482, 484, 487–488, 497, 504, 507, 511, 526–527, 529, 536, 540–542, 545–547, 549–550, 552, 556–558, 573, 577–578, 582, 587–588, 593, 601, 608, 610–612, 624, 629, 634, 647–649, 669, 672, 684, 687–689, 691–694, 699–705, 711–712, 718, 720–722, 724, 758, 763, 766, 771, 778–779, 782, 797, 819–821, 823–825, 828, 836–837, 839–841, 844, 849, 852, 856, 862, 864–865, 868, 879–882, 888, 895
Istoria del pontificato di Gregorio Magno 25, 540, 542–543, 762, 764, 870, 881, 890, 893
Opere postume 31, 51, 112, 125, 127, 133, 147, 158, 174, 176, 229, 234, 258, 268, 291, 293, 301, 303, 558, 611–612, 643, 705, 818, 841, 848, 850, 862, 881–882
Professione di fede 1, 4, 7, 11, 24, 111, 294, 306, 587, 684, 690–692, 713, 824–825, 838, 854, 884, 890
Triregno 1, 15, 18–22, 57, 159, 171, 232, 280, 324, 355, 357, 367, 377, 383, 389–390, 479, 513, 529, 540, 543, 546, 582, 606, 610, 612, 624, 627–628, 633, 635, 641, 644, 664, 667, 678, 684, 694, 696, 698–699, 711–712, 718–719, 722, 750, 753, 758, 762–763, 765–768, 779, 818–826, 835–843, 847–871, 875–876, 879–882, 896–897
Giannone, Scipione (G.'s father) 9, 31, 33–34, 135, 686, 691, 694, 752
for G.'s mother, see. *See* Micaglia, Lucrezia (G.'s mother)
Gibbon, Edward 4, 25, 36, 56, 230, 369, 402, 538, 543, 778
Giornale de' Litterati 10
Giovino, Pasquale 813
Girolami (assessor of the Inquisition) 641, 669, 822, 824
Gloria, Gaspare 884–887
Godefroy, Jacques 46, 75–76, 91, 109, 231, 542, 586
Gratian 45–46, 49–50, 52, 229
Gravier, Giovanni 882

Gregory VII, Pope 326, 853
Grimaldi, Costantino 7, 10, 14, 102, 111–112, 116, 128, 132–133, 147, 150, 165, 167, 170, 173, 253–254, 260, 274, 291, 300, 316, 349–350, 437, 442, 454, 477–478, 501, 588, 611
Grotius, Hugo (Huig de Groot) 10, 92, 131, 751
Guastaldi, Felice 627, 633, 635, 659, 668, 670, 732, 736
Guastaldi, Giuseppe 618–619, 621–629, 632–633, 635–636, 645, 659–660, 668, 670, 717, 732–736, 754, 789, 820–821, 823, 854, 889
Guicciardini, Francesco 10, 31, 35, 61, 103, 481

Harrach, Aloys Thomas Raimund von 15, 201, 242–243, 248, 262, 283–284, 287–288, 293–294, 296, 300, 304, 316–317, 328–329, 348–349, 351, 361–363, 372, 404, 412, 428, 467, 625
Historia literaria 301, 306, 557
historiography 42, 61, 481, 764
Hobbes, Thomas 16, 358, 375, 711, 752

Ildeburgausehen, Prince of 799, 803
imprisonment 1–2, 6, 12, 15, 17, 19, 25, 92, 111, 126, 136, 145, 155, 161, 163, 177, 199, 201–202, 213–214, 216, 237, 261–262, 274, 324, 330, 401, 419, 430, 476, 479, 534–535, 572–573, 597, 623, 630–631, 635, 638, 645, 647, 652, 654–655, 657, 660–662, 674, 677, 680, 686, 700, 703, 709–712, 714–715, 718, 727–729, 735–737, 740, 749–750, 754, 761–762, 764, 769, 775, 808, 812, 822–823, 829–830, 856, 882, 887–890, 894, 897
Inquisition 2, 4, 10, 56, 73, 82–83, 98, 111, 131, 147–148, 154, 170, 200, 210–211, 224, 227, 229, 231–232, 238, 291, 294, 327, 331, 344, 365, 370, 399, 437, 450, 458, 473, 476, 480, 482, 507, 509, 513, 515–517, 521, 528, 539, 546, 548, 561, 572–573, 610, 612, 635, 641–642, 644–645, 649, 654, 663, 684, 686, 696–701, 708, 710, 712–714, 716, 720, 767, 822, 824–825, 836–842, 844, 848–850, 852, 856, 859–860, 887, 894
intellectual networks 10, 14, 39, 98, 113, 140, 180, 229, 262–263, 475, 480–481, 533, 891
Ippolito, Vincenzo d' 7, 139, 141, 166, 294, 317, 359, 364, 442, 467, 475–476, 807–808
Ischitella 8, 23, 31–33, 35, 38, 63, 65, 81, 115, 118, 135, 137, 467

Jemolo, Arturo 20, 232, 418
Joseph I, HRE 10, 14
jurisdictionalism 5, 11–12, 76, 103, 133, 140, 142, 155, 162, 477, 641, 645, 648, 655, 722, 817, 844, 856, 896
Justinian, RE 38, 40–41, 44–46, 48–49, 52, 67, 75, 91–92, 94, 212, 269, 271, 321, 600

Lama, Bernardo 7, 371, 440, 442–443, 532–533, 683, 776
Lascaris di Castellar, Francesco 882
Le Blanc, Etienne 2, 630, 632, 634–635, 637, 656, 766
Leclerc, Daniel 332, 542–543
Leichsenhoffen, Ernestina von 179, 255–256, 354, 376, 444, 649
Leo VI, Byzantine emperor 52
libraries 10, 12, 15, 182, 206, 300, 306, 357, 418, 611–612, 764, 767, 838, 854–855, 860, 865
Liebe, Siegmund 281, 308–309, 591, 606
Livy 1–2, 42, 46–47, 59, 61, 97, 273, 307, 343, 381, 392, 397–398, 538, 636, 638, 647, 756, 758–759, 778, 792, 881, 893
  History of Rome 1, 42
Locke, John 3, 16, 23, 357
Lodoli, Carlo 456, 482, 554, 819
Lombards 13, 47, 52, 61, 92, 102, 370
Longano, Francesco 853, 857–859

Longobardi, Gabriele 7, 165, 193–194, 443
Löwenklau, Johann (Leunclavius) 269
Lucretius 3, 57, 286, 327, 357, 470, 793, 873, 876

Mabillon, Jean 10, 750
Machiavelli, Niccolo 10, 61, 87, 131, 481, 711, 758, 862, 893
Maffei, Scipione 245, 368, 481, 709
Magistris, Giuseppe de 2, 8, 17, 647, 717, 727, 729–731, 754–757, 766, 768, 896
Maio, Muzio di 6, 152, 166, 172, 207, 209–210
Mancini, Pasquale 858, 862–863, 891–896
Mannarino, Lia 18, 22, 766–767, 869
Maria Elizabeth, Archduchess (sister of Charles VI) 243
Maria Theresia, Empress 14, 165, 177, 239–240, 372, 385–387, 421, 443, 804, 849
Mariconi, Bartolomeo 258, 260
Marini, Lino 20, 94, 130, 133, 229, 320, 358, 427, 456, 496, 499, 521, 539, 631, 655, 696, 711, 723, 778, 841
Marulli, Filippo 805–806, 815
Marulli, Francesco 179, 797–800, 802–803
Medina Coeli, Duke of (Luis Francisco de la Cerda) 12, 14, 37, 66, 71, 82, 96–97, 100, 104, 230
Mela, Francesco 6–7, 15, 124, 126, 137, 157, 258, 374, 414, 732, 770, 785, 796
Mencke, Friedrich Otto 2, 7, 189, 279–281, 303, 305, 588
Mencke, Johann Burchard 7, 188, 280–281, 301, 310, 345
Mendoza, Fernandez 135, 322
Merlotti, Andrea 35, 42, 72, 124, 142, 532, 639, 645–646, 661, 679–680, 724, 729–731, 749–750, 753–754, 756, 764, 770, 861, 863–865, 881, 884, 886–887, 889, 891–892, 895
Micaglia, Lucrezia (G.'s mother) 9, 31, 135
Milan 19–21, 25, 60–61, 64–65, 95, 113, 133, 140, 148, 150, 155, 162, 184, 195, 235, 238, 241, 243–244, 248, 274, 284, 310–315, 320, 322, 342, 373, 387, 401–405, 419, 421, 424, 428, 432–436, 439, 447, 455, 467, 495, 512, 526–540, 546, 593–594, 597, 599–603, 612, 614–616, 633–635, 643–644, 658–659, 663–666, 673–677, 683, 704, 718, 778, 788, 795, 820–821, 848, 851, 854, 858, 863–864, 891, 894–895
Minervini, Pantaleo 21, 31, 83, 126
Miolans 1–3, 16, 25, 27, 42, 72, 88, 110, 122, 160, 165, 264, 299, 303, 364–365, 375, 390, 399, 443, 605, 629–632, 634, 641, 645, 651–652, 656–657, 659–660, 665, 670–671, 677–678, 682–683, 718, 723, 733–735, 741, 751–754, 756, 766, 769, 773, 791, 795, 821, 829–830, 842, 844, 848, 884, 897
Modena 8, 14, 25, 44, 170, 251, 495, 522–523, 525–528, 530, 535, 539, 566, 576, 578, 597–599, 612, 644, 673, 788, 802, 858
Mödling 277–278, 354, 357, 376, 384, 388, 400, 865
Montealegre, José de 15, 452, 454–455, 466, 475–476, 479, 489, 500–501, 580, 807
Montemar, Count of 406, 423, 428–430, 808
Montesanto, Joseph Villasor, Count of 161, 193, 266, 277–278, 310, 317, 400, 404, 409, 424, 432, 438
Montesquieu 4, 10, 26, 190, 230, 427, 705, 711
Moreno, Ottavio 888–889
Muratori, Ludovico Antonio 10, 13–14, 20, 104, 113, 150, 159, 165, 232, 245, 251, 254, 304, 370, 480–481, 523, 527–528, 566, 576, 578, 599, 606, 631, 654, 704, 753, 819

Naples 1, 4–7, 9–16, 19–26, 34–35, 37–39, 49, 53, 55–56, 58, 63–65, 71–72, 74, 77–83, 85, 87–88, 90–91, 93–96, 98, 100–101, 103–106, 108–113, 115, 117, 119–122, 124–130, 132–154, 156–163, 165–170, 172, 174–179, 182–183, 186–187, 190, 193, 195–200, 202, 209–210, 212–213, 215, 217, 224–226, 228, 230, 233–238, 241–250, 253, 255–256, 259–260, 262–263, 267, 275, 277–279, 281–285, 287–294, 296, 300–301, 303–304, 306, 308, 310–320, 324–326, 328–330, 334–335, 337–339, 343–345, 347–348, 351, 354–355, 358–367, 370–375, 385, 387–388, 399, 402–405, 407–408, 411–412, 414, 417–418, 423–437, 439–442, 446–447, 450, 452–456, 462–481, 484–492, 498, 500–510, 524–526, 528, 530, 532–533, 536, 540–541, 544, 549–550, 552–553, 556–559, 573–574, 578–581, 583, 586–591, 596, 601–602, 611–612, 626, 635, 642, 648, 650, 654, 661, 672, 675, 680, 683, 687–689, 691, 694, 699, 703, 705, 708, 713, 718–720, 723–724, 749, 762, 764, 769–770, 773, 775, 777–778, 781–786, 788, 795–797, 804–811, 814–815, 817–818, 824, 828, 831–834, 836, 841, 844, 848, 850–851, 854–855, 857–860, 865, 868, 880–883, 886, 891

Nicolini, Fausto 118, 124, 133, 150, 166, 300, 317, 337, 364–365, 466–467, 592–593, 623, 625, 628, 654, 702, 714, 841

Nido, Sant'Angelo al 10

Nomis di Cossilla, Luigi 883, 891

Normans 93, 102, 133, 269, 366, 486

Numa, second king of Rome 397–398

Oddi, Jacopo 447, 451, 499, 510–512, 515, 519, 521, 539, 548, 576, 585

Ogilvie, James 4, 198, 305, 345–347, 559, 587

Olivazzi, Giorgio 530–531, 533, 535–536, 540, 600–601, 616, 674–675

Olivier, George, Count of Wallis 801

Ormea, Carlo Vincenzo Ferrero, Marquis of 262, 401, 437, 513, 530–535, 540, 545, 586, 599–603, 612, 625, 627–633, 638–639, 641–647, 651–652, 654–656, 660–669, 674, 680, 682–683, 707–709, 711, 713, 716, 719, 723, 727–728, 732, 750, 755, 757, 763, 770, 772–773, 775, 809, 819, 821, 823, 842, 848, 856, 875, 887, 889, 894

Pace, Giulio 40

Padua 31, 44, 61, 75, 450–451, 458, 474, 484, 509, 513–514, 549, 552–553, 561, 569, 572, 575, 643, 672, 853, 856

Palazzi di Selve, Giovanni 172, 641, 644–645, 684, 710, 758, 824, 839, 851, 860, 875, 879, 882

Pallavicino, Sforza 42, 61, 77, 214, 297, 593–594, 752, 768

Panzini, Leonardo 19, 26, 31, 34, 80, 82, 115–116, 119, 122, 131, 134–135, 140–142, 152, 154, 165–166, 174, 176–177, 190, 201, 234, 236, 258–259, 279, 281, 294, 298, 310, 316–317, 319, 347, 359, 361, 364–365, 424, 443, 446, 448, 450, 455–456, 497, 499, 519, 523, 526–527, 532, 536, 541, 553, 610–611, 615, 623, 626, 642, 702, 705, 766, 769–770, 776, 818, 822, 848, 850, 855, 857, 859, 881–883, 885, 895

Paoli, Sebastiano 4, 212, 294, 365–367, 411–412, 467, 507, 571

Paruta, Filippo 47

Pasqualigo, Domenico 450, 455, 474, 496, 515–516, 552–553, 555, 560, 562

Passionei, Domenico 157, 246, 253, 262, 291, 302, 304, 334, 344, 358, 361, 408, 413, 424, 437, 440–441, 443, 451, 453, 458, 470–472, 477, 483–484, 505, 521, 579–580, 719, 868

patronage 73, 113, 183–184, 252, 290–291, 348, 433, 437, 448, 475, 477–478, 493, 511, 584, 714, 766, 832

Perez, Antonio 40
Perrelli, Pietro, Duke of Montasterac 263–264, 266–267, 269, 273
Peter von Mastricht 54
Philip V, King of Spain 37, 63, 71, 95, 162
philosophy 9, 11–12, 20, 22, 33–34, 45, 56–58, 77–78, 81–83, 85–88, 98, 159, 235, 286, 342–343, 355, 377, 379, 383, 393, 415, 555, 605–606, 739, 754, 757, 764–765, 772, 844, 852, 862–863, 867, 879, 895–896
Pico della Mirandola, Ludovico 285, 577
Picon, Giuseppe 419, 530, 545, 550, 601–603, 617, 626–630, 632–633, 635, 651, 656–657, 661, 667, 679–680, 717, 733–735, 791, 820–821, 823–824, 830, 837, 839, 854
Pierantoni, Augusto 19, 172, 181, 269, 592, 705, 858, 896
Pignatelli, Nicola, Duke of Monteleone 242
Pisani, Angelo 7–8, 25, 424, 457, 459–462, 500–506, 508, 510, 512, 514–526, 528, 546–547, 549–550, 553–554, 558–560, 562–566, 568, 574–576, 582, 584, 586, 593–595, 611–612, 616, 629, 644, 649–650, 661, 672, 679–680, 786–788, 819, 875
Pitteri, Francesco 300, 303, 496, 498–500, 509–510, 515, 525–526, 528, 559, 612
Pliny the Elder 1, 3, 17, 43, 100, 134, 307–308, 343, 631, 638–639, 671, 730, 752, 763–764, 768, 778
  Natural History 1, 17, 43, 631, 638–639, 671, 763–764
Pliny the Younger 1, 42–43, 97, 143, 508, 639, 671, 752
  Letters 42
Ploikner, Jakob von 7, 178, 193, 254–256, 445
Polish Succession, War of 24, 252, 364, 373, 401–402, 419, 448, 521, 533, 625–626, 637
Portocarrero, Joaquim 242, 283, 588
Porzio, Luc' Antonio 10, 87–88, 96
power
  civil/secular 213, 338, 390, 459, 722, 763, 869
  ecclesiastical 16, 94, 251, 373, 531, 691, 763
Protestantism 11, 40, 167, 543, 572

Quietism 11, 77, 98, 369, 714, 760

Rachz 799
Raiberti, Alberto 883
reformer 78, 87, 287, 384, 399, 850, 856
Rialp, Roman Frederic de Vilana-Perles, Marquis of 16, 160, 163–164, 174, 177, 183–186, 193–196, 204, 209, 231–232, 237, 249–252, 254, 259, 261, 263–265, 267, 272, 282, 294, 296, 311, 313–320, 323–324, 329, 337–338, 344, 348, 354, 359–360, 362, 372, 403–405, 407, 409, 424–426, 431–432, 438, 440, 442–443, 625
Riccardi, Alessandro 6, 8, 10, 14, 87, 107, 111–112, 126, 132–133, 141–142, 159, 162, 165–168, 170, 172–174, 177, 180, 182, 193–194, 205, 207–210, 235–237, 245–246, 248, 253, 259, 262, 292, 335, 354, 357, 365, 402, 492, 611, 660, 865
Ricuperati, Giuseppe 20–21, 57, 61, 127, 131, 248, 279–280, 292, 307, 355, 366, 400, 443, 519, 527–528, 586–587, 589, 591, 631, 645, 655, 669, 684, 698, 712, 721–722, 750, 756, 762, 766, 779, 851, 854, 859, 861, 875–876, 895–896
Ripperda, Johan Wilhelm von 237
Rittershausen, Konrad 44
Riva, Maria 456, 496, 527, 574, 592, 595, 819
Roger, Duke of Calabria 270
Roger I, Count of Sicily 93, 268, 270
Rossi, Gian Francesco de 837
Rota, Francesco 480

Rubi, Joseph de 242, 431, 433
Ruggiero, Guido 18, 20, 34, 59

Sabatelli, Carlo 9, 31, 34, 63, 72, 110
Saint-Saphorin, Francois Louis de Pesme de 614, 625, 823
San Felice, Giuseppe 643, 692, 694
Santa Chiara, Council of 77, 89, 96–97, 99, 107–108, 111, 115, 118, 120, 175, 289, 314, 316, 320, 325, 330, 348–349, 354, 404, 442, 533, 882
Santesteban, Count of 16
Santo Stefano, Count of 37, 230, 429, 437, 452–454, 461, 466–467, 475–476, 479, 488–489, 500–501, 506–508, 516, 553–554, 580, 672, 787
Saponara, Vincenzo, Duke of 258, 260
Sarpi, Paolo 10, 61, 212, 279, 335, 496, 571–573, 588, 711, 722, 725
Sasso, Francesco 883–884, 889–890
Scassa, Onofrio 119, 124, 126, 732, 807–808
Schipa, Michelangelo 20, 162, 425–426, 428, 430, 452, 476
Semeria, Giovanni Battista 889
Serra, Gaetano 31
Sicily 16, 37, 53, 59, 64, 93, 140, 155, 163, 168–169, 194–195, 234, 238, 241–242, 244, 251–253, 258, 261–262, 264–265, 268–272, 283, 303, 310–313, 320, 325, 373, 387, 403–405, 407, 424–425, 427, 429, 431–437, 439, 442, 452, 454–455, 462–466, 468–469, 486–489, 495, 528, 552, 579, 672, 675, 763, 786, 808, 881, 888
Sigonio, Carlo 44, 587
Silvestri, Carlo 460
Simon, Richard 16, 358
Sinzendorf, Philipp Ludwig von 16
Soffietti, Giovanni 460, 560
Solanes, Francesco 109, 211, 290, 293, 314, 319–321, 588
Spinelli, Giovanni 11, 38–39, 58, 73, 119, 249, 279, 358, 507, 589
Spinoza, Baruch 3, 11, 16, 136, 357, 698, 762, 767, 866, 876, 896
Stella, Rocco 73, 106, 278
Swedenborg, Emanuel 842, 859–860

Tanucci, Bernardo 15–16, 361, 465, 475–479, 501, 641, 724–725, 810, 814, 817, 882
Tertullian 383–384, 390–393, 760
Theodosius, RE 44–45, 52, 67, 91, 94
Thou, Jacques-Auguste de 10, 17, 48, 75, 307–309, 692, 762, 870
Tillemont, Louis-Sébastien Le Nain de 54, 100, 357, 467, 762
Toland, John 3, 16–17, 357, 383, 756–758, 767, 896
Torres, Antonio 11, 77, 98, 151, 442, 713, 766, 768, 779
Trivulzio, Alessandro 7, 438, 446–447, 449, 509, 522, 524–529, 531, 533, 537, 541, 546, 550, 582, 593–596, 600, 612, 616, 634, 644, 795, 820, 865
Turin 1, 7–8, 17, 20–21, 25–26, 125, 140, 155, 172, 183, 232, 262, 307, 367, 400–401, 421, 436, 442–443, 467, 470, 495, 519, 526, 530–538, 540, 546, 583, 586, 603, 616–618, 625, 628–630, 634–635, 637, 639, 641–645, 647–648, 654–655, 657, 662, 666, 671, 674–675, 682–684, 686, 691, 694, 696–697, 700, 704, 708–709, 715–716, 723, 727–728, 730, 732–733, 735, 737, 745, 749–754, 757–758, 764, 768–770, 773, 775, 778, 788, 791, 793, 795, 805, 809–810, 812, 819, 824–825, 830–832, 844, 848, 851, 861–862, 864, 866, 882–883, 888–896
Turrettini, Jean-Alphonse 310, 534, 536, 543–546, 606, 608, 610–614, 624–625, 644, 652, 668, 675, 789, 819, 821–823, 835–836, 840

Urban II, Pope 262, 268–270, 272, 486

Valletta, Giuseppe 9–10, 12, 73, 91, 101, 104, 230, 294, 365, 713
Venice 1–2, 7–8, 10, 15, 25, 40, 44, 60, 136, 142, 162, 165, 179, 221–222, 243, 245, 250, 281, 284, 300, 303–304, 317, 375, 418, 423, 430, 433, 438, 442, 446–453, 455–458, 460–462, 465–467, 471–472, 474, 480–481, 483–484, 487, 490–492, 495–505, 507, 509–519, 521–524, 526–527, 529–533, 535–538, 540, 546, 548–553, 556–559, 561–564, 566–575, 577, 580–586, 590, 592–594, 596–599, 602, 611–613, 615–617, 629, 635, 643–644, 648–650, 657–659, 661, 672–677, 679–681, 692, 695, 702, 715, 717–718, 729, 736, 750, 752–753, 756, 766, 768–769, 786–787, 798, 811, 819–820, 832, 842, 847–848, 850–852, 854–858, 865, 879, 888, 897
Vernet, Jacob 8, 310, 443, 534, 536, 540, 543, 546, 606–614, 624–625, 629, 632–635, 644–645, 668–669, 675, 684, 718, 789, 794, 818–820, 822–823, 825–826, 832–841, 848, 850–851, 854–855, 859, 871
Vico, Giambattista 11–12, 22, 24, 76, 82, 87, 98, 100, 248, 342–343, 379, 467, 544, 778, 862–863
Vienna 5–8, 14, 16, 20, 24–25, 38, 62, 81, 83, 88, 96, 110–111, 115, 119, 122, 124, 126–127, 129, 132–133, 136–137, 139–142, 147, 149–152, 154–160, 162–170, 172–174, 176–186, 188, 190, 193–196, 198, 200, 203, 205–207, 209–210, 225–229, 232, 234–238, 240–250, 253–262, 264, 266–269, 272–273, 277, 279–284, 288–291, 293–294, 296, 299–301, 303–304, 307, 310, 314, 316–321, 323, 334, 344, 351, 353–354, 357–362, 364–365, 367, 369–372, 374–375, 385, 388, 400, 402–408, 410–411, 413, 418, 420–421, 423–427, 429–443, 446–447, 449, 452–454, 456, 460, 462–464, 468, 471–472, 476, 478, 481, 483, 485–490, 495, 499, 503–505, 509, 511, 515, 519, 521, 526–528, 532–534, 543, 546, 552, 559, 574–575, 578–580, 582, 586–589, 593, 602, 606, 611, 613, 615–616, 619, 625, 629, 634, 636, 643–644, 648, 650, 658, 661, 672, 674, 677, 680, 683–684, 687–688, 713, 718, 733–734, 753, 766–769, 776, 779, 782, 784–786, 797–798, 800, 806, 809, 814, 817, 823, 829, 832, 847–849, 851, 854–856, 862–863, 865–866, 880–881, 896–897
Vienna, Treaty of (1725) 237, 364, 371, 385, 403, 407, 420, 463
Villettes, Arthur de 8, 17, 724, 751, 753–754, 761, 766, 769
Vinnen, Arnold 41
Viry, Francesco de 883
Visconti, Giulio 241, 358, 428–431, 447
Voltaire 4, 23, 110, 230, 480, 624, 753, 777–778, 825–827, 835–836, 840–841, 896

Waldeck, Prince of 800, 802

Zeno, Apostolo 3, 165, 179, 245, 279–280, 456, 481–482, 524, 593, 616, 649, 650

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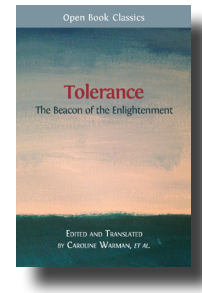

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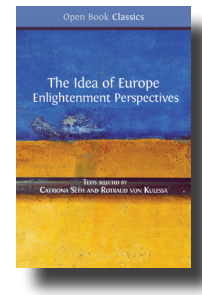

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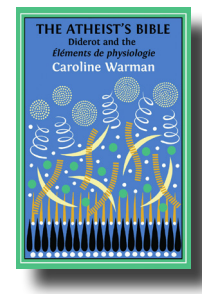

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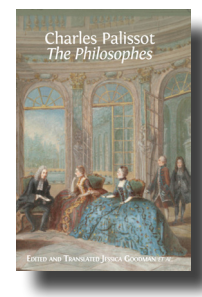

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Autobiography
the tragedy of a historian and the inquisition

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